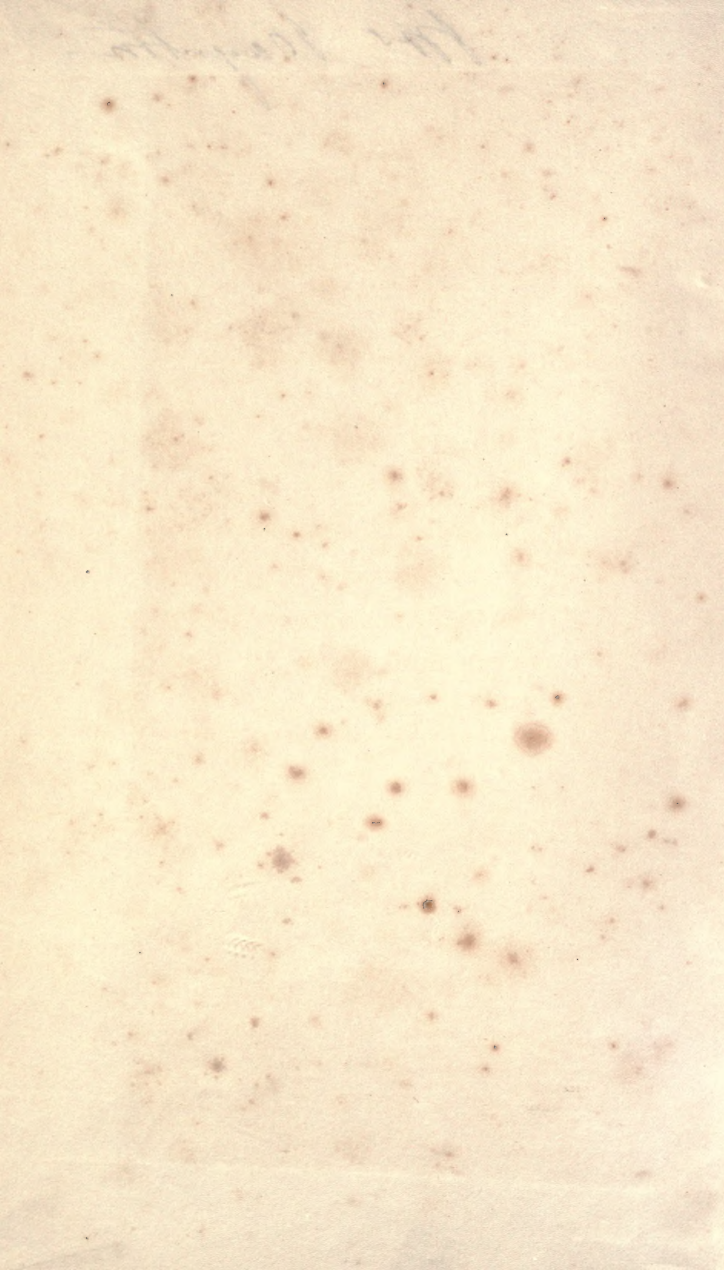


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THE
HISTORY
OF
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WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE;

AND A
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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA IN 1648, TO THE PEACE OF
PARIS IN 1763.

LETTER XXI.

*History of Europe, from the Beginning of the General War, in
1701, to the Offers of Peace made by France, in 1706, and the
Union of England and Scotland.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the alliance which the king of England had concluded with the emperor and the states-general, it may be questioned whether he could have prevailed upon his people to engage heartily in a new continental war, had it not been for an unforeseen measure, which roused their resentment against France. Soon after the alliance had been formed, James Sept. 5, II. died at St. Germain's; and Louis, in violation of the 1701. treaty of Ryswick, acknowledged the son of that unfortunate prince, king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III.

Whether Louis was prompted to this measure by generosity of sentiment, or what the French writers term *the elevation and sensibility of his great soul*—by the tears of the widow of the

deceased prince, seconded by the entreaties of madame de Maintenon—or by political motives—is a matter of very little consequence. It is probable, however, that he was partly influenced by political considerations; that, believing war to be unavoidable, he hoped, by thus encouraging the Jacobites, to be able to disturb the English government; especially as the life of William, from his declining health, was not expected to be greatly prolonged, and the party in favour of the direct line of succession was still powerful in each of the three British kingdoms. But whatever might be the motive of the French monarch for such a measure, whether it sprang from weakness, generosity, or selfishness, it hurried him into a war, for which he was very little prepared, and which reduced him, in a few years, from the highest pinnacle of grandeur to the lowest state of despondency. France, nearly exhausted by her former efforts, had not yet had time to recover her strength; and Spain, languishing under every kind of political malady, was only a load upon her shoulders. But the supply of the precious metals, which she was suffered, by the negligence of the maritime powers, to procure from the Spanish dominions in America, and particularly from those near the South Sea, enabled her to maintain the contest much longer than would have been possible for her merely with her own internal resources¹.

The marquis de Torcy attempted in vain to apologise to the king of England for the conduct of his master: the affront to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne. He instantly recalled his ambassador from the court of France, and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. Nor did the parliament, to which William made a speech well suited to the occasion, discover less resentment at the insult offered by Louis to the sovereign and the nation, in presuming to declare who should be king of England, and in naming a person excluded from the

A.D. succession by an act of the whole legislature. They
1702. passed a bill of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales, and also a bill obliging all persons, who held any office in church or state, to abjure his claim to the crown. They entered warmly into the war, which was eagerly desired by the people; voted forty thousand men for land service, agreeably to the terms of the Grand Alliance, and an equal number for the navy. And they presented an address to the throne, requesting the king to insert in the treaty an article, which was readily

¹ Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

assented to by the contracting powers, that no peace should be concluded with the French monarch, until he should make reparation for the late affront and indignity¹.

William, thus supported in his favourite scheme, by the unanimous voice of his parliament and people, was making extraordinary preparations for opening the campaign, when a fall from his horse threw him into a fever, which put a period March to his life, but not to his bold designs. He was a prince⁸ of great vigour of mind, firmness of temper, and intrepidity of spirit; but ungraceful in his person and address, disgustingly cold in his manner, and dry, silent, and solitary in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumstances, and a steady perseverance in his plans, rather than to great or uncommon talents, either in a civil or a military capacity, he owed that high reputation, and extensive influence, which he so long enjoyed among the princes of Christendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good soldier, though not a great commander. He has been severely and justly blamed for the intrigues which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart seems to have been as dead to the sympathetic feelings, as his soul was insensible to the charms of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is possible that, while guiding the great political system, he might be led by the illusions of ambition, under the appearance of principle, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a necessary sacrifice to the welfare of Europe, and the interests of the reformed religion. England, at least, was obliged to him for maintaining her cause, in her grand struggle for liberty and a Protestant succession. But she has dearly paid for those blessings, by being involved in wasting foreign wars, partly indeed rendered necessary by the supineness of the two preceding princes, but in which she ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to support those wars; and by their unavoidable consequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worst of evils.

The death of the king of England threw the allies into the utmost consternation, and occasioned the highest joy at the court of France. But that joy was of short duration. The quiet succession of Anne, the eldest surviving daughter of

¹ Burnet, book vi.—*Journals*, Jan. 10, 1702.

James II., to the English throne, conformably to the Act of Settlement, and her early declaration of her resolution to pursue the objects of the Grand Alliance, revived the spirit of the confederates; while the choice of her ministers, and the vigour of their measures, blasted all the hopes that Louis and the court of St. Germain had founded on the decease of William. Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury; and the earl of Marlborough, whose eldest daughter was married to Godolphin's son, and whose wife had acquired an absolute ascendant over the queen, was appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces in Flanders, and immediately dispatched to Holland, in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the states¹.

Thus connected by family interest, as well as political views, these two great men conducted with harmony the affairs of England, and even acquired a more decided influence on the continent than had ever been possessed by William. They not only kept more compact and entire all the parts of that vast machine, the Grand Alliance, but communicated a more rapid and vigorous motion to the whole. The earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation with the states: he animated them to a full exertion of their strength; and gained so far on their confidence, that they raised him to the chief command of their troops. All the allies engaged, with alacrity, to furnish their several quotas; and war was declared against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna².

The first campaign, however, was not distinguished by any great event. In Italy, the Imperialists, under prince Eugene, being outnumbered by the combined armies of France and Spain, gained no advantage. There Philip V. (having left the government of his new kingdom in the hands of the queen, assisted by a council, and passed into Naples) nominally commanded in person, and but nominally; all the operations being really directed by the duke de Vendome. His presence, however, inspired confidence into his troops; and prince Eugene was not only constrained to relinquish the blockade of Mantua, but in some degree worsted, in an attempt to surprise Vendome, near Luzara³.

The Imperialists were not more successful on the Upper Rhine; where the prince of Baden, though elated with the reduction of Landau, was defeated at Friedlingen, by the marquis de Villars, who was immediately after created a marechal of France. "I

¹ Burnet, book vii.

² Id. *ibid*.

³ Henault, 1702.

have heard," says Voltaire, "marechal Villars declare more than once, that, as he was marching at the head of his infantry, after the battle was gained, a voice called, *We are undone!* On hearing this, all his troops fled. He ran after them, crying, *Come back, my friends! the victory is ours. Long live the king!* The trembling soldiers repeated, *Long live the king!* but continued to fly: and the marquis found the utmost difficulty in rallying the conquerors¹." On such trivial circumstances will the issue of the greatest battles often depend. Had a single regiment of Imperialists appeared during this panic, the French, so lately victorious, would have been totally routed.

The house of Bourbon was less fortunate on the side of Flanders. The allies began the campaign with the siege of Keyserwaert, which the elector of Cologne had placed in the hands of the French, and which surrendered after a siege of two months. It was expected that the duke of Burgundy, who had the advice and assistance of marechal Boufflers, would either have attempted the relief of that important place, or have invested some other; but, by strange misconduct, he lay almost totally inactive during the siege, and till the earl of Marlborough arrived to take the command of the allied army².

Marlborough, who was no less prudent than active, and who may be said to have united the enterprising spirit of the hero to the caution and foresight of the consummate general, resolved immediately to attack the duke of Burgundy; and had he not been restrained by the timidity of the Dutch field-deputies, he might have gained a complete victory over the French³. Though thus confined in his operations, the English commander contrived, by masterly movements, by marches and counter-marches, to throw himself between the enemy and the principal towns of Spanish Guelderland; and he not only reduced Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenswaert, in that province, but also took Liege. By this success the navigation of the Maese was opened, and a free communication obtained with Maestricht.

The operations at sea were even more favourable to the allies than those by land; though not in all respects equal to their hopes. The confederate fleet, under sir George Rooke, consisting of fifty English and Dutch ships of the line, with twelve

¹ *Siècle*, xvii.

² *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

³ Burnet, book vii.—Duke of Berwick, vol. i.—"We were posted in such a manner," says the duke, "that we should have been beaten without being able to stir; our left being very high, and our right sunk into a *cul-de-sac* between two rivulets."

thousand soldiers on board, commanded by the duke of Ormond, appeared before Cadiz, and summoned that city to surrender to the house of Austria, or run the hazard of an attack from such a formidable armament. But the governor paid no regard to this threat. The place was much stronger than the besiegers expected; so that the duke found it necessary to re-embark his troops after they had taken fort St. Catharine, made an unsuccessful attempt on fort Matagorda, and pillaged port St. Mary, contrary to his express orders. His next attempt was more fortunate.

The confederates, after leaving Cadiz, sailed for Vigo, where the galleons, under convoy of twenty-three French ships of war, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud, had recently arrived from America. As the wealth which those galleons contained was considered as the chief resource of the Spanish monarchy, and even of the whole house of Bourbon, Louis expecting to share in it, the utmost precaution had been taken to secure them. They were removed into a basin, through a narrow entrance, one side of which was defended by a fort, the other by platforms mounted with cannon. A boom was thrown across the mouth of the basin, and within the boom the French squadron was drawn up. But these obstacles were not sufficient to discourage the confederates, when animated by the hopes of so rich a booty. The duke of Ormond, having landed part of his troops, took the castle; the boom was broken by the fleet; and the French admiral, perceiving that all further resistance would be vain, set fire to his ships. The galleons followed the desperate example; but the English and Dutch were at hand, to extinguish the flames. Six ships of war were taken,

Oct. 12. seven sunk, and nine burned. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the conquerors, and four were destroyed: and although the greater part of the treasure had been landed, and carried to Lagos, the booty was still very considerable, and the consternation of the house of Bourbon excessive¹.

Before intelligence of this important blow arrived in England, both houses of parliament had congratulated her majesty on the

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii. Louis, who combined, with the most insatiable and bloody ambition, a strange mixture of piety and resignation, writes thus in a consolatory letter to the queen of Spain, then at the head of the government:—"Events are in the hands of God, who often draws good out of what we consider as our greatest misfortunes. If it is possible to prevent the bad effects of that disaster which has happened, your majesty has prevented them." *Mém. de Noailles*.

success of her arms under the earl of Marlborough, who was soon after created a duke; and liberal supplies were voted for carrying on the war. The good humour of the parliament was increased by the news of the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Vigo: the hopes of the nation ran high; and the most vigorous preparations were made for future success. The duke of Savoy, who had been long wavering, openly deserted the interest of France and Spain, and concluded a treaty with the emperor, to the astonishment of the house of Bourbon: he being not only a grandson of Louis XIII., but father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy and the young king of Spain. From motives of interest, Peter II. of Portugal also united himself to the confederates¹. 1703.

To the defection of those two princes the French ascribed their subsequent misfortunes in the war. Louis, however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means deficient in success. His firm ally, the elector of Bavaria, carried on his hostilities with vigour in the heart of Germany. He took Neuburg early in the season; defeated the Imperialists near Passau; and, having seized Ratisbon, was joined at Dutlingen by Villars. Afterward, disappointed in an attempt to open a communication with the French army in Italy, he rejoined the marechal in Suabia. They crossed the Danube; and Villars, understanding that the count de Stirum, at the head of twenty thousand men, was on his march to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert, said to the elector, "We must prevent this: we must advance, and attack Stirum." The elector hesitated, and said he would consult his ministers and generals. "I am your minister and general!" replied Villars:—"Can you want any other counsel than mine, when the question is about giving battle?"—Full of apprehension for his dominions, the elector was still averse from the marechal's proposal, and not a little displeased at this freedom. "Well!" said Villars, "if your highness will not seize this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will engage with the French only: it must not be lost." He accordingly ordered his troops to march: and the elector, though filled with indignation, found himself under the necessity of fighting against his judgment². They attacked the enemy in the plains of Sept. 20, Hochest, and triumphed. Two thousand of the Impe- N. S.

¹ Burnet.—Voltaire.

² These particulars are related by Voltaire, from the manuscript *Memoirs of Villars*, written by himself. *Siècle*, chap. xvii.

rialists were killed ; a great number were made prisoners ; and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors. The victorious army put the elector in possession of Augsburg ; and the road to Vienna, being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital¹.

The consternation of Leopold was, in some measure, excusable. The duke of Burgundy, with the marechals Tallard and Vauban, had reduced Old Brisac ; and Tallard, before the end of the campaign, not only retook Landau, but defeated an army of the allies, under the prince of Hesse, who had advanced to its relief. In Italy, where Staremburg commanded for the emperor, the duke de Vendome disarmed, by surprise, the troops of the duke of Savoy, took Bersello, and gained an advantage over general Visconti².

The French were less successful in the Netherlands ; where the duke of Marlborough, having concerted measures with the states, was enabled to appear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, a strong city in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and the usual residence of the elector of Cologne. Though gallantly defended by the marquis d'Alegre, it was forced to surrender, after a siege of about three weeks. But notwithstanding this early success, and the supposed weakness of the enemy, Marlborough could not distinguish the campaign by any signal achievement ; the French, under Boufflers and Villeroy, keeping cautiously within their lines, and the English general not judging it prudent to attempt to force them. He therefore contented himself with the conquest of Huy and Limburg. Gueldres, after a long blockade, also surrendered to the allies³.

These acquisitions, however, were by no means a balance to the advantages of the enemy in other quarters, particularly as the operations of the allies at sea, during the summer, had been languid and indecisive—in some respects unfortunate ; and their negligence so great, that the Spanish treasure from the Havannah, the joint produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, had arrived safe, under convoy of a French fleet, and furnished the house of Bourbon with fresh resources for continuing the war. But the confederates were not discouraged by their losses, or by an insurrection in Hungary, which spread devastation to the

¹ These particulars are related by Voltaire, from the manuscript *Memoirs of Villars*, written by himself. *Siècle*, chap. xvii.

² Burnet.—Voltaire.—Henault.

³ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.—Burnet, book vii.

gates of Vienna. The English parliament, seized with a kind of military fury, granted very liberal supplies for the ensuing campaign; and the emperor, emboldened by the alliance of Portugal, from which a passage might be opened into the heart of the disputed monarchy, ordered his son Charles to assume the title of king of Spain, he himself and the king of the Romans renouncing all claim to any part of the succession. Immediately after this ambitious step, the archduke set out for the Hague. From Holland, he passed over to England, where he was treated with great respect; and he was conducted to Lisbon by a powerful fleet, having on board a considerable body of land forces¹.

While the queen of England was exerting herself with so much vigour in a foreign quarrel, in which her subjects were little interested, great disorders occurred in her own dominions. The ferment in Scotland, occasioned by the miscarriage of the settlement at Darien, had not fully subsided; and although that kingdom readily acknowledged the queen's authority, strong jealousies there prevailed, among all ranks of men respecting the independence of their crown and the freedom of their commerce. These jealousies were fomented by the insidious arts of the Jacobites, and the intrigues of the court of St. Germain, aided by a political oversight.

When the English legislature settled the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, king William had neglected to take the same precaution in regard to Scotland; so that the succession to that crown was still open. This circumstance was now eagerly seized by two sets of men:—by the adherents of the house of Stuart, who hoped to bring in the pretended prince of Wales; and by some real patriots, who meant to make use of it, in order to rescue their country from that abject dependence, and even slavery, into which it had fallen, and in which it had continued, ever since its native sovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England to their ancient prerogative. Beside these men, many others, who were well disposed to the Protestant succession, zealously opposed the settlement of the Scottish crown on the descendants of the princess Sophia, before the ratification of certain articles, which should provide for the independence of the kingdom, or unite it intimately with England².

Nor was the English nation free from discontents. The queen, by throwing herself into the hands of the Tories, had roused the resentment of the Whigs, who were in a manner pro-

¹ Burnet.—Voltaire.

² Lockhart's *Mem.*—Burnet, book vii.

scribed, and debarred from office; and only an ardent desire of accomplishing the purpose of the Grand Alliance, which they themselves had formed, had hitherto prevented them from obstructing the measures of government. But their patience, under neglect, was at last worn out; they became jealous, and not without reason, of designs against the Protestant succession. The Tories, intoxicated with their good fortune, had revived all the exploded high-monarchical and high-church principles; and conjecturing that the queen must naturally be disposed to favour the succession of her brother, several of her ministers held a secret correspondence with the court of St. Germain, and hopes were even entertained by that court of obtaining a speedy repeal of the Act of Settlement¹.

To forward these views, and complete the ruin of their political opponents, the Tories pretended, that both the church and monarchy were in danger, from the prevalence of presbyterian and republican principles; and a bill against occasional conformity, which would have excluded all dissenters, and consequently a great number of the Whigs, from civil offices and public employments, was twice presented to parliament, and as often rejected².

A.D. The failure of this favourite measure, and several other
1704. circumstances, indicating the strength of the Whigs, induced Marlborough and Godolphin, who are said to have been Tories, and even Jacobites in their hearts, to conceal their sentiments, and seek support from that powerful party. They foresaw a formidable opposition, and persuaded the queen, that it was necessary to dispel the storm, by bringing some of the more moderate Whigs into administration, and dismissing a few of the most violent Tories³. Mr. Harley, speaker of the house of commons, reputed a Whig because he had been bred a dissenter, was now appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Nottingham; and, at his recommendation, Mr. St. John, since better known by the title of lord Bolingbroke, was advanced to the lucrative post of secretary of war.

This expedient, however, would have been found insufficient to secure the ministry against the violence of the Whigs, had not the extraordinary success of the next campaign silenced all opposition. As the allies, in the two preceding campaigns, by securing the Maese and Spanish Guelderland, had provided a strong barrier for the United Provinces, the duke of Marlborough

¹ *Stuart Papers.*

² Burnet, book vii.

³ *Hanover Papers, 1704.*

proposed to march into the heart of Germany, in order to protect the emperor, now almost besieged in his capital, by the Hungarian malcontents on one side, and by the French and Bavarians on the other. In pursuance of this scheme, but under colour of penetrating into France, he ordered the confederate forces to march towards Coblenz, where he joined them. Crossing the Rhine at that place, and successively the Maine and Neckar, he was met by prince Eugene at Mondelsheim.

The result of the conference between these two great generals was a junction of the allied army under Marlborough, with the Imperialists, commanded by the prince of Baden. That July 2, junction being effected, Marlborough forced, though with N.S. the loss of four thousand men, the entrenchments of the elector of Bavaria, near Donawert, and obliged him to quit the field. In consequence of this victory, the allies gained possession of Donawert, and obtained a free passage over the Danube. But as they were incapable, from want of magazines, either of continuing long on the banks of that river, or penetrating into Bavaria, their situation became very precarious, and they eagerly wished to give battle; when the enemy, being reinforced with thirty thousand men under Tallard, resolved to afford them the desired opportunity. Before the engagement, the duke was also joined by prince Eugene, with twenty thousand men, from the Upper Rhine; and, in order to free himself from the timid or treacherous counsels of the prince of Baden, he prevailed on him to besiege Ingolstadt. The opposing armies were now nearly equal, each consisting of about sixty thousand men. But the French generals, Tallard and Marsin, though men of experience and abilities, were much inferior to those of the allies; and the elector of Bavaria, though a brave prince, could not be considered as a commander.

The French and Bavarians were advantageously posted on a hill, having the Danube and the village of Blenheim on their right: on their left was a thick wood, from which ran a rivulet, along their front, into the Danube. This rivulet, in its course through the plain, formed an almost continued morass, the passage of which might have been rendered very difficult, if it had been properly guarded. Twenty-eight battalions, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, were thrown into the village of Blenheim; and eight battalions were placed in another village towards the centre, in order to fall, in conjunction with those at Blenheim, upon the rear of the enemy, when the latter should pass the rivulet. The line, which consisted chiefly of

cavalry, was weakened by these detachments; and by an unaccountable negligence, the allies were permitted not only to pass the brook, but to form without opposition¹.

Marlbrough, who commanded the left wing of the allies, Aug. 13, having first passed the brook, ordered the two villages to N. S. be attacked by the infantry, while he himself led his cavalry against those of Tallard. The attack on the villages proved unsuccessful; the English and Hessians being repulsed, after three successive attempts. The French horse, however, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to give ground. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, which Tallard had ordered to advance to their relief. But these also were broken by the English foot. Marlborough charged home with his horse; and drove the French cavalry with such precipitation from the field, that most of those who escaped the sword were drowned in the Danube. The ten advanced battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the same time, charged on all sides, and routed. Tallard himself was taken prisoner, with many other officers of distinction.

Meanwhile prince Eugene, who commanded the right wing of the confederates, after having been thrice repulsed, had broken the French and Bavarians, under the elector and Marsin; and though they could scarcely be said to have been routed, they no sooner heard of Tallard's defeat, than they left the field, with every mark of hurry and disgrace. The foot and dragoons, in the village of Blenheim, the best troops of France, were now abandoned to their fate. After a vigorous, but ineffectual sally, they found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion.

Such, my dear Philip, was the famous battle of Blenheim, in which thirty thousand French and Bavarians were killed, wounded, or captured. The camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and every trophy that can distinguish a complete victory, fell into the hands of the conquerors. These trophies, however, were not acquired without considerable loss of blood. The allies had about five thousand men killed, and seven thousand wounded².

The consequences of this brilliant victory were highly important. The emperor was relieved from his fears; the Hungarian malcontents were overawed; and the conquests and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the hands of Leopold, who revenged severely, on the subjects of that prince,

¹ *Mém. du Marq. Feuquieres.*—Kane's *Campaigns*.

² *Feuquieres.*—Burnet.—Voltaire.

the excesses which had been committed on his own. An extent of sixty leagues of country was exposed to all the ravages of war. Broken, ruined, and dispersed, the forces of Louis left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which at the beginning of the season had spread terror to the gates of Vienna, were obliged to take shelter within the frontiers of France. The victors crossed the Rhine; they entered Alsace; and the important fortresses of Landau and Traerbach were surrendered to them before the close of the year¹.

But the same good fortune which attended the arms of the confederates in Germany did not extend to every scene of operations. In Flanders, the war, being merely defensive, produced no memorable event. On the Portuguese side of Spain, the archduke, who had assumed the title of Charles III., was unable to make any progress. On the contrary, Philip, assisted by the duke of Berwick, carried the war into Portugal; took several places, and defeated the attempts of the allies for the invasion of Spain². In Italy, the campaign proved, upon the whole, favourable to the house of Bourbon. The castle of Susa, the city of Pignerol, Vercelli, Yvrea, and Sansano, were reduced by Vendome³.

The operations at sea, during this memorable year, were scarcely less important than those by land. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which carried the archduke to Lisbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, where a party was supposed to have been formed for the house of Austria, appeared before Gibraltar; and that fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable,

¹ Voltaire.—Boyer.—Burnet.

² Notwithstanding these services, the duke of Berwick was recalled. Of this matter, he gives the following curious account: "The duke of Grammont, the French minister at Madrid, had taken it into his head that he was to govern there as despotically as the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine had formerly done in France. I had no objection to this with respect to the civil department; but, in the military, I was resolved that he should not have the same sway; thinking it reasonable that I should be consulted in every thing, and even that my plans should be adopted, as I must be answerable for the success of the whole. From these contrary humours it followed, that Grammont took upon him to order every thing, without consulting or communicating with me; and I, on the other hand, steady to my principle, refused to execute any enterprise which I did not approve." The duke's recall was the consequence of this commendable pride.

When the *marechal de Tessé*, who succeeded to the chief command in Spain, arrived at Madrid, he naturally inquired of the queen if she had not reason to be satisfied with the duke's campaign. She said, that he was much esteemed, and had rendered great service to the kingdom. "Why, then," answered *Tessé*, "have you had him recalled?"—"If I must tell you," replied the queen peevishly, "he is a great obstinate devil of an Englishman, who will always have his own way."—*Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, tome i.

³ *Henault*, 1704.

was taken at the first assault. Astonished at the intrepidity of the English sailors, who ascended the mole sword in hand, the governor immediately surrendered the place: which was committed to the care of the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, for the queen of England¹.

Nor was the acquisition of this great key of the Mediterranean the only advantage resulting from the enterprise. Part of the Spanish army employed in Portugal being withdrawn, for the purpose of retaking Gibraltar, a stop was thus put to the progress of Philip, who might otherwise have advanced to the gates of Lisbon; and the French fleet, (to the number of fifty-two ships of the line, under the count de Toulouse) coming to the aid of the besiegers, was defeated off Malaga by the combined fleet, commanded by sir George Rooke and the Dutch admiral Calemberg. The force, on both sides, was nearly equal; and the battle was obstinate and bloody, though no ship was either sunk or taken. This was partly the consequence of the interposition of night, and partly of the shifting of the wind, which enabled the French to elude all the endeavours of the confederates for a renewal of the engagement². Louis affected, however, to claim the victory. But it was obvious to all Europe, that the combined fleet kept the sea; and that the French took refuge in their own ports, instead of affording any assistance to the Spaniards before Gibraltar.

These fortunate events, particularly the memorable victory obtained at Blenheim, which was justly ascribed to British valour, diffused a general joy over the nation. This joy communicated itself to the representatives of the people, who voted ample supplies for prosecuting the war with the utmost readiness; and the whole business of parliament was not only conducted with harmony, but carried forward with zeal and expedition. Pleased with the humiliation of the house of Bourbon, the Whigs, instead of opposing the ministry, used every endeavour to engage the duke of Marlborough in their cause; and Godolphin, either from policy or principle, threw himself entirely into their hands.

The queen dissolved the parliament; and the Whigs, whose A. D. principles recommended them to the independent part of 1705. the kingdom, having the countenance of government, and the support of the monied interest, obtained a decided majority

¹ Burnet, book vii.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii.

² Id. *ibid*.

in the new house of commons. The elections went generally in their favour, notwithstanding the clamour raised by the Tories of the danger of the church, and the growth of Presbyterianism. Both houses now passed a vote, that the church was in a safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever advanced a contrary assertion was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom¹. They also, to the great disappointment of the Tories, already mortified by the foregoing vote, repealed two severe laws against the commerce and people of Scotland, in order to induce the parliament of that kingdom to settle the crown on the house of Hanover, as well as to listen to proposals for a treaty of union with England; measures highly necessary to the welfare of both kingdoms, and essential to the security of the Protestant succession.

While the English were taking these prudent steps, France was not only depressed by external misfortunes, but distracted by internal commotions. Though the Huguenots had been in a great measure exterminated, or induced from motives of fear or interest to conform to the established religion, by the rewards that were offered to them, and the severe persecution which they had suffered, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, yet many of them had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south of France, where, mingling with the rude natives, called Camisards, they enjoyed their religion in a state of barbarism. Like zealots of all sects, when ignorant and persecuted, they believed themselves to be the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and laid claim to the highest gifts of inspiration. They had their prophets and prophetesses, who assumed absolute authority over them, and are said to have incited them to the most atrocious cruelties, both against the Catholics and the refractory part of their own sect².

Encouraged by these visionaries, by their increasing numbers, and by the promises of the confederates, the Camisards, on the commencement of the war, in 1701, began to mingle politics with their religion. They demanded "liberty of conscience, and an exemption from taxes;" and took arms to support their preten-

¹ *Journals*, Dec. 1705.

² *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*.—"I have heard marechal Villars relate," says Voltaire, "that when he asked Cavalier, the most considerable of their chiefs, how, at his years, being little above twenty, he could acquire so much authority over a headstrong undisciplined rabble? the bold leader replied, that, whenever they refused to obey, his prophetess (known among them by the name of the *Great Mary*) was instantly seized with a fit of inspiration, and condemned the refractory to the punishment of death, without any form of trial." *Siècle*, chap. xxxii.

sions. Several generals were sent against them, with various success, and among others, the celebrated marechal Villars; who, after making them sensible of his power, entered into treaty with them, in 1704. But they, suspecting the sincerity of the court, broke off the negotiation, when it was almost finished; and Villars being recalled, to enter on a more important scene of action, the duke of Berwick was dispatched against them, on his return from Spain. Severity being now as necessary as it was formerly impolitic, the duke exercised it without reserve, and soon reduced the Camisards to obedience¹.

Louis, although destitute of that superior magnanimity which is never vainly elate, and which can calmly look down on the highest success, possessed in an eminent degree that Christian fortitude which enables the soul to bear misfortunes with composure and resignation. Though accustomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the ruin of his army at Blenheim, without any marks of confusion, and took the most vigorous steps for repairing his loss, as well as for checking the progress of the victorious enemy. At the end of the campaign, however, he found that he had been deprived of a considerable part of his former conquests. But France was still entire, and his power in Flanders was not very seriously impaired; and, as he understood that the duke of Marlborough intended, in the next campaign, to carry the war by the Moselle into the heart of his dominions, he assembled on that side an army of seventy thousand men, under the command of Villars. The English general, having crossed the Moselle and the Saar, arrived at Sirck; but not being joined by the prince of Baden, as he expected, he was obliged to retreat: and so masterly was the conduct of Villars, that the duke was not able to effect any enterprise of consequence during the campaign².

Though the emperor Leopold, whose death made no change

¹ For this severity, the duke makes the following manly apology: "Assisted by the understanding and advice of M. de Basville, one of the most sensible men in France, I made it my business to prevent every thing that might tend to excite commotions: and declared, that I came neither as a persecutor nor a missionary, but with a resolution to do equal justice to every one; to protect all who should behave themselves as faithful subjects of the king, and to punish with the utmost rigour those who should dare to oppose his authority.—I know," adds he, "that attempts have been made, in many countries, to blacken our proceedings against these people; but I can protest, as a man of honour, that the Camisards were guilty of every species of outrage and criminality. To rebellion, sacrilege, murder, theft, and licentiousness, they joined the most atrocious and unprecedented cruelties; so far even as to have priests broiled, to rip out the bowels of pregnant women, and to roast their children!" *Mem.* vol. i.

² Burnet.—Henault.

in the political system of the confederates, was succeeded May 5. on the imperial throne by his son Joseph, a prince of N. S. greater vigour and abilities, the sluggishness of the Germanic body, and the obstinacy of the prince of Baden, prevented the allied army from triumphing on the side of Flanders. In Italy the French still maintained their superiority. The duke de Vendôme took Villa Franca and Verona: he repulsed the Imperialists, who, under prince Eugene, attempted to force the passage of the Adda, at the bridge of Cassano; and the duke of Savoy, no longer able to keep the field, was obliged to shut himself up in Turin, with little prospect of relief¹.

The confederates were more fortunate in Spain. The marshal de Tessé, after losing a great number of men, was forced to raise the siege of Gibraltar; and he had also the mortification, a few days before he abandoned the enterprise, to behold a French fleet that came to his assistance, under the famous Pointis, defeated, and chiefly taken or destroyed, by an English squadron, commanded by sir John Leake. Encouraged by these favourable events, the confederates entered the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alentejo, and reduced some of the towns of Estremadura. In other quarters they were still more successful. An English fleet, conducted by sir Cloudesly Shovel, carrying five thousand soldiers, under the celebrated earl of Peterborough, being joined at Lisbon by sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemond, and reinforced with some troops from the confederate army in Portugal, took the archduke on board, and sailed for the coast of Catalonia, where he was supposed to have many friends. Intimidated at the appearance of this armament, the people in general declared for the house of Austria. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were yielded without a blow: Barcelona, though furnished with a garrison of five thousand men, under the duke de Popoli, was obliged to surrender; and almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, submitted to Charles III.²

The particulars of the siege of Barcelona, as related by Voltaire, are so honourable to this country, that they ought not to be omitted by an English historian. The earl of Peterborough, says he, a man in every respect resembling the imaginary heroes that the Spaniards have represented in their romances, proposed to the prince of Hesse Darmstadt to force, sword in hand, the entrenchments that covered fort Montjuy and the town. The

¹ Burnet.—Boyer.

² Burnet, book vii.—*Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.

enterprise was accordingly executed with success ; but with the loss of the brave prince of Hesse, who was killed in the attack. The garrison, however, still held out ; when a bomb happening to enter the powder-magazine, it blew up with a terrible explosion, and the fort instantly surrendered. The town soon after offered to capitulate ; and the duke de Popoli, the governor, came to the gate, in order to adjust the articles with Peterborough. But before they were signed, tumultuous shouts were heard. " You betray us ! " exclaimed Popoli. " Whilst we, with honour and sincerity, are here treating with you, your troops have entered the town by the ramparts, and are murdering, plundering, and committing every species of violence." " You mistake," replied the earl :—" Those must be the troops of the prince of Darmstadt. There is only one expedient left to save your town ; allow me freely to enter it with my Englishmen. I will soon make all quiet, and come back to conclude the capitulation." These words he uttered with an air of dignity and truth, which, joined to a sense of present danger, induced the governor to comply. Attended by some of his officers, he hastened into the streets where the licentious soldiery, but more especially the Germans and Catalans, were pillaging the houses of the principal inhabitants. He drove them from their prey : he obliged them to give up even the booty they had seized ; and he happily rescued from their hands the duchess de Popoli, when on the point of being dishonoured, and restored her to her husband¹. In a word, after having quelled every appearance of disorder in the town, he returned to the gate, and finished the capitulation with the governor, while the Spaniards were filled with astonishment at the honour and generosity of a people, whom they had been accustomed to consider only as merciless heretics.

These acquisitions, and splendid achievements in Spain, so flattering to the pride of the English nation, made the people, and even the parliament, eager to prosecute the war, notwithstanding the small success in other quarters. Nor was the house of Bourbon less disposed to vigorous measures. The check given to the confederates on the Moselle, joined to the rapid progress of the French arms in Italy, having elated anew the spirit of Louis, he rashly resolved, during the ensuing campaign, to act offensively in the Low Countries ; at the same time that

¹ *Siècle*, chap. xix.—Burnet mentions this tumult, but in a manner somewhat different. He was no friend to the earl of Peterborough.

he should strip the duke of Savoy of all his territories, support his grandson in Spain, and maintain an army in Germany. And to all these attempts he was perhaps equal, had the abilities of his generals been adequate to the number and valour of his troops. His hopes with regard to the dominions of Victor Amadeus, at least, were by no means presumptuous. The duchy of Savoy had already been subdued by his arms: the duke of Berwick had taken Nice; and Vendome, having defeated the Imperialists at Calcinato, in the spring, ordered Turin to be invested. On the side of Germany, Villars justified the confidence of his master, by driving the prince of Baden before him; and had not his army been weakened by detachments, in order to supply the losses occasioned by the misconduct of other commanders, he might have penetrated into the heart of the empire. The ardour of Villeroy, in Flanders, led the way to the future misfortunes of Louis¹.

The duke of Marlborough, having made every preparation for a spirited campaign, joined the united army of England and Holland in May; and the subsidiary Danes soon after arrived. Villeroy, with a superior force, had advanced to Tirlemont; and, ambitious of entering the lists with Marlborough, he precipitately pushed forward to Ramillies. On gaining the heights, where rises the Little Geete, he perceived the allies in full march toward him, and immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impassable morass running along its banks, covered his left wing, and prevented it alike from being attacked, and from charging the enemy: the village of Ramillies, in a plain near the source of the Geete, was situated before his centre, which consisted entirely of infantry: Tavieres, on the Mehaigne, covered his right wing; and a level space between Tavieres and Ramillies was filled with eighty squadrons of horse.

Such was the disposition of the French forces in the battle of Ramillies, and such the ground on which it was fought. Marlborough, perceiving the defects of that disposition, ordered a feigned attack to be made on the left wing of the enemy; and although this was impracticable, it served to confuse Villeroy, and to prevent him from bringing the troops of that wing to support his centre, on which the English general fell with all the foot that composed his own. The Dutch infantry, under Auverquerque, attacked at the same time the enemy's right

¹ Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome x.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.—Burnet, book vii.

wing. But the French still making a gallant resistance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to advance to the charge; and the whole centre of the enemy was quickly broken and routed. The right wing also gave way before the Dutch; and a complete victory remained to the allies. Of the French, about seven thousand were killed, and six thousand became prisoners; while about three thousand five hundred of the confederates lost their lives or were wounded¹.

The total conquest of Brabant, and of almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of this victory. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places, surrendered at discretion. Ostend, famous for its long siege in the preceding century, put the first stop to the progress of the confederates. It was forced, however, to capitulate, after a siege of ten days. Even Menin, fortified according to the most perfect rules of art, and defended by a garrison of six thousand men, surrendered in three weeks; and the operations of the campaign were concluded with the taking of Aeth and Dendermonde, the French not daring to attempt their relief².

The consequences of the battle of Ramillies were not confined to the Netherlands: they even extended to Italy, where Louis hoped that the reduction of Turin would afford some consolation for his losses in other quarters. The siege of this large and important city was committed to the duke de Feuillade, son-in-law to Chamillard, the minister of finance, who furnished him with every thing that could contribute to render such an undertaking successful; with one hundred and forty pieces of battering canon; one hundred and ten thousand bullets; one hundred and six thousand cartouches of one sort, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bombs; twenty-seven thousand seven hundred grenades; fifteen thousand bags of earth; thirty thousand instruments for pioneering, and one million two hundred thousand pounds of powder; beside a vast quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, sulphur, saltpetre, and every thing requisite for miners³. The preparations, in a word, were such as startle the imagination; and Feuillade, being a man of courage and activity, conducted the operations with vigour, but without strictly regarding the rules of art. He began the attack on the strongest side, and neglected to surround the town. The inhabitants of the country, therefore,

¹ *Mém. du Marq. de Feuquières*.—Burnet, book vii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.

² Voltaire, chap. xix.

³ *Id. ibid.*

had opportunities of sending supplies, both of men and provisions, to the garrison; and all the ardour which he showed, in repeated assaults, served only to diminish the number of the besiegers. The place, however, must at length have been taken, notwithstanding the errors of Feuilleade, but for one of those great events which critically influence the fate of nations.

Prince Eugene was so situated, that it was thought he could not advance to succour Turin. He was on the east side of the Adige; and as that river on the west side was fortified with a long chain of entrenchments, the passage seemed impracticable. The besiegers consisted of forty-six squadrons and a hundred battalions. Vendome, in order to favour their operations, remained above five weeks on the banks of the Adige. He had with him seventy battalions, and sixty squadrons; and, with this force, he did not doubt that he should be able to obstruct the approach of Eugene.

But unfortunately for the affairs of the house of Bourbon in Italy, Vendome was recalled, that he might collect the broken remains of Villeroy's army in Flanders, and endeavour to stem the tide of ill success in that quarter. Before his departure, however, he had found it impossible to prevent prince Eugene from passing the Adige, and even the Po. He was succeeded in the chief command by the duke of Orléans (nephew to Louis), who was assisted by the marechal de Marsin and other experienced officers. As the prince had passed the Po, in spite of Vendome, he crossed the Tanaro, in sight of the duke of Orléans. He took Carpi, Correggio, and Reggio; and having stolen a march upon the French, he was joined, near Asti, by the duke of Savoy, who, no longer confining himself within his capital, had retired into the valley of Lucerne, among his Protestant subjects the Vaudois, and occasionally annoyed the besiegers with a small body of cavalry¹.

Nothing now remained for the duke of Orléans but to join Feuilleade at the camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed him thither with all expedition, determined to raise the siege. It therefore became necessary for the French now to resolve, whether they should wait for the prince in their lines, or march out and meet him in the field. A council of war was called, consisting of Marsin, Feuilleade, Albergotti, St. Fremont, and other general officers. "If we remain in our lines," said the duke of Orléans, "we shall certainly be defeated. They are so

¹ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*—Burnet, book vii.

extensive, that our numbers, though great, are not sufficient to defend them. The Doria, which runs through our camp, will prevent our troops from speedily succouring each other. And in waiting for an attack, the French lose one of their greatest advantages; that vehemence, and those first movements of ardour, which so often determine the events of war. It is therefore my opinion, that we ought to march against the enemy." The officers with one voice replied, "Let us march!" but Marsin produced an order signed by the king, commanding them not to offer, but to wait for battle¹.

That order, with which the duke of Orléans was obliged to comply, hurt his pride, and confused the measures of the French generals, who, being of different opinions, disputed long without

Sept. 7. coming to any fixed determination how to act. Mean-

N.S. while the prince, having made his dispositions, assaulted their entrenchments; and, after a fierce struggle of two hours, entered their camp, drove them from all their posts, and took their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest. The duke of Orléans was slightly wounded, and the marechal de Marsin mortally. The whole French army was routed and dispersed; and, although the number of the killed did not exceed three thousand, such was the terror of the fugitives, that they retreated immediately toward Pignerol, and hastened into Dauphiné; so that the house of Bourbon lost, at one blow, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples².

The confederates, notwithstanding some unfavourable circumstances, were no less successful in Spain. The archduke Charles having established himself in that kingdom, during the winter, by the assistance of the English troops under the earl of Peterborough, Philip and the marechal de Tessé advanced against him in the spring, with an army of twenty thousand men; and obliged him to take shelter in Barcelona, which they besieged, while the count de Toulouse, with a French fleet, blocked it up by sea. Fort Montjuy was taken; and the French and Spaniards were preparing for the assault of the town, a practicable breach being already made, when sir John Leake, with a superior fleet, appearing on the coast, the count de Toulouse judged it prudent to retire in the night. A reinforcement was

¹ It was this timidity of the court of Versailles which gave prince Eugene reason to affirm, in a complimentary letter to the duke of Marlborough, that he "felt the good effects of the battle of Ramillies, even in Italy." Burnet, book vii.

² Burnet.—Voltaire.—Henault.

thrown into the place; and Philip and the marechal raised the siege with the utmost precipitation and disorder, leaving behind them their cannon, their provisions, and their implements of war, with all their sick and wounded men. This disorder was partly occasioned by an almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened as they were marching off, and completed the confusion of the superstitious Spaniards¹.

While Philip was returning in disgrace to his capital, with his broken and ruined army, the English and Portuguese, having entered Estremadura with forty thousand men, under the command of the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas, made themselves masters of Alcantara, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the port of Espinar. And as the duke of Berwick, who had again been appointed to the chief command in Spain, was too weak to obstruct their progress, they penetrated without resistance to Madrid. Philip was obliged to remove with his court to Burgos: and the English and Portuguese, on the same day that they entered his capital in triumph, received intelligence that the count de Santa Cruz had delivered Carthagena and the galleys into their hands.

The archduke was proclaimed king of Spain; and had he advanced immediately to the seat of power, the Spanish crown might have been transferred for ever from the house of Bourbon. But he loitered unaccountably in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, while the English and Portuguese indulged in sloth and debauchery at Madrid. In the mean time, Philip having collected a superior army, Galway and las Minas were compelled to quit that city. The duke of Berwick hung close upon their rear and gained some advantages over them; yet they having effected a junction with the earl of Peterborough and the archduke, passed safely into the kingdom of Valencia, and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the provinces of Arragon and Catalonia, and preserve, at the same time, a free entrance into Castile. Carthagena, however, was retaken before the close of the campaign. But that loss was more than balanced by the acquisition of the islands of Majorca and Ilica, which the English fleet, under sir John Leake, subjected to the dominion of Charles III.²

During these important transactions in the South and West of Europe, the affairs of the North and East had undergone a con-

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.—Burnet, book vii.—*Mém. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.

² *Id. ibid.*

siderable change. The progress of that revolution it must now be our business to trace; as it began, about this time, to threaten the confederates by its consequences.

Charles XII. of Sweden, agreeably to that resolution which he had formed of dethroning the king of Poland, by means of the discontents of his own subjects, entered into a secret correspondence with Radziewiski, the cardinal-primate, who was active in rousing the jealousy of the nobles; so that Augustus found, on calling a diet, which broke up in a tumultuous manner, that the malcontents composed the majority of the assembly. The leading members of the senate were not more loyally disposed. Willing, therefore, to humble himself before the Swedish monarch, rather than submit to the insolent demands of his factious subjects, Augustus attempted secretly to treat with that prince. But Charles, suspecting his design, and still burning with revenge, obstinately refused to see the beautiful and accomplished countess of Koningsmark, who was entrusted with the negotiation, while he received with the highest marks of respect an embassy from the senate. He assured the deputies, that he took arms against Augustus and the Saxons, not against the Poles, whom he should ever esteem as his friends and allies. But instead of agreeing to an immediate conference, as they proposed, he told them bluntly, that he would confer with them at Warsaw¹.

Charles accordingly marched toward that capital, which opened its gates to him on the first summons. The Polish nobles had chiefly retired to their country seats, and the king to Cracow. While Augustus was there assembling his forces, the cardinal-primate, whose treachery was yet undiscovered, appeared among the few persons of distinction who still adhered to their sovereign, and intimated to him, that the king of Sweden was believed to be inclined to listen to terms of accommodation; and he humbly begged leave to wait on the formidable warrior for that purpose. His insidious offer was accepted: and he and count Leczinski had an audience of Charles in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. They found the Swedish monarch clad in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with brass buttons, large jack-boots, and buck-skin gloves that reached to his elbows. After they had talked together standing, for a quarter of an hour, Charles put an end to the conference, by saying aloud, "I will not grant peace to the Poles before they have elected a new king². The primate, who ex-

¹ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII.* liv. ii.

² Id. *ibid.*

pected such a declaration, ordered it to be notified to all the palatines, assuring them, that it gave him great concern, but representing, at the same time, the absolute necessity of complying with the request of the conquering Swede.

Augustus, on receiving this intelligence, saw that he must either relinquish his crown, or resolve to preserve it by force of arms: and he took the most vigorous measures for appealing to the decision of the sword. Having strengthened his Saxon guards, on which he placed his chief dependence, with the succours of the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who still remained faithful to him, and also with that body of Polish troops which bore the name of the *Army of the Crown*, he marched in quest of the king of Sweden. Nor was he long in meeting with his antagonist, that prince having already taken the field with the same hostile views. The contending kings met (on the 20th of July, 1702, N. S.) in a spacious plain near Clissaw, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus led about twenty-four thousand men; Charles had scarcely one-half of that number, yet he advanced to the charge with intrepidity; and although the king of Poland performed every thing that could be expected from a gallant prince fighting for his crown, he was defeated with great slaughter. Thrice did he rally his troops in person, and attempt to restore the battle, but in vain: all his efforts were fruitless. The Saxons only could be said to fight for him. The Poles, who formed his right wing, gave ground at the beginning of the engagement. Some fled through fear, others from disaffection. The valour and good fortune of Charles prevailed. He gained a complete victory, with all the honours that could attend it: he took possession of the enemy's camp; and the baggage, the cannon, and even the military chest of Augustus, fell into his hands¹.

The king of Sweden halted not a moment on the field of battle. He directed his march instantly to Cracow, which surrendered without firing a gun. Determined still to pursue Augustus, in order to prevent his assembling a new army, Charles quickly left that city: but his thigh-bone being broken soon after, in consequence of the fall of his horse, he was confined to his bed for six weeks. During this interval of repose, the king of Poland assembled a diet at Lublin, where, by his affability, engaging manner, and fine accomplishments, he in a great measure recovered the affections of his subjects. All the pala-

¹ Parthenay, *Hist. de Pologne*.—Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII*.

tines who were present swore that they would continue faithful to their sovereign. They agreed to maintain an army of fifty thousand men for his defence: and they resolved, that forty days should be allowed the king of Sweden finally to determine, whether he was disposed to peace or war.

As soon as Charles was able to quit his confinement, he overturned all the resolutions of the diet at Lublin, by a similar assembly at Warsaw. Meanwhile, having received a strong reinforcement from Pomerania, he marched against the remains of the army which he had defeated at Clissaw, and which had been recruited during his constrained inaction. He came up with the enemy on the first of May, 1703, at Pultusk. General Stenau commanded the Saxons, who amounted to ten thousand men. The Swedes consisted only of an equal number; yet so great was the terror inspired by the arms of Charles, that one half of the enemy fled at his approach, and the rest were soon routed and dispersed. Augustus himself retired to Thorn, an ancient city on the Vistula, in Polish Prussia. Charles followed him; first blockaded, then besieged the place, and compelled the garrison to surrender in the autumn; but the king of Poland had found means, before it was regularly invested, to escape into Saxony.

The diet at Warsaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal-primate, now declared, "that Augustus, elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the crown of Poland;" and all the members, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant, on the 14th of February, 1704. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James, eldest son of the celebrated Sobieski; but that prince being taken prisoner with his brother Constantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breslaw in Silesia, by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generosity perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms in restoring liberty to the unhappy captives¹.

This refusal, and the misfortune which led to it, having disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch, his minister, count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a warrior, advised Charles to take the crown of Poland to himself.

¹ Parthenay.—Voltaire.

He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a scheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already subdued:—and he tempted him with the title of “*Defender of the Evangelical Religion*,” an appellation which flattered the prejudices of the northern conqueror. What Gustavus Vasa had effected in Sweden might be accomplished, the count affirmed, with the greatest facility in Poland; the establishment of the Lutheran religion, and the enfranchisement of the people, whom the nobles and clergy held in the most abject slavery. Charles acquiesced in the prudent proposal for a moment; but, blinded by the illusions of romantic glory, he afterward told his minister, that he had more pleasure in giving away than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended, to the choice of the diet, Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnania, who was immediately raised to the throne¹.

While Charles was thus imposing a king on the vanquished Poles, and the Danish monarch durst not disturb his operations; while the new king of Prussia courted his friendship, and his antagonist Augustus was forced to take refuge in his electoral dominions—the czar Peter was growing every day more formidable. Though he had given the king of Poland little immediate assistance, he had made a powerful diversion in Ingria; and had not only become a good soldier himself, but had instructed his subjects in the art of war. He had able engineers, well-served artillery, and experienced officers; discipline was established among his troops; and he had acquired the great secret of subsisting his armies. In consequence of these improvements, he took Narva by assault, on the 21st of August, 1704, after a regular siege, during which he had prevented it from receiving any succours, either by sea or land. Nor was this his only glory. The Russians were no sooner masters of the city, than they began to pillage it, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to stop the plunder and carnage; and having killed two soldiers, who refused to obey his orders, he entered the town-house, and laying his sword, yet reeking with gore, upon the table, said to the magistrates, “This weapon is not stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own people, which I have shed to save your lives².”

Had Peter always paid the same attention to the rights of

¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. iii.

² Ibid.

humanity, his character would have stood fairer in the annals of history ; and, for his honour it must be recorded, that, while he was thus saving one city from destruction, he was employed in erecting another, at no very great distance from Narva, in the heart of his new conquests, namely, Petersburg, which he afterward made the place of his residence, and the centre of his trade. That city is situated on the northern borders of Ingria, in a marshy island, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the Gulf of Finland.

This uncultivated island, which during the short summer in those regions, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entrance on the land side but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and which had been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled, in 1703, with three hundred thousand men, whom the czar had assembled from other parts of his dominions. Even the peasants of Astracan, and those who dwelt on the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg ; and the czar was obliged to clear forests, make roads, drain marshes, and raise mounds, before he could lay the foundations of his future capital. The whole was a violence upon nature. Peter was determined to people a country, that did not seem intended for the habitation of men ; and neither the inundation that demolished his works, the sterility of the soil, the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality which is said to have carried off one hundred thousand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his purpose. By a proper distribution of favours, he drew many strangers to the new city, bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging, by liberal rewards, artists of every description. Above all, he rendered it proof against the utmost efforts of his enemies ; so that the Swedish generals, who gained frequent advantages over his troops, were never able to injure this infant settlement. Petersburg remained in perfect security amidst the destructive war by which it was surrounded¹.

While the czar was employed in erecting a new capital, and creating, as it were, a new people, he still held out a helping hand to the fugitive Augustus, who had again found his way into Poland, had retaken Warsaw, and been obliged a second time to abandon it. Peter invited him to Grodno, to concert measures for retrieving his affairs. To that town Augustus repaired in November 1705 ; and being no longer afraid of exasperating the

¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*.

Poles, by the introduction of foreigners into their country, as they had already done their worst against him, it was resolved that sixty thousand Russians should attack the Swedes in their late conquests. This great force soon entered Poland; and, dividing into several bodies, fiercely ravaged the lands of all the palatines who had declared for Stanislaus. An army of Cossacks also entered the Polish territories, and spread desolation on every side, with all the fury of barbarians. And general Schulemburg, who had distinguished himself by the passage of the Oder, in sight of the king of Sweden, and by a retreat esteemed equal to a victory, even by Charles himself, was advancing with an army of Saxons.

If success had depended upon numbers, the Swedish monarch must now have been crushed. But his usual good fortune, the effect of his active and enterprising spirit, still attended him. The Russian armies were attacked and defeated so fast, that the last was routed before it had heard of the disaster of the first. Nothing could stop the progress of the conquering Swedes, or equal their celerity. If a river interposed, they swam across it; and Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours¹. Struck with terror at such rapid movements, which to them appeared rather miraculous, and reduced to a small number by their various defeats, the Russians retired beyond the Nieper, leaving Augustus to his fate².

In the mean time Schulemburg, having repassed the Oder, offered battle to Renschild, who was considered as the best general in the service of Charles, and was called the *Parmenio* of the Alexander of the North. These two great commanders met on the 12th of February, 1706, at Frauenstadt. Renschild had only thirteen battalions, and twenty-two squadrons, making in all about ten thousand men: Schulemburg had double that number; yet was he defeated with great slaughter. Six thousand Russians and Saxons were killed on the spot; seven thousand were made prisoners; and all their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. Renschild tarnished the lustre of his success by the deliberate slaughter of one thousand Russians, long after all resistance had ceased³.

With a view of terminating the troubles of Poland, where, by

¹ On this occasion every soldier had a horse by his side to mount, when the steed which already carried him was too weary to proceed with the requisite dispatch.

² Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. iii.

³ *Hist. du Nord*, tome ii.—Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

reason of its desolate state, his army could no longer subsist, Charles now proposed to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of Augustus. He accordingly directed his march towards Silesia; passed the Oder; entered Saxony with twenty-four thousand men; and having laid the whole country under contribution, pitched his camp at Alt-Ranstadt, near the plain of Lutzen, rendered famous by the memorable victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. Unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, already in the heart of his dominions, Augustus was under the necessity of suing for peace. He obtained it, but on the most humiliating terms; being constrained to renounce for ever all pretensions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful sovereign of that kingdom. When his plenipotentiaries endeavoured to procure some mitigation of the rigour of these conditions, they were constantly answered by count Piper, "Such is the will of my master; and he never alters his resolution¹!"

Before Augustus ratified this treaty, his troops and those of the czar obtained a victory over the forces of Charles at Kalish, notwithstanding all the exertions of general Meyerfeld, who could not submit without extreme reluctance to the shame of a defeat, though it was certainly no great disgrace for ten thousand men, of whom not one-half were Swedes, to resign the honours of the field to thirty-five thousand Russians, Poles, and Saxons. The domineering Charles would not suffer Augustus to derive any benefit from this success, but insisted on his complete and final assent to the disadvantageous terms which had been proposed for his acceptance.

The march of the king of Sweden into Germany, his frequent victories, and the arbitrary manner in which he had deposed Augustus, filled all Europe with hopes of his friendship, or apprehensions from his power. France courted his alliance with an ardour proportioned to the distressed state of her affairs. Offended at his gross violation of the privileges of the Germanic body, the diet at Ratisbon showed a disposition to declare him an enemy of the empire; but the emperor Joseph, dreading the effects of such a measure, employed all his influence to oppose it, at the same time that he endeavoured to soften any resentment which it might excite in the breast of the northern conqueror, by flattering his pride. Charles was pleased with these attentions, without being swayed by them. Wholly occupied with the

¹ Voltaire, liv. iii.

great project of humbling his other antagonist, the czar Peter, and even of reducing him to the same abject condition into which he had already brought Augustus, he disregarded all the solicitations of the French court, and seemed to favour the views of the emperor, without having any attachment to his interest.

Louis, thus disappointed in his hopes of engaging the king of Sweden in his cause, and broken in spirit by misfortunes, began seriously to think of putting an end to a war which had brought accumulated disgrace upon his arms, and the deepest distress upon his subjects. Having privately made some ineffectual applications to the ministers of Holland, he resolved publicly to manifest his earnest desire of peace; and therefore ordered the elector of Bavaria to write letters to the duke of Marlborough and the Dutch field-deputies, proposing a general congress. As a proof of his sincerity, he mentioned at once the sacrifices which he was willing to make. He offered all the Spanish dominions in Italy to the archduke Charles; to the states-general, a barrier in the Netherlands; and to the duke of Savoy, a compensation for the injuries which he had sustained from the war. In return for such liberal concessions, he demanded, that the electorate of Bavaria should be restored to its native prince, and that Philip should be allowed to possess Spain and her American dominions¹; or, in the lofty language of the proud Castilians, Spain and the Indies².

The confederates, by concluding a peace on these terms, and others which they might have dictated, particularly for the perpetual disjunction of the crowns of France and Spain, would have obtained the chief object of the grand alliance; yet was the offer, though surely a sufficient foundation for entering upon a negotiation, wantonly rejected, and Europe was destined to remain, for many years longer, a scene of carnage, confusion, and distress, in order to gratify the passions of a few ambitious and selfish men. The duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as the glory of war: prince Eugene, besides being under the influence of similar motives, was actuated by

¹ Burnet, book vii.

² This mode of speaking seems to have been introduced, when the Spaniards were in possession of the Portuguese settlements in India, where all other Europeans were long considered as intruders; and when Spain asserted an exclusive right to the whole American continent, as well as to the neighbouring islands, to which she gave the name of the *West Indies*. Hence, too, by a still more ridiculous vanity, the Spanish monarchs still assume the title of "King of the East and West Indies."

an implacable resentment against France; and the pensionary Heinsius, who led the councils of the Dutch republic, yielded to his own interest, while he acted in subserviency to those two generals. These were the three great springs that now directed the grand alliance; and the motion communicated by their joint impulse, was accelerated by the torrent of victory. The views of the allies extended with their success. Having humbled France, they aspired at the conquest of Spain. It was accordingly resolved, that no peace should be made with the house of Bourbon, while a prince of that family continued to fill the Spanish throne¹.

Thus, my dear Philip, were the objects of this confederacy in a great measure changed; and, in order to form a true judgment of the whole, you must consider very attentively the new scheme, and compare it with the original plan of the grand alliance, in reference to the general interests of Europe, and the particular interests of your own country. You will then, I think, be of opinion, that the war was wise and just before this change, because necessary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common prosperity depend; but that it was unwise and unjust after this change, because unnecessary to such end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of passion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private interest, to which the general interests of Europe were sacrificed so entirely, that, if the terms insisted on by the confederates had been granted, such a new system of power would have been created, as must have exposed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to those which the war was originally intended to prevent².

Whilst we reprobate this ambitious scheme, considered in a general view, we find particular occasion to lament the fate of Great Britain in the midst of triumphs that have been so greatly extolled. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may

¹ "I do not remember," says Lord Bolingbroke, "any *parliamentary declaration for continuing the war* till Philip V. should be *dethroned*, before the year 1706; and then such a declaration was judged necessary to second the resolution of our ministers and our allies, in departing from the principles of the grand alliance, and in proposing not only the *reduction* of the French, but the *conquest* of the Spanish monarchy, as the object of the war." (*Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.)

² The emperor Joseph, who died a few years after, was then without male issue. And the union of the kingdoms of Spain and Hungary, with the German and Italian dominions of the house of Austria, in the person of the archduke Charles, supported by the wealth of the American mines, would have been no less dangerous to the liberties of Europe, independent of the weight of the imperial crown, than the union of the French and Spanish monarchies under Philip V. or his descendants.

bring shame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large share. But the wisdom of a nation is to proportion the ends she proposes to her interest and her strength. Great Britain neither expected nor desired any thing beyond what she might have obtained, by adhering to the first principles of the grand alliance. But she was hurried into those of the new plan by the causes already stated, by the prejudices and the rashness of party, by the influence which the successes of the confederate arms gave to our ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough, and by the popularity, if I may so speak, which they gave to the war itself. The people were unwilling to put an end to a contest that afforded so many occasions of public rejoicing, and so wide a range for national pride.

The English ministry, however, though thus lavish of A. D. the blood and treasure of the nation, in support of unne- 1707. cessary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happiness. That UNION of England and Scotland under one legislature, which had, as we have seen, been often attempted in vain, was now established by a parlia- Mar. mentary act, after warm debates in each kingdom; and, 6. in consequence of it, all disputes concerning the Scottish crown were fortunately prevented¹.

The principal articles of that treaty were to the following purport: "That the TWO kingdoms of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND should be *united* into ONE, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN;—that the succession to the united kingdom should remain to the princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and that all papists, and persons marrying papists, should be excluded from, and for ever incapable of inheriting the crown of Great Britain, or any part of the dominions thereto belonging:—that the whole people of Great Britain should be represented by one parliament, in which sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote;—that the subjects of the united kingdom should enjoy an entire freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation and reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either kingdom;—that the laws in regard to public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the united kingdom; and that no alteration should be made in the laws

¹ This great event took place on the first of May.

respecting private rights, unless for the evident utility of the subjects residing in Scotland;—that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland should not be affected by the union;—and that the court of session, or college of justice, with all the other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject nevertheless to such regulations as might be made by the parliament of Great Britain.”

Besides these general and permanent articles, it was particularly stipulated that the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds, granted by the English parliament, should be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for that augmentation of the customs and excise, which had become necessary “for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom,” and which would be applicable toward the payment of the public debt of England contracted before the union; that this sum should be applied, partly towards the extinction of the national debt of Scotland, partly toward the indemnification of the adventurers in the African and Indian or Darien Company; and the residue, after the reimbursement of such individuals as might suffer by the reduction (or rather elevation) of the coin of Scotland to the standard of England, should be devoted to the encouragement of fisheries and manufactures in that kingdom¹.

Though this treaty, all circumstances considered, was neither dishonourable nor disadvantageous to Scotland, yet was it zealously opposed, not only by the adherents of the excluded family, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, but also by many independent members of the Scottish parliament, on principles of sincere patriotism. Of these, the most firm and resolute was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, lofty courage, bold eloquence, and an incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the enactment of the bill of union, and believing it impossible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to consent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of English gold, he resolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not share in their infamy, by condescending so far as to live among them. On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, entreating

¹ See De Foe's *Hist. of the Union*, where the articles are printed at large, with all the arguments for and against them.

him to stay. Even after his foot was in the stirrup, they continued their solicitations, anxiously crying, "Will you forsake your country?" He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, keenly replied, "It is only fit for the slaves that sold it!" then leaped upon the saddle, and put spurs to his horse¹, leaving the whole company struck with a momentary humiliation, and (blind to the extravagance of his conduct) at a loss which most to admire, the pride of his virtue or the elevation of his spirit.

That some of the evils foretold by the Scottish patriots at the union have since overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in consequence of the growth of the English national debt (which then amounted only to about twenty millions), and the multiplication of the herd of insolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that era, enjoyed more happiness as a people, and risen to more wealth and consequence, as individuals, than they could have attained in their disunited state.

Nor has England reason to complain of the union. Instead of turbulent neighbours, she has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy soldiers to fight her battles, and industrious workmen in every branch of manufacture. She has secured for ever the undivided sovereignty of Great Britain, and the liberties of Englishmen, against the usurpations of foreign or domestic ambition, by making the conservation of that sovereignty and those liberties, the common interest of all the brave and free subjects of the UNITED KINGDOM.

LETTER XXII.

The General View of Europe continued, from the Refusal of the French Offers of Peace, at the End of the Campaign of 1706, to the Commencement of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg, in 1710.

THE king of France, finding all his offers of peace rejected with disdain by the confederates, prepared himself to A.D. brave, once more, that storm which he could not dispel. 1707.

¹ This anecdote the author had from the late Patrick, lord Elibank.

To supply the want of money, he issued bills upon the mint, to a very large amount, in imitation of the exchequer bills circulated by the English government; but, by refusing to take those bills in payment of the taxes, he threw them into such discredit, that, after every expedient to raise their value had been tried, they remained at a discount of more than fifty *per cent.* He was therefore obliged, on the failure of this desperate resource, which augmented the distress of his people at the same time that it weakened their confidence in the crown, to continue the practice of burthensome loans, and to anticipate the royal revenue¹.

But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, he was enabled to make very considerable preparations for opposing the efforts of his victorious enemies. He extended a line of the militia along the coasts of the Channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean; he formed an army in Flanders, under the duke de Vendome; another was collected by Villars, in the neighbourhood of Strasburg; troops were levied in Navarre, and in Roussillon; and large reinforcements were sent to the army of the duke of Berwick in Spain. These succours were partly furnished in consequence of fresh, but not unexpected, disasters in Italy. The French troops, to the number of fifteen thousand, being obliged to evacuate the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Modena, by a capitulation signed in the spring, were dispatched to the assistance of Philip. The kingdom of Naples was subdued by the allies; and the few places in the dominions of the duke of Savoy, that were still held by French or Spanish garrisons, were reduced before the close of the campaign².

The fortune of the war was very different in Spain. There the allies, more through their own misconduct than the strength of the enemy, received a dreadful overthrow. Charles III., pretending that Catalonia was in danger, separated himself, with a large detachment, from the principal army, commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; who, having exhausted all their provisions in Valencia, attempted to penetrate into New Castile. With this view they passed the river Xucar, and marched towards Almanza. The duke of Berwick did not

April 25, hesitate a moment to give them battle. Ignorant of the

N. S. succours he had received, the confederates eagerly advanced to the charge, flushed with former victories, and animated with hopes of new success. The action soon became general,

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxviii.

² *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. i.—Voltaire, *Siècle*.

and the field was obstinately disputed. The English and Dutch infantry penetrated through the centre of the enemy, and proceeded as far as the walls of Almanza. Meanwhile the French and Spanish cavalry, on the right wing, twice broke the horse of the allies, and were as often repulsed by their foot, under cover of which the horse rallied. In order to overcome this difficulty, the duke of Berwick ordered a body of infantry to advance to the assistance of his cavalry on the right. A vigorous charge was given, both by horse and foot at the same time. The left wing of the allies now gave way; and their right, which had hitherto maintained its ground, being flanked by the right of the enemy, was broken and dispersed; while their gallant infantry in the centre, where they had carried every thing before them, in attempting to retreat, on seeing the defeat of their two wings, were surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and almost all were killed or made prisoners¹.

Few victories have been more complete than that which the duke of Berwick gained at Almanza. Four thousand of the confederates were slain, and six thousand became captives. Among the latter were six major-generals, as many brigadiers, twenty colonels, and a proportional number of inferior officers, said to amount to eight hundred. All the artillery of the vanquished, most of their baggage, with one hundred and twenty colours and standards, fell into the hands of the victors. Las Minas, who was wounded in the arm, and who had seen his mistress, fighting in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side, escaped to Xativa; and the earl of Galway, who had received two cuts in the face, stopped not his flight till he arrived at Tortosa, near the mouth of the Ebro².

The duke of Orléans, who now assumed the command of the French army, did not neglect the opportunity which fortune and the abilities of the duke of Berwick had procured him, of retrieving the affairs of his family in Spain. He reduced the city and recovered the whole kingdom of Valencia: he directed his march into Arragon, and reduced Saragossa and other towns under the dominion of Philip; while Charles either loitered in Catalonia, or made unimportant excursions toward the frontiers of Roussillon³.

¹ Duke of Berwick, vol. i.—Burnet, book vii.

² *Hist. Gén. d'Espagne*.—*Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. vii. fol. edit.

³ Duke of Berwick, ubi sup. "I must not here omit," says this intelligent observer of mankind, "a singular circumstance. The count de la Puebla, who commanded in Saragossa, made the inhabitants believe, that the reports raised concerning a new army coming from Navarre were false, and even that the camp, which

The affairs of the confederates did not wear a more favourable aspect in Germany. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, and the sluggishness of the German princes, had almost exposed the empire to calamities as great as those from which it was relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The margrave of Bareith, who had succeeded to the command of the Imperialists on the death of the prince of Baden, was in no condition, in the early part of the campaign, to oppose the French under Villars; who, having passed the Rhine at Strasburg, forced the lines of the Germans at Stolhoffen, entered Suabia, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, and penetrated to the Danube¹.

But the superiority of the French, in the heart of Germany, was not the only danger which the empire had now to fear. Charles XII., who had remained in Saxony during the winter, found some plausible pretences for quarrelling with the court of Vienna; and although all reasonable satisfaction was given him, on the subject of his complaints, he continued to urge them with an obstinacy suitable to his character. From complaints he proceeded to demands; requiring that the Protestants in Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his imperial majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota which the king of Sweden was bound to furnish, by the tenure on which he possessed his German dominions; and that the whole Swedish army, in its return through Silesia into Poland, should be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna².

The queen of England, though sensible that the emperor was not in a situation to refuse those imperious demands, was apprehensive that the pride of Joseph might overcome his attention to the interests of the allies³. She therefore ordered the duke

appeared, was nothing more than a phantom formed by magic art. In this persuasion, the clergy went in procession upon the ramparts; and from that eminent situation, after a number of prayers, exorcised the pretended spectres that were in sight!—It is not a little surprising," adds he, "that the people could be so credulous to adopt such an idea. But they were soon undeceived by the hussars of the army of the duke of Orléans, who having briskly pursued to the gates of the city a party of the count's cavalry, cut off some of their heads!" *Mem.* vol. i.

¹ Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome x.—Burnet, book vii.

² *Contin. Puffend. lib. vii.*

³ The emperor, it appears, was by no means so haughty as the queen imagined; for, when the pope complained of his restoring the churches to the Protestants, he facetiously replied, "Had the king of Sweden proposed that I should become a Lutheran myself, I know not what might have been the consequence." *Mémoires de Brandenbourg*, tome i.

of Marlborough, who was no less a statesman and a courtier than a general, to repair to Saxony, and attempt to soothe the king of Sweden. When the duke arrived in the Swedish camp, at Alt Ranstadt, where he was received with the respect due to his character, he paid Charles some handsome compliments, to which no answer was returned, but which had perhaps the desired effect. He went even so far as to tell the northern conqueror, that he should esteem it a peculiar happiness, if he could have an opportunity of learning, under so great a commander, those parts of the military science which he did not yet understand. And having acquired, by a long course of experience, the art of diving into the characters of men, and of reading their most secret thoughts in their looks and gestures, he soon discovered the inclinations and views of the king of Sweden. In the pleasure with which he talked of the victories of the allies, Marlborough perceived his aversion against France; while the kindling of his eye at the name of the czar, and a map of Russia lying upon his table, made this profound politician intimately acquainted with the future designs of Charles. He therefore took leave without making him any proposals; sensible that his disputes with the emperor could be easily accommodated, as all his demands would be granted¹. England and Holland accordingly guaranteed the promises of the court of Vienna; and the czar having entered Poland, the king of Sweden repassed the Oder, in quest of new victories, and in hopes of soon returning to hold the balance of Europe.

In Flanders no event of importance happened during this campaign, nor any thing memorable at sea. The duke de Vendome prudently avoided an action, and made his movements with so much judgment, that Marlborough found no opportunity of attacking him to advantage. The naval operations were chiefly confined to the siege of Toulon.

The reduction of the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the capitulation with respect to the Milanese, having left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy perfectly disengaged, a plan was formed by them, in conjunction with the maritime powers, for invading France from that quarter, and reducing Toulon or Marseilles; an enterprise which, if attended with success, it was hoped would put an end to the war. The prince and the duke, after having for some time amused the enemy, by a feint upon Dauphiné, in order to conceal their real design, turned off

¹ "These particulars," says Voltaire, "I had from the duchess of Marlborough."

toward the shore of the Mediterranean ; forced the passage of the river Var ; proceeded along the coast of Provence ; and arrived, by a long and difficult march, before Toulon ; while sir Cloudesly Shovel, with a formidable fleet, attended their motions, supplied the army with necessaries, and blocked up the town by sea¹.

Unfortunately for the allies, only two hours before prince Eugene appeared with the van of the Imperialists, the French had found means to throw eight thousand men into Toulon. They had taken possession of all the eminences that commanded the city ; and the confederates, in attempting to gain these, were either repulsed with great slaughter, or obliged to acquire and maintain them at a still greater expense of blood. Discouraged by circumstances so adverse, by the bad condition of their army, and the want of concert in their operations,—and apprehensive of being surrounded by a superior force, as the French were in motion on every side,—the duke and the prince judged it prudent to abandon their enterprise, though sensible that the hopes and fears of all Europe were suspended on its issue. But this expedition, though finally unsuccessful, was highly detrimental to France. The confederates, in their passage and return through Provence, ruined a considerable extent of country. And the detachments drawn from the army of marechal Villars, in order to succour Toulon, obliged him to relinquish all his high projects in Germany, and to repass the Rhine, instead of advancing beyond the Danube².

The failure of the attempt upon Toulon, however, the inactive campaign in Flanders, and the misfortunes of the confederates in Spain, furnished the enemies of the duke of Marlborough and of the lord-treasurer Godolphin with plausible prettexts for discrediting their measures ; and intrigues were formed for overturning their administration. These intrigues were chiefly conducted by Mr. Secretary Harley, who had acquired a great share of the queen's confidence, by flattering her political prejudices : and who, in order to strengthen his interest, had secured the support of Mrs. Masham, a new female favourite, who had partly supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the affections of the queen³ ; or rather in that ascendancy, though she did not usurp the same absolute dominion, which the duchess had long exercised over the mind of her timid mistress.

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.—Burnet, book vii.

² Barre.—Burnet.—Voltaire

³ Burnet, book vii.

Apprised of the scheme that was formed for their ruin, Marlborough and Godolphin complained to Anne of Harley's intrigues: and not meeting with a satisfactory answer, they threatened to resign their places, and absented themselves from the A.D. cabinet. The council was struck with consternation. 1708.

Even the secretary shrank from the load that was ready to fall on his shoulders. And the queen from fear, not regard, recalled her ministers, and dismissed Harley, whose fortune his friend St. John and others chose to follow, by resigning their places; yet not without hopes of having it one day in their power to direct the councils of their sovereign, by fostering her affection for the excluded branch of her family, and increasing her secret repugnance to the succession of the house of Hanover¹.

This division in the English cabinet, and the discontents in Scotland, occasioned by the union of the kingdoms, encouraged Louis to make an attempt in favour of the pretended prince of Wales, whom he had acknowledged by the title of James III., not doubting that he should be able, at least, to create such distractions in Great Britain as would weaken the efforts of the allies in Flanders. To that attempt he was farther incited by the eager solicitations of the Scottish Jacobites, who offered to raise and equip thirty thousand men, at their own expense, and to furnish them with provisions until they could march into England².

In consequence of these magnificent promises, the pretender, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, sailed from Dunkirk on board a French fleet, commanded by M. de Fourbin, with above five thousand soldiers, ten thousand musquets, and a supply of other implements of war. Their purpose was to enter the Frith of Forth, and land in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But, through the ignorance or inattention of their pilots, they overshot their destination; and before they could repair their error, sir George Byng, with a superior English fleet, had taken possession of the frith³. Seeing now no prospect of success, and afraid of the capture of his whole squadron, the French admiral returned to Dunkirk, with the loss of only one ship, but to the utter confusion of the hopes of the pretender and his adherents, both in France and Great Britain⁴.

¹ Burnet, book vii.—See also *Stuart Papers*.

² Burnet, book vii.—Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

³ Hooke's *Negotiations*.

⁴ It is truly amusing to observe the extravagance of the Jacobite writers in speaking of this intended invasion. They confidently affirm, that if the pretender could

The English ministry, in concert with the parliament, took the most vigorous measures for repelling the intended invasion, as well as for continuing the war. And no sooner had all apprehensions of danger ceased, than the duke of Marlborough, the great pillar of the nation, and the chief support of the Grand Alliance, went over to Flanders, in order to command the confederate army, in conjunction with prince Eugene, who, in the beginning of the campaign, had headed a separate army upon the Rhine. The French army, commanded by the duke de Vendome in the name of the duke of Burgundy, though more numerous than that of the confederates, studiously avoided an action, or any hostile attempt; until by treachery, under the appearance of surprise, they gained possession of Ghent and Bruges. The duke of Marlborough, accused of being privy to this treachery, demonstrated by his conduct the injustice of the aspersion. Though not yet joined by prince Eugene's army, but assisted by the advice of that consummate general, he passed the Scheldt by a forced march, and came up with the enemy near Oudenarde. They could no longer decline a battle; and their situation and superiority in numbers seemed to ensure success to their efforts.

The Scheldt and several enclosures covered the left wing of the French. A morass lay along their front; and on a rising ground on their right, they had placed their cavalry, interlined July 11, with parties of foot. The infantry of the allies, advancing across the morass, were received with great firmness by the French foot. But the British cavalry broke the French horse at the first shock, and the foot intermixed with the squadrons were cut in pieces on the spot. Meantime the French infantry behind the morass had stood their ground against all the efforts of the confederates. In order however to avoid being flanked by the British cavalry now triumphant, they sheltered themselves in the enclosures on the banks of the Scheldt; and, although the approach of darkness prevented the defeat from becoming general, the fears and misconduct of the enemy yielded to the allies all the advantages of a complete victory. So great was the panic, that while the confederates expected nothing but a renewal of the action the next morning, the vanquished retreated by five different routes in the night;

have landed in Scotland, with only the appearance of an army, he would soon have been enabled to march into England, in spite of all opposition; and, by the junction of his English and Scottish adherents, to give law to a princess who was giving law to Europe!

and that disgraceful and disorderly flight, by breaking the spirit of the soldiers, rendered all the operations of the French timid, during the rest of the campaign. Though they preserved their cannon and baggage, their loss was great; for five thousand of their number were killed, nine thousand taken prisoners, and near six thousand deserted¹.

Immediately after the battle of Oudenarde, the French were reinforced by a strong detachment, under the duke of Berwick, from the Rhine; and the confederates were joined by the prince's army, which escorted a grand convoy. This convoy the duke of Berwick, whose troops arrived first, proposed to attack; but that proposal, and every other which he made during the campaign, were rejected by the duke de Vendome, either from jealousy or timidity². In consequence of the safe arrival of the convoy, and the troops that guarded it, the siege of Lisle, the principal city in French Flanders, and the second in the dominions of Louis, the key of the kingdom, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was undertaken by the prince, while Marlborough lay encamped in the neighbourhood, to prevent the enemy from interrupting the operations, and forward the necessary supplies to the besiegers.

Few towns were ever, perhaps, more vigorously attacked or defended than Lisle; into which the marechal de Boufflers, an able and experienced officer, had thrown himself, with some of the best troops of France. The garrison consisted of about twelve thousand men; the besiegers of at least thirty thousand. None of the works were carried without an obstinate struggle; and scarcely were the assailants masters of one place, when they were driven from another, and in danger of losing all their former advantages, gained at a great expense of blood. Yet still they persevered, and by perseverance advanced their progress. Meanwhile Vendome endeavoured to distress them by cutting off their convoys. But in that service he most unaccountably failed, as well as in all his attempts to relieve the place; so that Boufflers, after a gallant defence of two months, was obliged to surrender Lisle. He retired into the citadel, which was also forced to capitulate; and Ghent and Bruges were recovered before the close of the campaign³.

¹ Feuquières.—Burnet.—Voltaire.—Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

² Duke of Berwick, vol. i. As none of these proposals were embraced, it is impossible to say, what success might have attended them; but military men, in general, seem to be of opinion, that most of the measures suggested were highly worthy of being adopted.

³ Burnet, book vii. The duke of Berwick particularly investigates the causes of

No event of importance occurred in Germany during the summer. The electors of Hanover and Bavaria, who were opposed to each other on the Upper Rhine, not being in a condition to act with effect in the field, employed themselves chiefly in fortifying their lines; a precaution suggested by a mutual consciousness of weakness¹. On the side of Italy, where much was expected, some advantages were gained by the allies, but nothing signal was performed. The duke of Savoy, who, beside his native troops, had in his army twenty thousand men in the pay of Great Britain and the states, had formed great and extensive projects. He intended to pass through the territories of the Swiss, join the troops of the empire in Alsace, and penetrate into France on that side. But he was so vigorously opposed by Villars, that he was happy in having opened a passage into the enemy's country, and secured his own dominions against the future invasions of the French on the most exposed side, by making himself master of Exilles, La Perouse, and Fenestrelles².

The confederates were yet less successful in Spain. There the house of Bourbon had two armies in the field, on the side of Catalonia; one under the duke of Orléans, another led by the duke de Noailles, and a third army in Estremadura, commanded by the marquis de Bay. Though Charles III. had not a sufficient force to enable him to face the duke of Orléans in the field, the latter was prevented, by the unprovided condition of his army, from making such progress as might have been feared. He took, however, Tortosa in the summer; and Denia and Alicante, in the province of Valencia, also fell into the hands of the French. The duke de Noailles, opposed by the prince of Darmstadt, performed nothing of moment, except furnishing his troops with provisions at the expense of the Catalans; and the season of action, on the side of Portugal, was passed in a state of absolute inactivity³.

The operations by sea were attended with very considerable success on the part of the confederates. Sir John Leake, having carried to Catalonia the princess of Wolfenbittel, whom

the capture of Lisle. And it appears, if his advice had been followed, that the convoys of the confederates would have been effectually cut off, and perhaps prince Eugene, and even the duke of Marlborough, defeated, by the assistance of troops that might have been drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons, without their knowledge, to reinforce an already strong army, by which they were surrounded; and which could, with such reinforcement, have amused the one, while it gave battle to the other.

¹ Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome x.—Burnet, book vii.

² Burnet, *ubi sup.*—*State of Europe*, 1708.

³ *Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.—*Mém. de Noailles*, tome ii.

Charles had espoused, took on board some troops, and directed his course to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. No sooner did the English fleet appear than the monks, gained by cardinal Grimani, who was in the interest of the house of Austria, ran in bodies to the streets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands, and assured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, that God had made use of heretics to give them a better master. This made such an impression on the populace, that the viceroy was forced to accept such terms as the invaders chose to grant; and the whole island submitted without a blow¹. The same admiral, assisted by major-general Stanhope, also took the island of Minorca; a conquest in itself less valuable than Sardinia, but of greater importance to England when at war with Spain, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon, and the strong castle of St. Philip, by which it is defended.

The reduction of those islands, which, in conjunction with the fortress of Gibraltar, gave the maritime powers the absolute command of the Mediterranean, induced the Italian states to submit to some antiquated claims of the emperor Joseph, that would otherwise have been rejected with contempt. Even the pope, who had hitherto adhered to the interests of Philip, and who had raised an army for the defence of the ecclesiastical state, no sooner heard of the surrender of Bologna to the Imperialists, and that an English fleet was ready to bombard Civita Vecchia, than he promised to acknowledge Charles as lawful king of Spain, in order to prevent Rome itself from being again sacked by the barbarians of the North; for as such the Italians still considered the English and Germans.

The death of prince George of Denmark, husband to the queen of England, which happened during these transactions abroad, made no alteration in the state of English politics, on which his feeble genius, and unimportant character, had never had any influence. The great success of the campaign confirmed the ascendant that Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, in consequence of the expulsion of Harley from the cabinet; and they found means to reconcile the dissatisfied Whigs to their measures, by dividing with the leaders of that party the power and emoluments of government. The earl of Pembroke was appointed to the place of lord high admiral, vacant by the decease of the prince of Denmark; lord Somers, who had been out of office ever since he was deprived of the great seal by king Wil-

¹ *Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.—*State of Europe*, 1708.

liam, was made president of the council ; and the earl of Wharton, a man of great abilities, but destitute of any steady principle, was declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. These judicious promotions contributed to preserve that unanimity, which had for some time appeared in parliament, and which produced the grant of large sums for continuing the war. Six millions and a half were voted for the service of the ensuing campaign ; and ten thousand men were added to the existing force. The Dutch also agreed to an augmentation of their troops¹.

While the confederates were taking such vigorous measures for the prosecution of hostilities, serious proposals were made by the French monarch for restoring tranquillity to Europe. A variety of circumstances—the defeat at Oudenarde, the loss of Lisle, a famine in France, the consequent failure of resources, the discontents of the people, and a want of harmony among the servants of the crown—induced Louis to offer terms of peace, adequate to the success of his enemies, and suitable to the melan-

A. D. choly situation of his own affairs. He agreed to yield the 1709. whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, without any equivalent ; to cede to the emperor his conquests on the Upper Rhine ; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lisle, Condé, and Maubeuge, as a barrier to Holland ; to acknowledge the elector of Brandenburg as king of Prussia ; the duke of Hanover as ninth elector of the empire ; to own the right of queen Anne to the British throne ; to remove the pretender from the dominions of France ; to acknowledge the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line ; to restore every thing required to the duke of Savoy ; and to agree to the cessions made to the king of Portugal by his treaty with the confederates².

But these terms, so honourable as well as advantageous to the allies, and humiliating to the house of Bourbon, were rejected by the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the pensionary Heinsius, from the same motives that had led them to reject the proposals of France in 1706 ; their personal interests, their prejudices, and their passions. Louis was not permitted to form the most distant hopes of peace, without surrendering the strongest towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spanish monarchy by his grandson. The marquis de Torcy, who was employed in the negotiation, went beyond his powers in making

¹ Burnet, book vii.—*State of Europe*, 1708.

² Printed Preliminaries.

concessions ; but all in vain : in proportion as he yielded, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates rose in their demands. Conference followed conference without effect. At last Heinsius framed forty propositions, many of which, beside being unfavourable or severe in themselves, were expressed in the most dictatorial language. Louis agreed to thirty-five of these, but rejected the rest with disdain, notwithstanding the distressed state of his kingdom, and the evils which he apprehended from the continuance of the war¹. He threw himself upon his people, explained his own ample concessions, and the haughty terms proposed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was roused. They resolved to make new efforts in support of their humbled monarch ; and the very famine, which occasioned so much misery, proved of advantage to the state in this necessity, as many young men who wanted bread became soldiers².

As soon as the conferences for the re-establishment of peace were broken off, the allied army (amounting to above a hundred thousand men), commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Lisle. Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the last support of his sinking country, occupied a strong post between Courrière and the town of Bethune. Those places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of La Bassée and Pont-à-Vendin. By this position of his army, he covered the cities of Douay and Arras, the reduction of which would have opened a passage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp, and viewing his situation, the generals of the confederates not judging it prudent to attack him, suddenly drew off their troops, and sat down before Tournay, one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, constructed with all the skill of Vauban, was yet stronger than the town. But with so much vigour and address were both attacked, that the place itself was taken in twenty-one days ; and the chief fortress, into which the governor had retired with the remains of his garrison, was compelled to surrender at the end of a month³.

The confederates no sooner found themselves masters of Tournay, which they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the design of besieging Mons. They accordingly pursued the necessary steps

¹ *M. de Torcy*, tome i.

² Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.

³ Kane's *Campaigns*.—*Life of the duke of Marlborough*.

for that purpose; while Villars, having embraced the bold resolution of protecting or relieving the place, passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheldt. Disappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, the French general took possession of a strong camp, about a league from the invested city, and resolved to give all possible disturbance to the operations of the besiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Saart: his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being secured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, surrounded with all their branches¹.

The generals of the confederates, elate with past success, or persuaded that Mons could not be taken without dislodging the enemy, resolved to attack Villars in that strong position, although

Sept. his army was little inferior to theirs. In consequence

11. of this resolution, they advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themselves for action during the preceding night. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers; who, though a senior officer, condescended to act under him, that he might have an opportunity of saving his country. After an awful pause of almost two hours, the engagement was begun; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been so fierce and bloody; and very few have been so long contested, since the improvement of the art of war in consequence of the invention of gunpowder.

The British troops, led by the duke of Argyle, having passed a morass, deemed impracticable, attacked with such fury the left of the enemy, stationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army; and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the space of an hour. Some French battalions being thrown into disorder, were rallied

¹ *Mém. de Feuquières.*—Kane's Campaigns.

and confirmed in their station, by the vigilance and courage of Boufflers; and the Dutch also yielding, in their turn, were brought back to the charge by the activity and perseverance of the prince of Orange. Enraged at this unexpected obstinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving that Villars had weakened his centre in order to support his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in person, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of fresh troops; entered the enemy's lines, flanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Villars, in hastening to support his centre, was wounded and carried off the field. But Boufflers, notwithstanding this misfortune, continued to maintain the fight; and when he found he could no longer sustain the united efforts of the prince and the duke, who showed that they were determined to conquer or perish, he made an excellent retreat¹.

The confederates, after all their exertions, gained little beside the field of battle; and they are said to have purchased that honour with the lives of fifteen thousand men. The French did not lose above ten thousand. But so imposing is the name of victory, that the allies were suffered to invest Mons, and to carry on their operations without the smallest disturbance. The surrender of that important place put an end to the business of the campaign in Flanders².

The allies were less successful in other quarters. The elector of Hanover, who commanded the army of the empire on the Upper Rhine, formed some important schemes, but found the imperial troops in no condition to second his views; and the count de Merci, whom he had detached with a considerable force into Upper Alsace, was defeated by the count de Bourg, and forced to repass the Rhine. Certain disputes between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, relating to some territories in the duchy of Milan, rendered the campaign altogether inactive on the side of Dauphiné. In Spain, the chevalier d'Asfeld took the castle of Alicant, which was gallantly defended by two British regiments; and the English and Portuguese, under the earl of Galway, were routed by the marquis de Bay, in the province of Estremadura. On the other hand, count Staremberg, who commanded the forces of Charles in Catalonia, having endeavoured in vain to bring the marechal de Bezons to an engagement,

¹ Feuquières.—Kane.

² Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.—*State of Europe*, 1709.

took Belaguer in his presence, and closed the campaign with that successful enterprise¹.

Though the misfortunes of France, during this campaign, were by no means so depressing as she had reason to apprehend, Louis renewed his application for peace, as soon as the season of action was over ; and conferences were appointed at Gertruydenberg, early in the spring, in order to adjust the terms. But it will be proper, before we enter into the particulars of that negotiation, to carry forward the eventful history of Charles XII. and his Russian antagonist.

The king of Sweden, after having acted in the imperious manner already related, quitted Saxony, in September 1707, and returned, at the head of forty-three thousand men, to Poland ; where the czar had attempted, though ineffectually, to retrieve the affairs of Augustus, during the absence of Charles. Peter, who was still in Lithuania, retired on the approach of the conquering Swede, and directed his march toward the Nieper. But Charles was determined that he should not escape to his own dominions without hazarding a battle. Having entered Grodno on the same day that the czar left it, he endeavoured, by forced marches at that severe season in a northern climate, through a country abounding with morasses, deserts, and immense forests, to come up with the enemy. Peter, however, safely passed the Nieper, notwithstanding this romantic pursuit ; Charles having only the satisfaction of defeating, after an obstinate engagement, an army of twenty thousand Russians strongly entrenched².

But the czar, though now in his own territories, was not without apprehensions, in regard to the issue of the contest in which he was engaged ; he therefore sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. " I will treat at Moscow !"—said the Swedish monarch. " My brother Charles," replied Peter, when informed of this haughty answer, " always affects to play the Alexander ; but he will not, I hope, find in me a Darius³." This anecdote strongly marks the characters of these two extraordinary men. Charles, as brave and confident as Alexander, but utterly void of foresight, attempted, without concerting any regular plan of operations, to march to Moscow ; and the czar took care to prevent him from reaching it, in the direct line, by destroying the roads and desolating the country.

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iii.—*State of Europe*, 1709.

² *Contin. Puffend. lib. vii.*—*Voltaire, Hist. de Ch. XII.* liv. iv.

³ *Voltaire*, ubi sup.

Thus thwarted in his favourite project of marching directly to the ancient capital of Russia, the Swedish prince was induced, with his army considerably diminished by famine, fatigue, and partial engagements, to attempt a passage thither through the Ukraine, on the invitation of Mazeppa, chief of the Cossacks; who being disgusted with the arbitrary demeanour of the czar, in an interview which he had with that prince at Moscow, promised not only to supply the Swedes with provisions on their march, but to furnish them with a reinforcement of thirty thousand men. These were to join the Swedish monarch on the banks of the Desna, where he expected also to be joined by general Lewenhaupt, whom he had ordered to march from Livonia with fifteen thousand Swedes and supplies of various kinds. Not doubting of ultimate success, the northern conqueror entered the Ukraine in September 1708, and advanced to the place of rendezvous in spite of every obstacle which nature or the enemy could throw in his way.

But fortune, at length tired of seconding the wild and inconsiderate enterprises of the fool-hardy Charles, now resolved to punish him severely for his contempt of her former favours. When he reached the Desna he found nothing but frightful deserts, instead of magazines; and, instead of reinforcements, he saw a body of Russians on the opposite bank, ready to dispute his passage. Though his troops were nearly exhausted with hunger and fatigue—though he was ignorant of the fate of Lewenhaupt, and uncertain of the fidelity of Mazeppa—he determined to cross the river in the face of the enemy, and effected his purpose with little loss. Advancing into that desolate country, he was at last joined by Mazeppa, who appeared rather as a distressed prince, seeking refuge in his camp, than a powerful ally, from whom he expected succours. Instead of the promised number of men, he was only accompanied by about six thousand. The czar, having received information of his intrigues, had ordered his principal friends to be apprehended and broken upon the wheel. His towns were reduced to ashes, his treasures seized, and his troops dispersed¹.

This disappointment was deemed but a slight misfortune by the king of Sweden, who confidently expected the safe arrival of Lewenhaupt and his convoy. This officer arrived, but in a condition no less deplorable than that of Mazeppa. After three engagements with the Russians, in which he distinguished him-

¹ *Hist. de Russie*, chap. xvii.—*Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. iv.

self equally by his courage and conduct, he had been obliged to set fire to his waggons, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and was happy to escape with four thousand men; the wretched remnant of his gallant army, enfeebled by hunger and laborious exertion. Charles, who was unable to relieve their necessities, was earnestly exhorted by count Piper to pass the depth of winter in a small town of the Ukraine, named Romana, and depend on the friendship of Mazeppa and the Cossacks for provisions; or to repass, without delay, the Desna and the Nieper, and return to Poland, where his presence was much wanted, and where his army might be conveniently put into winter quarters. He rejected both these proposals; and notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and although his followers were in a great measure destitute of shoes and even of clothing, he resolved to proceed. In this mad march, he had the mortification to see two thousand of his troops perish by hunger and cold. Yet he pressed forward; and, after a variety of obstructions and delays, occasioned by the hovering parties of the enemy, and one of the most intense frosts ever known in those northern regions, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a small Russian town, situated on the river Worsklaw, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine¹.

But of whatever extravagance Charles may be accused, in marching thus far, through a wild and rugged country, in a remarkably severe season, he cannot be blamed for endeavouring to make himself master of Pultowa. It was one of the magazines of the czar, and well stored with provisions and other necessaries. But, besides being naturally strong, it was defended by a garrison of nine thousand men; and Peter lay at no great distance, with an army of seventy thousand, ready to attempt its relief. These unfavourable circumstances might have staggered the resolution of a Cæsar or a Marlborough: but to Charles, whose desire of encountering danger was even stronger than his passion for conquest, they were only so many incentives to undertake the enterprise. He accordingly invested Pultowa with his half-famished army, now reduced to thirty thousand men, of whom not more than eighteen thousand were Swedes; and yet with this small force, insufficient to cut off the communication between the garrison and the Russian army, he hoped not only to take the town, but to defeat and even to dethrone the czar, although his other disadvantages were many.

¹ *Hist. de Russie*, ubi sup.

As Charles had been under the necessity of leaving the greater part of his heavy cannon in the morasses and defiles through which he passed, the regular progress of the siege was slow. The garrison bravely repelled all attempts to carry the place by assault; and the king was dangerously wounded in the heel in viewing the works. Meanwhile the czar, having collected his forces, advanced to the relief of Pultowa, and made such a disposition of his army as showed that he was no novice in the art of war. Charles, disregarding the torture arising from his wound, was fired at the approach of an enemy whom he despised. Betrayed by a false idea of honour, he could not bear the thought of waiting for battle in his entrenchments. Having appointed seven thousand men to guard the lines before the town, he ordered his other troops to march out, and attack the Russian camp, he himself being carried in a litter. The Swedes charged with great impetuosity, and broke the Russian cavalry. But the horse rallied behind the foot, which remained firm, and the czar's artillery made such havoc among the ranks of the assailants, that, after a desperate combat of two hours, the Swedes and their associates were totally routed and dispersed. Eight thousand of the vanquished were left dead on the field, and about six thousand taken, together with the king's military chest, containing the spoils of Poland and Saxony. About twelve thousand of the fugitives were obliged to surrender on the banks of the Nieper, for want of boats to carry them over the river; Charles himself, accompanied by three hundred of his guards, with difficulty escaping to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia¹.

Scarcely any victory was ever attended with more important consequences than that which Peter the Great obtained at Pultowa. The king of Sweden lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years of successful warfare; and that veteran army, which had spread terror over Europe, was annihilated. The czar was not only relieved from all apprehensions inspired by a powerful antagonist in the heart of his dominions, who threatened to deprive him of his throne, and to overthrow that grand scheme which he had formed for the civilization of his extensive empire, but was also enabled to forward his plan of improvement by means of the industry and ingenuity of his Swedish prisoners, whom necessity obliged to exert their talents in the most remote parts of Siberia. The elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat

¹ Voltaire, ubi sup.—*Hist. du Nord*, tome ii.—Contin. of Puffendorf.

of his conqueror, protested against the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, as extorted from him by terror, and re-entered Poland. His patron, the czar, followed him. Stanislaus was constrained to relinquish his authority; and Augustus found himself once more in possession of the Polish throne. Peter insisted on the cession of Livonia, Ingria, and a great part of Finland; the king of Denmark laid claim to Schonen; his Prussian majesty to Pomerania; and had not the emperor and the maritime powers interposed, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent to pieces¹.

During these transactions Charles remained at Bender; where, through his intrigues, conducted by Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman who shared his misfortunes, he endeavoured to engage the Turks in a war with Russia. In the prosecution of those intrigues we must leave him, and the czar in the more laudable employment of civilising his subjects, till we have terminated the memorable war between the confederates and the house of Bourbon, in regard to the Spanish succession.

LETTER XXIII.

A general View of Europe carried forward, from the Beginning of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg, to the Conclusion of the Treaties of Utrecht and Ranstadt.

A.D. 1710. **THOUGH** the king of Sweden, during his prosperity, showed no inclination to interfere in the dispute between France and the confederates, Louis still had expectations of being able to engage him in his cause. These expectations were considerably heightened by the keen indignation which Charles expressed at the emperor's open violation of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, as soon as he recovered from the terror of the Swedish arms. The allies were, therefore, relieved from no small degree of anxiety, by the ruin of that prince's affairs; and Louis was deprived of the last hope of desponding ambition. He accordingly offered the most advantageous terms of peace, in the preliminaries that were made the foundation of the conferences at Gertruydenberg.

¹ *Hist. du Nord*, tome ii.

As the principal sacrifices in these preliminaries were the same with those proffered in 1709, it will be unnecessary to repeat them here, particularly as they were not accepted. Louis made additions to his concessions, after the commencement of the negotiation. He agreed not only to give up the Spanish monarchy without an equivalent, and to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful king of Spain, but to pay a subsidy of a million of livres a month till his grandson Philip should be expelled. He even relinquished Alsace to the emperor; and, as a security for the performance of the articles of the treaty, he engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, yet in his possession, into the hands of the allies. But the haughtiness of the states, to whom prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, secure of the controlling influence of the pensionary Heinsius, had persuaded the emperor and the queen of England to commit the whole management of the negotiation, encouraged their deputies, Buys and Vander-dussen, to rise in their demands, in proportion as the plenipotentiaries of France advanced in their concessions. These insolent republicans went so far as to insist, that Louis, instead of paying a subsidy toward the war against Philip, should assist the confederates with all his forces, to drive his grandson from the Spanish throne¹.

It was impossible for the French monarch to submit to so humiliating a requisition; and yet he was unwilling to break off the treaty. The conferences at Gertruydenberg were, therefore, idly protracted, while the armies, on both sides, took the field. At length, the marechal d'Uxelles and the abbé de Polignac, the plenipotentiaries of Louis, returned to Versailles, after having sent a letter to the pensionary Heinsius, declaring the demands of the deputies of the states unjust and unreasonable².

In the mean time the confederates were making considerable progress in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having assembled the allied army more early than was expected, entered the French lines without resistance, April 23, and sat down before Douay. This city, strong in its N.S. situation, but ill fortified, was defended by a garrison of eight thousand men. Villars seemingly inclined to attempt the relief of the place, crossed the Scarpe, and advanced within cannon-shot of the allies; but finding them strongly entrenched, and being sensible that the loss of one battle might endanger the very existence of the French monarchy, he thought proper to abandon

¹ De Torcy, tome ii.

² Id. *ibid*.

Douay to its fate¹. It surrendered after a siege of two months.

June Villars observed the same prudent conduct during the
26. remainder of the campaign, which was concluded with the taking of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire; places of importance, but which were not acquired by the confederates without a disproportionate expense of blood.

No memorable events signalized the campaign in Germany; nor were any exploits of consequence performed on the side of Piedmont; where the vigilance of the duke of Berwick defeated all the attempts of the allies to penetrate into Dauphiné, notwithstanding their superior force. The campaign was more fruitful of incidents in Spain.

The two competitors for the crown of that kingdom took the field in person, and seemed determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. They accordingly met near Almenara. There general Stanhope, who commanded the British troops, slew with his own hand the Spanish general, Amessaga, and routed the cavalry of

Aug. Philip, while the count de Staremberg put the infantry
20. to flight. The Spaniards were defeated in a more bloody engagement, at Saragossa. And in this victory, which threatened to decide the fate of the Spanish monarchy, the British troops, under general Stanhope, had also the chief share.

Charles III., instead of securing Pampeluna, the only pass by which French troops could enter Spain, marched directly to Madrid, at the head of his victorious army; and Philip, who had retired thither, was obliged to quit his capital a second time. The aspect of affairs there, however, was not very flattering to his arrival. All the grandees had left the city; and the Castilians, in general, seemed resolved to shed the last drop of their blood rather than have a king imposed upon them by heretics².

Meantime the duke de Vendome (whose reputation was still high, notwithstanding his unfortunate campaign in the Netherlands) having assumed, at the request of Philip, the chief command of the forces of the house of Bourbon in Spain, its views soon began to be more promising. The Castilian nobles crowded, with their followers, round the standard of a general in whose conduct they could confide. And Vendome's army, strengthened by these brave volunteers, was farther reinforced by thirty-four battalions of French foot, and thirty-one squadrons of horse,

¹ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

² Burnet, book vii.—*Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.

detached by the duke of Berwick from Dauphiné. Another body of French troops prepared to enter Catalonia from Roussillon, under the duke de Noailles; so that the generals of the allies, neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, as well as by the states-general, and at variance among themselves, were again compelled to abandon Madrid.

The confederates now directed their march toward Catalonia, whither Charles had already retired, in order to protect that warlike province; and for the benefit of subsistence, they divided their army into two bodies. Staremborg, with the main body, marched in front, and Stanhope, with five thousand British subjects, brought up the rear. Not reflecting that hope, as well as fear, gives wings to soldiers, the English general allowed himself to be surrounded by Vendome at Brihuega. He defended himself with great spirit; but, as it was not a fortified town, he was obliged to surrender at discretion¹. Nor was this all.

Staremborg, apprised of Stanhope's danger, had marched, though reluctantly, to his relief, with the principal army. And this unwilling aid had almost occasioned a greater misfortune than that which it failed to prevent. Staremborg had advanced too far to retreat with safety in the face of the enemy. Dec. Vendome forced him to an engagement at Villa Viciosa, 10. about two leagues from the scene of Stanhope's disaster. Between the armies there was a great disparity of numbers, the allies being inferior by one half to the French and Spaniards; yet did Staremborg, one of the ablest commanders in that military age, exert himself so greatly, both as a general and a soldier, that the battle was fierce, obstinate, and bloody. The Spaniards, under Philip, broke the left wing of their adversaries. But their right continued firm in spite of all the efforts of the French, while Staremborg made the centre of the enemy give way; so that Vendome judged a retreat necessary, in order to avoid the danger of a total defeat².

The general of the allies however found, on mustering his forces, that, in consequence of the capture of the British troops, and the loss of men during the action, he was not in a condition to keep the field. He was also in want of provisions, and had no prospect of a speedy supply; he therefore hastily decamped,

¹ Burnet, book vii.—*Hist. d'Espagne*, tome ii.

² Burnet, book vii.—*Duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

and continued his march into Catalonia, leaving to the vanquished all the advantages of a complete victory.

These successes revived, in some measure, the drooping spirits of the house of Bourbon; and, during the campaign, a revolution had happened in the English ministry, still more favourable to the affairs of that family. The causes, circumstances, and consequences of this change, merit our particular attention.

Though the great influence of Marlborough and Godolphin had obliged their mistress to dismiss Harley from her councils, they could not deprive him of that confidence which they themselves had lost, and attempted in vain to recover. He had frequent consultations with the queen in private: and, even while invisible, is said to have embarrassed their measures. These interviews were procured by Mrs. Masham, who had now entirely supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the queen's favour. But, if the ministry could have retained the good-will of the people, they might have disregarded the private partialities, and in some measure the confidence of their sovereign. The duke of Marlborough had the sole disposal of all the military employments, and the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland of all civil offices. They were in possession of the whole power of the state. And they had long used that power with so much judgment, ability, and effect, as to disarm envy, silence faction, and reconcile to their measures all men who did not labour under the most incurable political prejudices, or feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. The body of the people looked up to them as the worthy followers of king William, our illustrious deliverer from popery and arbitrary power, in the grand line of liberty and national honour; they therefore enjoyed a high degree of popularity.

But popularity, however well founded, is in itself of a slippery nature. The favour of the multitude in every country, but more especially under free governments, can only be retained by something new. They are totally governed by their hopes and fears; and these must not be too long suspended, or too uniformly reiterated, otherwise they will lose their effect. The English populace, during this triumphant period, became satiated even with success. Victory followed victory so fast, and the surrender of one town was so soon succeeded by the reduction of another, that good fortune had ceased to excite joy: and the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells were heard with indifference. The people began to feel the weight of the taxes

levied for the support of the war. And they observed with concern, that in all the negotiations for peace, while liberal concessions were offered to foreign princes and states, no important stipulation appeared in favour of the queen of England; who, after all her waste of blood and treasure, seemed to have only the glory of conquering and giving away cities, provinces, and kingdoms¹.

The Tories, encouraged by the successful intrigues of Harley, and this change of humour in the people, which they had secretly contributed to produce, began to entertain hopes of once more holding the reins of government. In order to realize these hopes, they attempted to make use of an engine which had often been played off against themselves. As the Whigs, who were now in possession of the administration, could no longer rouse the jealousies and apprehensions of the populace on account of their civil and religious liberties, which were sufficiently secured by the Revolution and the Act of Settlement, the Tories endeavoured to awaken the same fears, by touching another string. They represented the church and monarchy as in imminent danger, from dissenters and men of levelling principles; under which description they comprehended the whole body of the Whigs.

This inflammatory doctrine had been zealously propagated from the pulpit, by the high-church party, from the beginning of the reign of Anne. The vulgar, as may naturally be supposed, gradually began to give credit to an assertion which was so often and so vehemently urged; for, notwithstanding the formal parliamentary censure of that groundless opinion, it still continued to be propagated. And a champion appeared, who was ready to brave such high authority, and improve on the seditious clamour; and even professed to bring home the charge to the ministry.

This bold son of the church was Dr. Henry Sacheverell; a man of no superior talents, but who, by his violence in railing against the dissenters, occasional conformists, and the Whig party in general, had recommended himself to the Tories and the majority of the established clergy. After having distinguished himself in the country by such declamations, he was called by the voice of the people to a church in the borough of Southwark, where he had a more public field for propagating his seditious doctrines; and being appointed to preach in St.

¹ Publications of the times.

Paul's cathedral on the 5th of November, 1709, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, he delivered, before the mayor and aldermen of London, a sermon into which he poured the whole collected venom of his heart. He not only inveighed, in the most indecent language, against the dissenters, and the moderate part of the church of England, whom he denominated *false brethren*, but threw out severe and pointed reflections against the principal persons in power, and inculcated, in strong and unequivocal terms, the slavish and exploded doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; animating the people to stand up in defence of the church, which he declared was in imminent danger, and for which, he said, he sounded the trumpet, desiring them to put on the whole armour of God¹! The majority of the court of aldermen, being attached to the principles of the Revolution, against which these doctrines militated, refused to pay the usual compliment to the preacher, of desiring him to print his sermon, and were even shocked at the violence of the invective. But the lord mayor, who was a high church zealot, not only encouraged Sacheverell to publish his discourse, but accepted a dedication still more violent and inflammatory than the performance itself. The merit of both was magnified by the Tories, and forty thousand copies are said to have been circulated in a few weeks².

No literary production ever perhaps attracted greater attention than this scurrilous sermon, which had no kind of excellence to recommend it, except what it derived from the spirit of party. It divided the opinions of the nation; and Sacheverell himself, extolled by the Tories as the champion of the church, now on the brink of ruin! and execrated by the Whigs as an enemy to the Revolution, as an advocate for persecution and despotism, and a devoted friend to the pretender, was thought of sufficient consequence to be made the object of a parliamentary prosecution. That was what he desired above all things, and what the ministry ought studiously to have avoided. But on this occasion they suffered their passion to overcome their prudence. Godolphin, being personally attacked in the sermon, was highly irritated against the preacher; and as the offence was not deemed punishable by common law, it was resolved to proceed by impeachment. Sacheverell was accordingly taken into custody, by command of the house of commons: articles were exhibited against him at the bar of the house of lords, and a day was ap-

¹ Burnet, book vii.—See also the Sermon itself among Sacheverell's Discourses.

² Burnet, book vii.

pointed for his trial, which, to complete the folly of this impolitic measure, was ordered to be at Westminster-hall, that the whole body of the commons might be present.

The people frequently err in their judgment, but are generally just in their compassion, though that sentiment is sometimes misplaced. Their compassion was roused for Sacheverell, whom they considered as an innocent victim; a meritorious individual, doomed to be crushed by the arm of power, for daring to speak the truth. They forgot all his slavish doctrines; they remembered only his violent declamations, in regard to the danger of the church and monarchy; and they saw him exposed, as they imagined, to persecution for his honest boldness. They now believed more than they formerly feared. Neglecting their private affairs, and the common avocations of life, their concern was turned wholly toward public welfare. Many, who seldom entered a church, trembled for the safety of the established religion. They wandered about in silent amazement, anxiously gazing on each other, and looking forward to the trial of Sacheverell, as if the fate of the nation or of nature had depended upon the awful decision.

When the day arrived, the populace assembled in vast crowds and attended the criminal to Westminster-hall. During his whole trial, which lasted three weeks, they continued the same attentions: and, in the height of their zeal, they insulted many of the Whigs and dissenters, destroyed several meeting-houses, and committed various outrages. At last Sacheverell was found guilty; but the lenity of his sentence, in consequence of the popular tumults, was considered as a kind of triumph by the Tories. He was only suspended from preaching for three years, without being imprisoned or precluded from preferment; and his sermon was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The famous decree of the university of Oxford, passed in 1683, recognising the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was also, by the vote of the lords, ordered to be burned at the same time¹.

The mildness of Sacheverell's punishment was justly ascribed by the people to the timidity, not to the moderation of the ministry. Proud of their victory, they expressed their joy by bonfires and illuminations; and, notwithstanding the vote of the peers, addresses were sent from all parts of the kingdom, asserting the absolute power of the crown, and condemning the doctrine

¹ *Journals of the Lords*, March, 1710.

of resistance, as the result of antimonarchical and republican principles. Of these principles the Whigs, as a body, were violently accused by the heads of the Tories, who now monopolised the confidence of their sovereign, and inspired her with jealousies of her principal servants¹.

The queen herself, who had long affected to adopt measures which she was not permitted to guide, was glad of an opportunity of freeing herself from that political captivity to which her too powerful ministers had so long subjected her. She accordingly took advantage of this sudden and extraordinary change in the sentiments of the people, in order to effect a change in her ministry. The duke of Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself in the cause of Sacheverell, was appointed chamberlain, in the room of the marquis of Kent: lord Dartmouth was declared secretary of state on the dismissal of the earl of Sunderland: Godolphin received an order to break his staff, as lord treasurer of Great Britain: the treasury was put in commission; and Harley, as a prelude to higher promotion, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer: while his friend St. John succeeded Mr. Boyle as secretary of state. The duke of Marlborough alone, of the whole party to which he belonged, remained in office: and that mark of distinction he owed to his own high reputation, not to the favour or forbearance of his enemies. Though his fall was already determined on, they were afraid that the temper of the people was not yet sufficiently prepared for the removal of so great a commander².

Marlborough, whose character is one of the most complicated in modern history, appears to have been fully sensible of his own consequence, as well as of the bold schemes of the new ministry. At the same time that he was making professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain³ (though for what purpose it is impossible to determine), he wrote, in the following strong terms, to the elector of Hanover, with the *interests of whose family*, he said, he considered those of *his country* and of *all Europe* to be *inseparably connected*. "I hope," adds he, "the English nation will not permit themselves to be imposed upon by the artifices of Harley and his associates. Their conduct leaves no doubt of their design of placing the pretended prince of Wales on the throne. We feel too much already their bad intentions and pernicious views. But I expect to be able to employ all my attention, all

¹ Burnet, book vii.

² Ibid.—*State of Europe, 1710.*

³ *Stuart Papers, 1710.*

my credit, and that of my friends, in order to advance the interests of the electoral family, and to prevent the destructive counsels of a race of men, who establish principles and form cabals, which will otherwise infallibly overturn the Protestant succession, and with it the liberty of their country and the freedom of Europe¹."

The new ministry were no less liberal in their declarations of attachment to the house of Hanover; and Harley, who was soon after appointed lord-treasurer, and created Earl of Oxford, was perhaps sincere in his professions. Educated in the notions of the presbyterians, to which he still adhered, and perhaps tinctured with republican principles, he had only made use of the high-church party as a ladder to his ambition; and, although a sincere friend to the Protestant succession, he was accused, from this circumstance, of supporting the strictly hereditary descent of the crown, and abetting all the maxims of arbitrary power².

In consequence of these appearances, the pretender was encouraged to write to his sister, queen Anne. He represented to her the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related; he recalled to her memory her repeated promises to their common parent;—"To you," said he, "and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and of nature are loud in your ear! the preservation of our family, the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity of our country, combine to require you to rescue me from affliction, and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation we have in the world. Neither you nor the nation have received any injury at my hands: therefore, madam, as you tender your honour and happiness—as you love your family—as you revere the memory of your father—as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me, in this friendly way of composing our difference!—The happiness of both depends upon your determination:—you have it in your power to deliver me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate princes, and to render your own memory dear to posterity³."

But whatever effect the warm remonstrances of a brother might have on the mind of the queen of England, the sollicita-

¹ Original Letters in the *Hanover Papers*, 1710.

² *Stuart and Hanover Papers*.—See also Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and the *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

³ *Stuart Papers*.

tions of his agents made no impression on her prime minister. It is even said, that Harley had been hitherto ignorant of the sentiments of his mistress in regard to the succession of the crown. He knew that, with a natural jealousy of her own authority, she was averse to the appearance of a legal successor in the kingdom; but a more intimate acquaintance, if not a more perfect confidence, at length made him sensible, that she wished to leave, at her death, the sceptre in the hands of the pretender¹. He was too far engaged, and too fond of power, to retreat. He hoped, however, instead of injuring the Protestant cause, more effectually to secure, by his eminent station, the succession of the house of Hanover, and with it the religion and liberties of his country. He was, therefore, under the necessity of accommodating himself, in some measure, to the wild projects of the violent Tories, as well as of flattering the queen's affection for her brother, by seeming to second her views in favour of that prince. Hence the great line of his political conduct was in direct contradiction to his private opinions.

In this respect the earl of Oxford was in the same predicament with Godolphin, his predecessor in office; who, though a Tory and a Jacobite, had been obliged, from the circumstances of the times, as we have seen, to place himself at the head of the Whigs, and was considered by the world as the leader of that party. But Oxford, without the strong abilities of Godolphin, who was one of the ablest statesmen of any age or nation, had still greater difficulties and more obstinate prejudices to struggle with. Even while he was using all his efforts against the restoration of the excluded family, and laying himself in the dust at the feet of the legal heirs of the crown, he was supposed, not only by his countrymen, but by the court of Hanover itself, to be a firm friend to the pretender. His professions were considered as only so many baits to deceive; yet did he persevere in his principles, and in his endeavours to defeat all attempts to the prejudice of the Protestant succession!

The new administration, in England, was introduced with a new parliament; the former having been dissolved, in compliance with the warm addresses of the high-church party. In the election of members, unwarrantable methods had been taken to keep out the Whigs; and means still more unjustifiable were pursued for the exclusion of the small number of that party who had found their way into the house of Commons. Petitions

¹ MS. quoted by Mr. Macpherson.

were presented against most of the members who were supposed to favour the old ministry¹. The Tories, however, though now possessed of a decided majority in the house of commons, and though convinced that peace was equally necessary to the safe enjoyment of their power, and to the execution of those designs which they had formed in favour of the excluded family, durst not yet venture to reveal their sentiments to the nation. The new ministry, therefore, resolved to follow, for a time, their predecessors in the line of hostility. Copious supplies were A.D. accordingly voted for the future support of the war, as 1711. well as to make up for the past deficiencies².

This appearance of vigour left the Whigs no occasion of murmuring at a change of measures. But their complaints would have broken out on the first symptom of relaxation; and Harley and the Tories, in pursuing, contrary to their own inclination, the hostile system of the confederates, while jealously watched by their political enemies, would have found themselves involved in insurmountable difficulties and embarrassments. Happily for the English ministry, as well as for the house of Bourbon, an unexpected event gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. April This was the death of the emperor Joseph, whose reign 17. had been one continued flow of success. He was succeeded, not only in all his hereditary honours and dominions, but also on the imperial throne, by his brother Charles; and as it was contrary to the spirit of the grand alliance, that the same person should possess Spain and the empire, Harley and his associates were no longer afraid to avow their pacific sentiments. The fears of mankind were in a moment changed; the liberties of Europe seemed now to be in greater danger from the power of the house of Austria, than from that of the Bourbon family.

Meanwhile hostilities were carried on in various quarters. Dispositions had been made by the allies, for taking the field early in Flanders; but the rigour of the season, and the unexpected delay of some reinforcements, prevented the duke of Marlborough from forming his army before the latter end of April. His plan was, to open the campaign with the sieges of Arras and Cambray; the reduction of which two important places would have laid Picardy open to the banks of the Somme. And the army originally destined for the service of the confederates would, in all probability, have been sufficient to enable

¹ Burnet, book vii.

² *Journals*, 1711. The exact sum raised and provided for, was 14,573,319*l.* 19*s.* 8*½d.*

him to accomplish this great scheme. But the death of the emperor, by opening a prospect of peace, obstructed the operations of war. Prince Eugene being obliged to march toward the banks of the Rhine, with the greater part of the German troops, in order to prevent the French and their partisans from taking advantage of that event, by disturbing the deliberations of the electors assembled at Frankfort, the duke of Marlborough was under the necessity of limiting his views. But his vigour and activity were not diminished. Though his force was now inferior to that of the enemy, he anxiously sought a battle, in hopes of overwhelming his political adversaries, or at least closing his military exploits with a splendid victory. But the caution of Villars, who was strongly posted near Arleux, deprived the English commander of any opportunity of acquiring this satisfaction. By the most masterly movements, however, Marlborough eluded the vigilance of that able general, and penetrated within the French lines, without the loss of a man. He sat down before Bouchain, in sight of the enemy; and concluded the campaign with the conquest of that strong town¹.

Nothing memorable, in the military line, was transacted in Germany: prince Eugene having defeated the hostile designs of the French, the electors proceeded coolly to the choice of a new chief; and the archduke was unanimously raised to the imperial dignity, by the name of Charles VI. On the side of Piedmont, the duke of Berwick, as formerly, defended France with success against the forces of the duke of Savoy. In Spain, the taking of Gerona, by the duke de Noailles, and the raising of the siege of Cardona, by Staremberg, in defiance of a far superior number of troops under Vendome, were the only remarkable events. No action happened at sea, nor any thing worthy of notice, except the failure of an expedition, from Old and New England, against Quebec, the capital of Canada, or New France. This enterprise miscarried, partly from the lateness of the season, and partly from an ignorance of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, where eight transports, with about eight hundred men, were lost².

The general languor of the campaign, together with the elevation of the archduke, inspired the British ministry and the house of Bourbon with the most sanguine hopes of peace. They had even negotiated secretly during the summer: and preliminaries were privately signed at London, on the 27th of September, by

¹ Burnet, book vii.—*State of Europe*, 1711.

² *Id. ibid.*

Menager, the French agent, and St. John, the English secretary. As soon as this insidious transaction, so disgraceful to Great Britain, was brought to light, all the other members of the confederacy were alarmed. They saw themselves on the point of being deserted by a power, which had been the chief support of the war. And though not altogether unfriendly to peace, they could place no confidence in the negotiations of men who were capable of such disingenuous conduct, whose sole object seemed to be the securing to themselves and their adherents the emoluments of office, by putting a speedy end to hostilities, instead of endeavouring to procure for their country and its allies the fruits of so many glorious victories, acquired at an enormous expense of blood and treasure¹. "That," says M. de Torcy, speaking of the secret proposal of the English ministry to negotiate with France, without the intervention of Holland, "was like asking a sick person, labouring under a long and dangerous illness, if he would be cured!"

The preliminaries, when communicated to the ministers of the confederate princes and states, served only to increase their jealousies and fears. The resignation of Philip was no longer insisted on. This omission particularly offended the emperor: and when the count de Galas, the imperial ambassador at the court of London, in the heat of his zeal for his master's interest, published a copy of the articles in a newspaper, as an appeal to the public, all England was thrown into a ferment. The people, always jealous of national honour, were filled with indignation at the new ministry, for negotiating secretly with France; a power, whose ambition had so long disquieted her neighbours, and whose humiliation had been the declared object of the grand alliance. They justly suspected the court of sinister designs; especially as the stipulations in the preliminaries fell very considerably below their expectations, after so successful a war. The moderate Tories, ashamed of the meanness, if not the baseness of their leaders, also took part with the offended allies; and the Whigs, while they admitted that the season for treating had

¹ This accusation is even in some measure admitted by St. John himself, who was deeply concerned in these secret negotiations. "I am afraid," says he, "that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us; to break the body of the Whigs, to render their supports (the Dutch and the other allies) useless to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with Tories." (*Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*) "Peace," continues he, "had been judged, with reason, to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a Tory system."

arrived, condemned the mode, and attempted to render odious the men by whom the negotiation was conducted¹.

The English ministry, however, were not without their abettors. The pens of the most celebrated writers of the age were employed in vindication of their measures, and to render contemptible their political enemies. Defended by such powerful advocates, and encouraged by the favour of their sovereign, they resolved to support the preliminaries. The queen accordingly intimated to the two houses, that, *notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace; that she was determined to improve and enlarge, by the advantages to be obtained, the interest of her subjects in trade and commerce; and that she would not only endeavour to procure all reasonable satisfaction for her allies, but to unite them in the strictest engagements, in order to render permanent the public tranquillity. The best way, however, she added, to treat of peace with effect, was to make an early provision for carrying on the war; she therefore demanded adequate supplies, and recommended unanimity².

The supplies were readily granted by the commons, who also echoed back the queen's speech in an affectionate address. The lords were less complaisant. They clogged their address with a clause, "That no peace could be safe or honourable, if Spain and the Indies should be allowed to remain with any branch of the house of Bourbon;" and this addition to the address was carried, by a majority of the house, in spite of all the arguments of the ministry, who opposed it with the whole weight of government. The queen returned an ambiguous answer to an address so subversive of her measures; and as the vote for the obnoxious clause was known to have been procured chiefly by the influence and intrigues of the duke of Marlborough, she saw the necessity of depriving him of his employments, or of dismissing her ministers, and stopping the progress of the treaty of peace. Choosing the former part of the alternative, she sent the duke a letter, telling him that she had no farther occasion for his service; and to secure a majority in the house of lords, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers³.

This was an extraordinary stretch of prerogative, and could not fail to give alarm to the independent part of the nobility, as

¹ Publications of the times.

² Journals, Dec. 7, 1711.

³ Burnet.—Boyer.

it was evident that the sovereign, by such an arbitrary exertion of royalty, could at all times overrule their resolutions. But as law was on the side of the crown, they were obliged to submit to the indignity. The body of the Whigs were filled with consternation at these bold measures; and as their leaders now despaired of being able to reinstate themselves in the administration by more gentle means, they are said to have planned a new revolution. It is at least certain, that the heads of the party held frequent cabals with the Dutch and imperial ambassadors, as well as with the baron De Bothmar, envoy from the elector of Hanover, who presented, in the name of his master, a strong memorial against the projected peace: declaring, that the fruits of a glorious war would be lost, if Spain and the Indies should be abandoned to the duke of Anjou. And every method was taken, particularly by the earl of Sunderland and lord Halifax, to impress the people with a belief, not seemingly without reason, that the chief view of the present ministry was the restoration of the excluded family. They therefore affirmed, that the Protestant succession was in danger, and urged the necessity of sending for the elector of Hanover or his son¹.

On the other hand, the Tories employed all the force of wit and satire, of which they were in full possession, against their political adversaries; but especially to degrade the character and ridicule the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, whose dismissal from the command of the army, after such extraordinary success, without even an imputation of misbehaviour in his military capacity, they were afraid would rouse the resentment of the nation against the ministry. Their chief accusation against him was, that, in order to favour his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice, he had starved the war in Spain. Alluding to the strength of the French barrier, they used a vulgar phrase, which made great impression on the people; they said, that to endeavour to subdue France, by attacking her strong towns on the side of Flanders, was "taking the bull by the horns;" that the troops and treasures of the confederates, instead of being employed in expelling Philip from the throne of Spain, had been thrown away on unimportant sieges, and attacks upon almost impregnable lines²; that prince Eugene, having profited like Marlborough by these hostilities, had united with him in influencing the councils of the states, through the pensionary Heinsius; and

¹ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.—*Stuart Papers*, 1711, 1712.

² *Id. ibid.*

that all three meant nothing, by the indecisive campaigns in the Netherlands, but to *protract* the war, and perpetuate their own power, which was intimately connected with it¹.

But now, my dear Philip, when the prejudices of party have subsided, this accusation appears to have been malicious and unjust. It is generally agreed (while it is admitted that those generals had an interest and a pride in prosecuting the war) that to push France on the side of Flanders, was the most effectual way of depriving the house of Bourbon of the Spanish throne. The distance of the confederates from Spain; its vicinity to France; the necessity of conveying every thing thither by sea; the sterility of the country by reason of the indolence of the inhabitants; and the obstinate aversion of the generality of the Spaniards to a prince supported by heretics, rendered it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impracticable, to conquer that kingdom, as experience had proved after repeated victories. But, as Spain might have been compelled to receive another sovereign without being entirely subdued, the duke of Marlborough took the true method of dethroning Philip.

Though the breaking of the strong barrier of France in the Netherlands had cost the confederates much blood and treasure, as well as time, the work was at length nearly completed. Another campaign would probably have enabled them, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to take possession of Paris; so that Louis, in order to save his own kingdom, would have been obliged to relinquish the support of his grandson, and to pull him, in a manner with his own hands, from the Spanish throne. Of this he was as sensible as the duke of Marlborough²; and hence arose his joy at the change of sentiments in the court of England, and the regret of the Whigs at the loss of so glorious an opportunity of advancing the interests of their country, and of fully gratifying their vengeance against the Gallic tyrant.

It is, indeed, sincerely to be lamented, that such a change should have happened at this critical period. For, however impolitic it might be, in the English ministry, to continue the war, after the year 1706, as it surely was after 1709, when all the objects of the grand alliance might have been obtained, yet as the war was carried on afterward with great spirit, and with a degree of success, which, if foreseen, would perhaps have

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

² *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.

justified the prosecution of it, no proposals of peace should have been listened to, far less any desire to negotiate, *secretly insinuated by a French spy*¹, till advantages equivalent to the additional expense had been offered. Since we had committed a *successful folly*, to use the words of lord Bolingbroke, it was folly not to profit by it to the utmost. No stop should have been put to the career of victory, until the house of Bourbon had been completely humbled.

It was on this ground that the Whigs now so violently opposed the peace, and urged the necessity of continuing the war, that they might have an opportunity of recovering the administration, and consequently of wresting the negotiations out of the hands of men, whom they considered as enemies to the Protestant succession, to the liberties of mankind, and to the common cause of the confederates. They admitted, that the elevation of the archduke to the imperial throne had made a material alteration in the political state of Europe; that the power of the house of Austria, which all centered in the person of the emperor Charles, was very great; but they affirmed, at the same time, that it was no sufficient reason for negotiating prematurely with the house of Bourbon, or accepting inadequate terms.

England and Holland held the balance: and as they had chiefly contributed toward the success of the war, they had a right to be the arbiters of peace. To preserve the equilibrium of power, and effectually prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain in the person of the same prince at any future time, Spain might be given, it was said, to the duke of Savoy; the most valuable of the Spanish possessions in America, to Great Britain; and Philip might be gratified with a principality in Italy; after which there would still remain enough to satisfy the emperor and the states, without dismembering the French monarchy². But whether we had left Philip, or placed any other prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France to a state of depression from which it would not have recovered for many generations.

While the Whigs were occupied in contemplating those extensive plans of policy, and encouraged in their schemes by the imperial and Dutch ministers, we can scarcely wonder that

¹ Gaultier, who was first employed to signify to the court of Versailles the inclinations of the Tory ministry toward peace, was a Catholic priest, and a spy for France in London.—*Mém. de Torcy*.

² Publications of the times.

they embraced rash resolutions, and adopted violent counsels, in order to obstruct the completion of a treaty, which was destined to extinguish all their hopes; to strike the sword of conquest from the hands of the confederates, and the wreath of victory from their brows; to deprive them of an opportunity, that fortune and valour had conspired to produce, and which might never return, of utterly breaking the power of their ambitious enemies, and effectually securing the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

As a last effort to recover their authority, and to prevent the ills they feared, the Whigs invited prince Eugene to London. No less bold and intelligent as a politician, than able and intrepid as a commander, he made no doubt of defeating the projected treaty of peace, by embarrassing the British ministry with splendid offers of advantage, provided the queen would agree to continue the war. Among other things, he intended to propose in the name of Charles, that the imperial forces in Spain should be augmented to the number of thirty thousand, and that Great Britain should be put in full possession of the commerce of that kingdom, and of the Spanish dominions in America¹.

But unfortunately for the Whigs, as well as for the confederates, and for the grandeur and prosperity of the United King-

A. D. 1712. doms, the duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all his employments before the arrival of prince Eugene, and rendered incapable of fully seconding his views. The commons, being chiefly Tories, were firm in their support of the ministry; and the court had obtained a majority in the upper house. That great man was therefore obliged to return to the continent without being able to do any thing for the interest of the allies; though during his stay in England, it is affirmed that he suggested many desperate expedients, and some violent, and even inhuman measures, for depriving the Tories of the administration¹. But these were all prudently rejected by the Hanoverian resident and the leaders of the Whigs; as an insurrection, or popular tumult, if not finally successful, beside the mischief which it might otherwise have occasioned, might have endangered the Protestant succession. They refused to employ any but legal means.

During those ineffectual intrigues, the English ministry gained a new victory over their political adversaries. Lord Townshend,

¹ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.—*Stuart Papers*, 1713.

who had been employed in the negotiations for peace in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the states-general, by which Lisle Tournay, Menin, Douay, and several places on the Lys and the Scheldt, were guaranteed to the Dutch as a barrier, at the end of the war. And they undertook to guarantee, in return, the *Protestant succession*; to aid with their *fleets* and *armies* the *presumptive heirs* of the *British crown*, whenever *that succession* should appear to be in danger¹.

These engagements were perfectly conformable to the declared views of the late ministry, who had ratified the treaty, but utterly inconsistent with those of the present, as well as with their safety. They were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps even the states, pretended that *this* perilous period had already arrived. They were also sensible, that France would with difficulty yield cities and towns that were essential to her own defence; and being determined to remove every obstacle that might retard the peace, they brought the barrier treaty, and all the transactions relative to it, before the house of commons, under pretence that Townshend had exceeded his instructions. The commons, entirely governed by the court, voted that several articles of the treaty were destructive to the interests of Great Britain; and therefore, that he who negotiated and signed it, having no authority to insert those pernicious stipulations, was an enemy to the queen and the kingdom.

It is not a little surprising, that, while the late ministers were concluding this treaty, which had solely for its object, on the part of Great Britain, the security of the Hanoverian succession, Marlborough and Godolphin, who directed the measure, were still holding out hopes to the court of St. Germain. Godolphin is said to have regretted his fall, only because it deprived him of the power of serving effectually the excluded family. "Harley, I hope," said he, "will restore the king," for so he called the pretender—"but he will make France necessary to that measure: I designed to have done the business alone²."

Marlborough, though perhaps less sincere in his professions, was more liberal in his promises of success. While he lamented, that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might, in that case, he said, do essential service to the *old* cause, he assured the court of St. Germain, that *the eyes of the people* would be *gradually opened*. "They will see their inte-

¹ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.—Burnet, book vii.

² *Stuart Papers*, 1709.

rest," added he, "in restoring their king. I perceive such a change in his favour, that I think it impossible but he must succeed; but when he shall succeed, let there be no retrospect. All that has been done since the revolution must be confirmed. His business is to gain all by offending none. As for myself," continued the duke, "I take God to witness, that what I have done *for many years*," conscious that his original desertion of his benefactor could not be vindicated, "was neither from spleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, nor from ill will to their cause, but to humble the power of France; a service as useful to the KING, as it is beneficial to the kingdom¹."

These extracts seem to prove, that, although both the late and the present ministers, the earl of Oxford excepted, intended to call the pretender to the throne, their views in regard to that measure were very different. The former meant to connect it with the aggrandisement of Great Britain, and the humiliation of France; the latter, to lean upon France for support: and for that support they were willing to sacrifice the honour and interest of the nation, desert the true system of European policy under pretence of economy, and sink into that state of abject dependence upon a rival power, which had disgraced the reigns of the second Charles and his brother.

But such observations apart, my dear Philip, the politics of England, during this period, afforded an object for philosophic curiosity, to which there is, perhaps, no parallel in the annals of mankind. That Marlborough and Godolphin, the great leaders of the Whigs, while pursuing with zeal the views of that party, had always in contemplation the re-establishment of the family of Stuart! and that Oxford, the head of the Tories, and a reputed Jacobite, should secure, by his address, the succession of the family of Brunswick, without being able to acquire its confidence, and while he was known to be in his heart a Whig by the queen and the court of St. Germain, whose confidence he was thought to possess, and whose views he was supposed to promote²! are singular circumstances in the history of human nature.

While the English ministers were smoothing at home the Jan. road to peace, general conferences were opened at Utrecht, 18. for restoring tranquillity to Europe. And the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in order to reconcile the confederates to the

¹ *Stuart Papers*, 1710.

² Compare the *Stuart* and *Hanover Papers*.

negotiation, declared that the preliminaries signed by Menager, and accepted by St. John, to which they artfully gave the name of *proposals*, were not obligatory on the queen or her allies¹. This declaration composed in some degree the spirits of the confederates. But before any progress could be made in the treaty, certain unexpected incidents gave a new turn to the negotiations, and alarmed Anne and her Tory ministry for the fate of that peace which they had so much at heart.

The dauphin of France, the only legitimate son of Louis, having died in the preceding year, had been succeeded in his title, as heir to the French monarchy, by his eldest son, the duke of Burgundy. That prince also died early in the present year; and, in less than three weeks afterward, his son, the duke of Bretagne. In consequence of this uncommon mortality, which has been ascribed to the ambitious intrigues of the duke of Orléans, only the duke of Anjou, the puny offspring of the duke of Burgundy, stood between the king of Spain and the crown of France. The confederates were, therefore, filled with reasonable apprehensions, that the union of the two monarchies, which it had been the chief object of the war to prevent, might at last be effected, after all their successes, and notwithstanding all their disgust and repugnance, by the death of an unhealthy infant, and the lukewarmness, if not treachery, of a principal ally. And the queen of England and her ministers were not a little embarrassed in devising the means of allaying these well-grounded fears.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the British ministry had not hitherto furnished the plenipotentiaries with instructions relative to the Spanish succession². These were reserved for a confidential envoy, intended to be joined with the two former, and who had been employed in the secret negotiations with France³. Though the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol were Tories, and wholly devoted to the court, it was not thought safe to trust them with a matter so injurious to the honour and the interest of their country.

This deceitful mode of proceeding, altogether unworthy of a great nation, which, as it had borne the chief burthen of the war, might openly have dictated the plan of pacification, gave the allies reason to suspect, that the general interests of the con-

¹ Burnet, book vii.

² Swift's *Hist. of the last four Years of Queen Anne*.

³ Mr. Prior, so well known by his sprightly poems, who had a considerable share in all the negotiations relative to the peace of Utrecht.

federacy would be sacrificed to the eagerness of Anne for peace, to the selfish motives of her ministers, and her own views in favour of the pretender; that, jealous of the connexion of the confederates with the Whigs and the house of Hanover, she had entered into a private negotiation with Louis; and was even willing, by favourable conditions, to procure support against her former friends, from a prince whose power had been so lately broken by her arms, and for whose humiliation she had exhausted the wealth, and watered the earth with the blood of her subjects!

The death of the princes of France, however, by exalting the hopes and increasing the demands of the allies, obliged the queen's counsellors to depart from their resolution of sending a third plenipotentiary to Utrecht (for purposes best known to themselves), and to urge Louis, as he valued the blessing of peace, to take some public step for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the same prince. To this end they suggested different schemes, out of which the French monarch might form a proposal that ought to satisfy the allies. The principal of those were, that Philip should either resign the crown of Spain (a measure that would be more acceptable to the confederates than any other), or transfer to his younger brother, the duke of Berry, his right to the crown of France; that, if Philip should consent to the resignation, his right to the crown of France would not only be preserved entire, but in the mean time Naples, Sicily, the hereditary dominions of the house of Savoy, and the duchies of Montferrat and Mantua, should be erected into a kingdom for him; that all those territories should be annexed to France, on Philip's accession to that crown, except the island of Sicily, which should, in such event, be given to the house of Austria; and that Spain and her American dominions should be conferred on the duke of Savoy, in full satisfaction of all his demands, as one of the allies¹.

Philip, as soon as the question was submitted to him, wisely preferred the certain possession of the Spanish throne to the precarious prospect of a more desirable succession, with all the appendages which the confederates could offer; but the hesitation of Louis, on this occasion, showed evidently he had been flattered by the British ministry with the hope that his grandson should not be obliged to make a solemn renunciation of the crown of France, and yet be permitted to wear that of Spain and

¹ *Mém. de Torcy*, tome ii.

the Indies. "A king of France," said he, "succeeds not as heir, but as master of the kingdom; the sovereignty of which belongs to him, not by *choice*, but by *birth-right*; he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a prior king, to no compact of the people, but to the *law*; and this law is esteemed the work of HIM who establishes monarchies. It can neither be invalidated by agreement, nor rendered void by renunciation: should the king of Spain, therefore, renounce his right, for the sake of peace, by that act he would only deceive himself, and disappoint the allies."

Secretary St. John, who corresponded with the court of Versailles on this delicate subject, observed that, though the French nation might consider God alone as having a right to annul the law of succession, yet, in England, most men entertained a different opinion; that even such as were most superstitiously devoted to monarchy, believed that a prince might forego his right by a voluntary renunciation; and that the person, in whose favour the renunciation was made, might be justly supported by the princes who should happen to be guarantees of the treaty. In a word, he declared, that an end must be put to all negotiation, unless the French monarch would accept the expedient proposed. Louis was, at last, under the necessity of complying; and it was agreed, that the renunciation of Philip should be registered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and solemnly received and ratified by the *Cortès* or states of Castile and Arragon¹.

As soon as this important article was settled, the queen of England agreed to a suspension of arms; and the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the British troops was the condition of that indulgence. These circumstances naturally lead us to examine the progress of the campaign.

The duke of Ormond being appointed to the command of the British forces in the Netherlands, and of such foreign troops as were in British pay, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, the whole confederate army, nearly amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, under prince Eugene, took the field toward the end of April. The French army, commanded by Villars, was strongly posted behind the Scheldt. But as the prince found that the enemy had not taken every advantage of their situation, he made dispositions for attacking them, in the hope of concluding the war with a splendid victory; or at least of forcing

¹ *Mém. de Torcy*, ubi sup.

Villars to retire, and leave Cambray exposed to a siege. He accordingly communicated his intentions to the duke of Ormond. And the hesitation of the English general to return a positive answer, confirmed that penetrating genius in the suspicions he had for some time entertained, that the duke had orders not to act offensively¹. Filled with indignation at a discovery so fatal to his own glory, as well as to the common cause of the confederates, the prince of Savoy made known his unhappy situation to the Dutch field-deputies, and to the imperial minister at Utrecht. The states immediately sent instructions to their ambassador at the court of London to remonstrate on the subject. And the purport of those instructions was no sooner known, than a motion was made in the house of commons, for presenting an address to her majesty, "that speedy orders might be given to her general in Flanders, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, in conjunction with her allies, as the best means to obtain a safe and honourable peace²." A motion to the same effect was made in the house of lords; but the ministry having now a decided majority in both houses, these salutary motions were rejected with some degree of disdain, and the remonstrances of the Dutch ambassador were disregarded. Ormond continued inactive.

Nothing can place the ignominy of this cruel inaction, and the shameful duplicity of the British ministry, in a stronger light, than a letter which the states afterward sent to queen Anne. "It is impossible," say they, "but we should be *surprised* and *afflicted*, by two declarations we have lately received from your majesty; the first, by the duke of Ormond, your general, that he could *undertake nothing* without *new orders* from you; the other by the bishop of Bristol, your plenipotentiary to the congress at Utrecht, that, perceiving we did not *answer*, as we *ought*, the *proposals* which you had made to us, and that we would not *act in concert* with your minister on the *subject of peace*, you would *take your measures* apart; and that you did not look upon yourself to be now *under any engagements* with us." In regard to the first, they add, "Have we not just reason to be *surprised*, after the *assurance* which your majesty had given us by your letters, by your ministers, and lastly, by your general, the duke of Ormond, of your *intentions* that your troops should be *ordered* to act with their usual *vigour*, when we find a stop put by an

¹ Burnet, book vii.—*Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

² *Journals*, May 28, 1712.

order in your majesty's name, without our knowledge, and certainly without the knowledge of your other allies, to the operations of the confederate army?—the finest and strongest, perhaps, which has been in the field during the whole course of the war; and this after they had marched, *according to the resolution taken in concert with your majesty's general*, almost up to the enemy, with a great superiority both as to number and goodness of troops, and animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit themselves bravely!—We are sorry to see so fine an opportunity lost, to the extraordinary prejudice of the common cause of the high allies.

“Nor can we forbear telling your majesty,” they continue, “that the declaration made by the bishop of Bristol, at Utrecht, has no less surprised us than that of the duke of Ormond in the army. All the *proposals* hitherto made to us, on the *subject of peace*, were *couched* in very *general terms*. In some of the last conferences, it is true, your majesty's ministers desired to know whether ours were furnished with a *full power*, and *authorised to draw up a plan* for the *peace*. But it had been just, before such a thing was demanded of us, that they had *communicated the result* of the *negotiations* so long treated of *between your majesty's ministers and those of the enemy*; or, at least, they should have *told us* your majesty's *thoughts*, on a matter which we ought to have adjusted *in concert*. Yet had that plan related only to your majesty's interest and ours, we should perhaps have been in the wrong not to have acceded immediately to it; but as the plan in question concerned the interests of all the allies, and of almost all Europe, we had very strong apprehensions that the *particular negotiations* between your majesty's ministers and those of France, and the *readiness* with which we *consented* to the congress at Utrecht, might have given his imperial majesty and the other allies ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if it had been the *intention* of your majesty and of us, to *abandon the grand alliance* and the *common cause* by which they might have been pushed on to *separate measures*. We thought these reasons strong enough to justify our conduct to your majesty on this head; and as we had nowise *engaged to enter* with your majesty into a *concert to draw up a plan of peace*, without the *participation* of the other members of the *grand alliance*, the *backwardness* we have shown to that *proposal* cannot be considered as a *contravention* of our engagements; and, therefore, cannot serve to *disengage* your majesty from yours, with respect to us. In truth, if *for such a cause*, between potentates *united* by the

strongest and strictest ties of alliance, interest, and religion, any of those potentates could *quit* their *engagements*, and *disengage* themselves from all their *obligations*, there is no tie among men that might not be *broken*, and we know of no engagements that could be relied on in time to come¹."

There would certainly have been more *frankness* and *dignity* (though not more *honesty*), and even more *advantage*, in boldly concluding at once a separate treaty with France, than in betraying the common cause by such *double dealing*. This St. John, who was himself deeply concerned in that "double dealing," very candidly acknowledges. France, says he, would have granted more to Great Britain for peace, than for a suspension of hostilities; and the allies, seeing no possibility of altering the measures of queen Anne, would neither have attempted to disturb her counsels in hopes of inducing her to continue the war, nor have prosecuted it themselves with that intemperate ardour which proved the cause of their subsequent misfortunes. "Better conditions would have been obtained for the whole confederacy²;" and the British ministry, it may be added, instead of the accumulated infamy of *treachery*, would only have merited the reproach of being guilty of a flagrant *violation of public faith*.

During the altercation and suspense occasioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond, prince Eugene laid siege to Quesnoy; and, in order to encourage the confederates, and astonish the enemy, by a bold enterprise, he privately gave orders to major-general Grovestein, to penetrate into France with fifteen hundred horse, dragoons and hussars. This officer passed the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar; levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; spread consternation even to Versailles: and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, together with a number of hostages, retired leisurely

July 4, toward Traerbach. Meanwhile the siege of Quesnoy

N.S. was prosecuted with such vigour, that the place was taken almost by assault, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war³.

These successes greatly elevated the spirits of the Dutch and Imperialists, depressed by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond; but when, instead of an order to co-operate with them against

¹ Printed Letter, preserved in many periodical publications, and particularly in the *Monthly Mercury*, for June 1712.

² Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

³ Burnet, book vii.—*Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

the common enemy, which they daily expected, he made known to them a cessation of arms between France and England, their former dejection returned. Their hopes, however, in some measure revived, when they understood that the *foreign troops* in the *pay* of Great Britain *refused to obey his command*. This refusal reduced the duke to a state of the utmost perplexity, and threw the British ministry into no small consternation. They had not only lost the confidence of the allies, but had fallen under the distrust of the court of Versailles. The king of France therefore thought proper to suspend his mandate for the delivery of Dunkirk, until “*all the troops in the pay of Great Britain should quit the army of the confederates*.” But, when positive orders were sent to the duke of Ormond, to “*separate the British forces from those of the allies*,” and assurances given to the French monarch, by the express command of Anne, that the confederates should receive no more of her *money*, the scruples of Louis were quieted. The duke fulfilled his instructions by retiring towards Ghent with the British troops, and Dunkirk was delivered to Brigadier Hill¹.

The British forces had distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, during the whole course of this celebrated war, and in almost every battle had given the turn to victory. Their example had perhaps been of yet greater service than their efforts, though these were transcendently heroic. Prince Eugene, however, to show the allies that he was still able to pursue his conquests, notwithstanding the withdrawing of so gallant a body of men, formed the siege of Landrecy. Villars received orders to attempt its relief. The French general accordingly put his army in motion, as if he intended to give battle to the main body of the confederates; but, after making a feint of advancing toward their right, he turned suddenly off to the left, and marching all night, attacked unexpectedly a corps of twelve July thousand men, stationed at Denain, under the earl of 24. Albemarle, in order to favour the passage of the convoys from Marchiennes. About two thousand five hundred of the earl's men were slain or drowned; and above two thousand, with their commander, fell into the hands of the victors².

Prince Eugene, who was marching to the assistance of Albemarle, had the mortification to arrive, when his aid could be of no use to his friends. In a fit of despair, he ordered the bridges

¹ *Gen. Hist. of Europe, 1712.*—De Torcy, tome ii.

² *Relation* sent by the earl of Albemarle to the states, and other papers in the *Monthly Mercury*, for July, August, and September, 1712.

on the Scheldt, near Denain, to be attacked, and wantonly threw away the lives of a thousand men; for even if the bridges had been abandoned to him, he would not have been able to cross the river, in the face of the French army¹. He failed, however, in the attempt. Yet would he have continued the siege of Landrecy, and might perhaps have become master of the place, notwithstanding this check; but the field-deputies of the states obliged him to relinquish the enterprise, and retire to Mons. Meanwhile Villars having taken Marchiennes (where valuable stores were deposited), and being now uncontrolled master of the field, reduced successively Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain². These conquests closed the operations in the Netherlands; and no enterprise of consequence was undertaken during the campaign, in any other quarter.

The court of Versailles was highly elated, by a success so unexpected and extraordinary. Nor was the joy of the British ministry, at the change of affairs in Flanders, less sincere, though less public. They were sensible that the body of the confederates, unless lost to all sense of prudence, would no longer attempt to continue the war, should Great Britain desert the grand alliance; and consequently the Whigs, their political enemies, already humbled, would become still less formidable.

A.D. 1713. In this conjecture they were not deceived. The eyes of the Dutch, who had most to apprehend, were first opened to their own perilous situation, and to the necessity of renewing the conferences at Utrecht, which had been for some time interrupted. Instead of prescribing terms to the house of Bourbon, they now acceded to the plan of pacification settled between Great Britain and France. Their example was followed by the duke of Savoy, and the king of Portugal. And the emperor, though resolute to continue the war, finding himself unable to support any military operations in Spain, agreed to the evacuation of Catalonia; and, by that measure, indirectly acknowledged the title of Philip³.

During these approaches toward a general pacification, Anne was eagerly solicited by the Jacobites to take some step in favour of the pretender. To quiet the fears of the English nation, excited by his connexion with France, he had left St. Germain's in the preceding summer, and now resided at Bar, in the territories of the duke of Lorrain. And although the queen's jealousy of her

¹ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

² *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

³ *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1713.—*Duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

own authority, and perhaps her natural timidity, heightened by the insinuations of the earl of Oxford, made her decline all proposals for calling her brother into the kingdom, or repealing the act of settlement, she was very anxious to concert with Louis some plan for his accession to the throne after her death¹. What measures were taken for that purpose, and how they were frustrated, I shall afterward have occasion to notice. It will, therefore, be sufficient at present to observe, that the earl artfully broke the designs of the queen, and rendered abortive the schemes of the Jacobites, by dividing their councils.

Oxford, however, continued to forward the negotiations for peace, as necessary to the security of his own power, which he hoped to preserve during the life of his mistress; and, as the declining health of the queen gave reason for believing that her death could be no distant event, the lord treasurer, in secretly supporting the parliamentary settlement of the crown, perhaps flattered himself with the prospect of extending his administration even into the reign of her successor. From these, or similar motives, he defeated the intrigues of the Jacobites, at the same time that he hastened the restoration of tranquillity to Europe. And the treaties between the different powers, so long negotiated, were at last signed at Utrecht, on the 31st day of March, in the year 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor resolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refusing to sign the stipulations until a principality should be provided in the Low Countries for the princess Ursini, the favourite of his queen².

The chief articles of this memorable pacification were to the following purport. It was stipulated, that whereas the security and liberties of Europe could by no means bear the union of the crowns of France and Spain under one and the same prince, Philip, now established on the Spanish throne, should renounce all right to the crown of France: that the dukes of Berry and Orléans, the next heirs to the French monarchy after the infant dauphin, should in like manner renounce all right to the crown of Spain, in the event of their accession to the French throne; that, on the death of Philip, and in default of his male issue, the succession of Spain and the Indies should be secured to the duke of Savoy; that the island of Sicily should be instantly ceded by

¹ *Stuart Papers*, 1712, 1713.—Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

² Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.—*Mém. de Noailles*, tome iii.

his Catholic majesty to the same prince, with the title of king; that France should also cede to him the valleys of Pragelas, Oulx, Sezanne, Bardonache, and Château Dauphin, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and restore to him the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice; and that the full property and sovereignty of both banks, and the navigation of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, in South America, should belong to the king of Portugal. It was declared, that the king of Prussia should receive Spanish Guelderland, with the sovereignty of Neufchatel and Valengin, in exchange for the principality of Orange and the lordship of Chalons, and that his regal title should be acknowledged; that the Rhine should form the boundary of the German empire on the side of France; and that all fortifications, beyond that river, claimed by France, or in the possession of his most Christian majesty, should either be relinquished to the emperor or destroyed; that the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan and the Spanish territories on the Tuscan shore, should be ceded to the house of Austria: that the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should likewise be secured to that family; but that the elector of Bavaria (to whom they had been granted by Philip) should retain such places as were still in his possession, until he should be reinstated in all his German dominions, except the Upper Palatinate, and also be put in possession of the island of Sardinia, with the title of king: that Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroy, should be given to the states-general, as a barrier, together with Mons, Menin, Tournay, and other places; and that Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant, should be restored to France. It was agreed, that the French monarch should acknowledge the title of queen Anne, and the eventual succession of the family of Hanover to the British throne; that the fortifications of Dunkirk (the cause of much jealousy to England, and raised at vast expense to France) should be demolished, and the harbour filled up; that the island of St. Christopher (which had long been possessed jointly by the French and English, but from which the French had been expelled in 1702) should be subject to this country; that Hudson's Bay and Straits (where the French had founded a settlement, but without dispossessing the English, and carried on a rival trade during the war), the town of Placentia, and other districts of the island of Newfoundland (where the French had been suffered to establish themselves, through the negligence of government), and the long-disputed province of Nova Scotia (into which the French had early intruded, out of which they had been frequently driven, and which

had been finally conquered by an army from New England in 1710), should be considered as the dependencies of the British crown: that Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar (conquered from Spain) should remain in the possession of Great Britain; and that the *Assiento*, or contract for furnishing the Spanish colonies in South America with negroes, should belong to the subjects of Great Britain for the term of thirty years¹.

That these conditions, especially on the part of Great Britain, were very inadequate to the success and expense of the war, will be allowed by every intelligent man, whose understanding is not warped by political prejudices; and the commercial treaty which was concluded at the same time between France and England, was evidently to the disadvantage of the latter kingdom. The other confederates had greater cause to be satisfied, and the emperor as much as any of them: yet was he obstinate in refusing to sign the general pacification, though two months were allowed him to deliberate on the terms. But he had soon reason to repent his rashness in resolving to continue the war alone; for, although he had prudently agreed to a treaty with the Hungarian malcontents, in consequence of which twenty-two regiments of his rebel subjects entered into his service, the imperial army on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, was not in a condition to face the French under Villars, who successively took Worms, Spire, Kaiserslautern, and the important fortress of Landau. He forced the passage of the Rhine; attacked and defeated general Vaubonne in his intrenchments, and reduced Freyburg, the capital of Brisgaw².

Unwilling to prosecute a disastrous war, the emperor A.D. began seriously to think of peace; and conferences, 1714. which afterward terminated in a pacific treaty, were opened between prince Eugene and Villars, at Ranstadt. The terms of this treaty, concluded on the 6th of March (N.S.), were less favourable to the emperor than those which had been offered at Utrecht. The king of France retained Landau, which he had before proposed to cede, with several fortresses behind the Rhine, which he had agreed to demolish. He procured the full re-establishment of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions and dignities; the former prince consenting to relinquish Sardinia to the emperor, in return for the Upper

¹ Printed Treaties, in the *Monthly Mercury*, Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin*, &c. The *Assiento*, which led to a lucrative contraband trade to the Spanish Main, proved the most advantageous article for Great Britain. It was, however, no sacrifice on the part of Spain, the same privilege having been formerly enjoyed by France.

² Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxii.—*State of Europe*, 1713.

Palatinate, and the king agreeing to acknowledge the electoral dignity of the duke of Hanover¹. The principal articles, in regard to Italy and the Low Countries, were the same with those settled at Utrecht.

Relaxing in his obstinacy, the king of Spain also acceded to the general pacification; being persuaded by his grandfather to forego his absurd demand in favour of the princess Ursini. But Philip, although now freed from all apprehensions of the enmity of the allies, was by no means in quiet possession of his kingdom. The Catalans were still in arms, and the inhabitants of Barcelona were determined to defend themselves to extremity; not, however, as has been represented by some historians, from any romantic idea of establishing an independent republic, but with a view of preserving their lives, and their civil rights, all who had revolted being threatened with the justice of the sword. Had the court of Madrid used the language of moderation and clemency, Barcelona would have capitulated immediately after the departure of the Imperialists. But as nothing was talked of by the Spanish ministers and general but severe retribution, the people became furious and desperate².

Extraordinary preparations were made for the reduction of this important place. And the duke of Berwick, being a third time invested with the chief command in Spain, sat down before it with an army composed of fifty battalions of French, and twenty of Spanish foot, strengthened by fifty-one squadrons of horse: while another army, divided into different bodies, kept the country in awe, and a French and Spanish fleet cut off all communication with the town by sea. He had eighty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, fifteen hundred thousand pounds of powder, and every thing else in profusion, that could tend to facilitate a siege. The garrison consisted of sixteen thousand men, and the fortifications were formidable, especially on the side toward the land. The duke made his attack on the side nearest to the sea, where the operations were more easy, by reason of certain eminences, behind which several battalions might be placed under cover; and where the curtains of the bastions, being considerably elevated, offered a fair mark for the cannon of the besiegers³.

After the trenches had been opened about a month, a breach was made in the bastion of St. Clara, and a lodgment effected;

¹ Printed Treaty in the *Monthly Mercury*, &c.

² Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

³ Id. *ibid*.

but the assailants were suddenly driven from their post, with the death or wounds of a thousand men. This misfortune, and the vigorous resistance of the besieged, determined the duke to hazard no more partial attacks. He resolved to lay the front of the place so completely level, that he might enter it, as it were, in line of battle. And he accomplished his purpose, by patience and perseverance. But, before he ordered the general assault, he summoned the town to surrender. So great, however, was the obstinacy of the citizens, that although their provisions were almost exhausted, though seven breaches had been made in the body of the place, and no probability remained of their receiving aid or supply, they hung out a flag of defiance, Sept. and refused to listen to any terms of capitulation!—The 11. assault was made, and repelled with fury. At length, after struggling from day-break till three in the afternoon, and being driven from most of the works, the inhabitants demanded a parley. It was granted to them. But they could obtain no conditions, except a promise that their lives should be safe, and that the town should not be plundered. That promise was religiously observed by the duke, who had lost above eight thousand men during the siege, while the citizens lost about five thousand. All Catalonia submitted; and the Catalans were disarmed, and deprived of their ancient privileges¹.

This, my dear Philip, to use the language of an elegant historian, was the last flame of that great fire, kindled by the will of Charles II. of Spain, which had so long laid waste the finest countries in Europe². I ought now to carry forward the adventures of Charles XII. and the affairs of the North; but perspicuity requires that I should first elucidate those intrigues which we have seen gathering in the court of England.

¹ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

² Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxii.

LETTER XXIV.

History of Great Britain, from the Peace of Utrecht, to the Suppression of the Rebellion, in 1715, with some Account of the Affairs of France, and the Intrigues of the Court of St. Germain.

THE peace of Utrecht, though in itself an unpopular measure, A. D. 1713. afforded the English ministry a momentary triumph over their political adversaries, and highly raised the hopes of the Jacobites, who flattered themselves, that the restoration of general tranquillity would enable the queen to take some effectual step in favour of the pretender, whose interests she seemed now to have sincerely at heart. But it will be necessary, the better to illustrate this subject, to go a few years back, and collect such particulars relative to the court of St. Germain as could not readily enter into the general narration.

In the beginning of the year 1711, the abbé Gaultier, who was employed in the secret negotiations between France and England, waited upon the duke of Berwick, at St. Germain's, with proposals from the earl of Oxford, for the restoration of the pretender. These proposals were in substance, that, provided queen Anne should be permitted to enjoy the crown in tranquillity during her life, she would secure to her brother the possession of it after her death; and that sufficient stipulations should be signed on his side, for the preservation of the church of England and the liberties of the kingdom¹. "These preliminaries being settled," says the duke of Berwick, who conducted the affairs of the pretender, "we consulted on the means of executing the business; but the abbé could not, at that time, enter into any particulars, as the lord-treasurer had not yet fully explained to him his intentions." It was necessary, the earl said, that the peace should be concluded before the English ministry could venture upon so delicate a measure².

¹ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

² *Id. ibid.* "Though it appeared to me," adds the duke of Berwick, "that one of these points was no hindrance to the other; yet in order to show that we would omit nothing to promote the interest of the pretender, and to give proofs of our sincerity, we wrote to the Jacobites to join with the court. And their influence contributed greatly to make the queen's party so superior in the house of commons, that every thing was carried there according to her wishes." This information is confirmed by the *Stuart and Hanover Papers*.

Meanwhile such of the Jacobites as were nearest to the person of the queen, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually to concert some plan for the restoration of the pretender. Sincere in her attachment to the church of England, she signified her desire that he should abjure popery, and place himself in a capacity of being *served*. But, finding him obstinate, she replied, when urged by the duke of Buckingham to alter the succession in his favour, "How can I serve him? He takes not the least step to oblige me, in what I most desire. You know a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. But the example of the father has no weight with the son; he prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I undo what I have already done? He may thank himself for his exclusion. He knows I love my own family better than any other. All would be easy if he would enter the pale of the church of England. Advise him to change his religion; as that only can turn the opinion of the people in his favour¹."

The duke of Buckingham conveyed this answer to the court of St. Germain: and, at the same time, seconded the request of the queen. But his arguments were all lost on the pretender, who was a zealous Catholic, and made a matter of conscience in adhering to his religion, in defiance of all prudential considerations²; an irrefragable proof of the most incurable and dangerous weakness in a prince, however commendable in a private person. For, as a sensible writer observes, if a king is not willing to go to heaven in the same way with his people, they will scarcely acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth³. And a man who could relinquish his hopes of a great kingdom, for a speculative point of faith, manifested a spirit of bigotry, that would have sacrificed all civil engagements to the propagation of that faith. He was not fit to be trusted with power.

The majority of the Tories, however, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary descent of the crown, overlooked the danger of the pretender's attachment to the Romish religion; and assured him, that, if he would only *conform*, in *appearance*, to the church of England, without the formality of a public recantation of Popery, they would endeavour to procure the *immediate* repeal of the act of settlement⁴. But the earl of Oxford, who never lost sight of the Protestant succession, or the

¹ *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

² Macpherson's *Hist. Brit.* vol. ii.

³ *Id. ibid.*

⁴ *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

security of his own power, intimated to the duke of Berwick, by the abbé Gaultier, on his return to France in 1712, that the pretender must still have patience; that the least hint of the queen's intentions in favour of her brother would give the Whigs occasion to exclaim loudly against the court, and might not only destroy the necessary business of the peace, but perhaps lead to a change in the ministry, and even a revolution in the state; that it was beside necessary to make sure of the army, the requisite steps for which could not be taken till after the peace should have been signed, when it would be reduced, and such officers only retained as could be depended on¹.

The plausibility of these arguments quieted, for a time, the Jacobites and the court of St. Germain. But when the peace was concluded, and the army reduced, yet no effectual step taken in favour of the pretender, his own uneasiness and the anxiety of his partisans began to return. They pressed the earl to fulfil his engagements; representing to him, that, as there never could be a house of commons better disposed to second the views of the queen, he had only to propose the repeal of the act of settlement, and it would immediately be voted. It was necessary, he replied, to proceed more gently in the business; but that they might make themselves easy, as he was seriously at work in the cause. "In this manner," says the duke of Berwick, "did the lord-treasurer amuse us; and it was difficult to prevent his doing so. To have broken with him, would have proved the utter ruin of our affairs, as he had the administration of England in his hands, and entirely governed queen Anne. We were, therefore, forced to *pretend* to trust him; but we neglected not, at the same time, privately to concert measures with the duke of Ormond, and other well-affected persons, that we might be able to bring about the restoration of the pretender, if Oxford should fail us²."

The English minister stood on such dangerous ground, that he durst not undertake any bold measure, whatever might be his inclinations. Equally distrusted both by Whigs and Tories, he was destitute of friends: his whole security consisted in the jealousy of the two parties, and his whole business was to balance them. In order to silence the clamours of the Whigs, he prevailed upon the queen to declare, in her speech to the parliament, without regard to her own inclinations or the dictates of truth, that a perfect friendship subsisted between her and the house of

¹ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

² Id. *ibid*.

Hanover, at the same time that she mentioned what she had done for securing the Protestant succession¹. This declaration had the desired effect. But the earl was less successful in other measures.

The peace was generally disliked by the people; and all impartial men reprobated the treaty of commerce with France. The eighth and ninth articles, importing, "That Great Britain and France should enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, which either granted to the most favoured nation; that all prohibitions should be removed, and no higher duties imposed on the French commodities than on those of any other people," were particularly opposed. When a bill was introduced for confirming the articles, it was urged, that our trade with Portugal, the most beneficial of any, would be lost, should the duties on French and Portuguese wines be made equal, the freight from Portugal being higher, and the French wines more generally agreeable to the taste of the English nation; and if we did not consume the wines of Portugal, it was unreasonable to think that the Portuguese would continue to purchase our manufactures, in balance for which we received, in bullion or specie, near a million sterling annually: that we could expect from France no equivalent for this loss, as the French had established woollen manufactures, sufficient not only to supply themselves, but even to rival us in foreign markets; that our silk manufacture, which employed a considerable number of people, and saved a vast sum annually to the nation, would be ruined, should a free importation of silk stuffs from France be permitted; that our trade to Italy and Turkey, where we disposed of great quantities of woollen goods in exchange for the raw material of this manufacture, would be in a manner annihilated; and the ruin of our manufactures of linen and paper would also be the consequence of a free importation of those articles from France, as the cheapness of labour and provisions in that kingdom would enable the French to undersell us, even in our own markets². These and similar arguments induced the more moderate Tories to join the Whigs, and the bill was rejected by a majority of nine votes.

Encouraged by this success, and justly alarmed for the safety of the Protestant succession, the Whigs endeavoured to awaken

¹ Journals, April 9, 1713.

² *Parl. Debates*, 1713.—Burnet, book vii.

the fears of the people, by several virulent speeches in parliament against the pretender; at the same time that they solicited the elector of Hanover to come over in person, or send his son to England. Both these proposals the elector very prudently rejected. But, in order to gratify, in some degree, the ardour of his partisans, embarrass the British ministry, and intimidate Anne, he allowed Schutz, his envoy at the court of London, to A.D. demand a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house 1714. of peers as duke of Cambridge. The earl of Oxford and his associates were filled with consternation at a request so unexpected; and the queen was agitated with all the violence of passion. Her resentment was increased by the exultation of the Whigs. Seeming to derive vigour from her very terror, she declared, that she would sooner suffer the loss of her crown, than permit any prince of the house of Hanover to reside in Britain during her life. And Schutz was forbidden to appear again at court, under pretence that he had exceeded his instructions¹.

Whether the elector had any serious intention of sending his son to England may be questioned, though he represented, in a memorial to Anne, "that for the security of her royal person, her kingdoms, and the protestant religion, it seemed necessary to settle in Britain some prince of the electoral family²;" but it is certain that the Jacobites had formed a design of bringing over the pretender, and that he himself and his adherents entertained the most sanguine expectations of his speedy exaltation to the throne. These expectations were heightened by the *promised* regulation of the army. The duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair, and other officers of distinction, whom the Jacobites and more violent Tories considered as inclined to support the act of settlement, were removed from their military employments; and the command of the whole regular force of the realm was entrusted to the duke of Ormond and his creatures, who were known to be well affected to the excluded family.

This measure, however, of which St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, was the author, is said to have been dictated by a jealousy of the ambitious designs of the Whigs and the house of Hanover, rather than by any attachment to the interests of the pretender. Be that as it may, we know that a measure, fatal to the pretender's views, was adopted by the British ministry, in order to quiet the fears of the elector, and to engage him to

¹ *Hanover Papers*, April, 1714.

² *Ibid.* May, 1714.

keep his son at home; queen Anne's fears from the family of Hanover being ultimately more than a balance for her affection for her own.

Information having been obtained, by the vigilance of the earl of Wharton, that certain Irish officers were enlisting men for the pretender, they were taken into custody. The people were alarmed, and the Whigs artfully added to their fears. The lord-treasurer, in concert with that party, wrought so much on the natural timidity of the duke of Shrewsbury, that he joined him on this occasion; and through their combined influence, the majority of the cabinet-council agreed to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender, if he should land in Britain. The two houses of parliament voted an address of thanks to the queen for her attention to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; and the commons, in their zeal for the protestant succession, extended the reward for apprehending the pretender to one hundred thousand pounds¹.

That prince, however, persuaded that the queen and the chief nobility and gentry, whatever steps they might take to quiet the populace, were sincerely in his interest, did not yet despair of being able to ascend the throne of his ancestors:—and the prospect of a change in the ministry inspired him with new hopes. Bolingbroke, by flattering the prejudices of his mistress, had gradually supplanted the earl of Oxford in her confidence. He represented to her the languor of that minister's measures: he gave insinuations concerning his secret intrigues with the Whigs; and he suggested to her, that to pay any attention, in future, to the house of Hanover, was incompatible with her service². Similar representations were made by the duke of Ormond, and other Jacobites, whom the duke of Berwick eagerly solicited to procure the removal of the lord-treasurer, as a necessary prelude to the accomplishment of the queen's designs in favour of her brother³. The earl was accordingly deprived of his office. But the queen's death, which happened only five days after, and before the new administration was properly formed, left Aug. the succession open to the elector of Hanover, and disap- 1. pointed the hopes of the pretender and his adherents.

The character of this princess, who died in the fiftieth year of

¹ *Journals*, June 24, 1714.—*Hanover and Stuart Papers*.

² *Hanover Papers*, July 20, 1714. ³ *Memoirs of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.

her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, is neither striking nor complicated. Though not altogether destitute of female accomplishments, she had nothing captivating, as a woman, either in her manner or person : she could only be reputed sensible and agreeable. Her failure of duty as a daughter excepted, her conduct in private life appears to have been highly exemplary. She was an affectionate wife, a tender mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. As a sovereign, notwithstanding the illustrious events of her reign, she is entitled to little praise : she did not possess vigour of mind, splendid talents, or a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the most enslaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, she can hardly be said to have ever thought for herself, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But, as her popularity concealed the weakness of her personal authority, the great abilities of her principal servants, to whom she owed that popularity, threw a splendid veil over her feeble qualities.

During an interval of her illness, which was of the lethargic kind, and was brought on by violent agitation of mind, on account of the critical state of her affairs, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the duke of Shrewsbury. That nobleman was attached to the excluded family ; but his caution had hitherto made him temporise, and it was now too late to take any effectual step in favour of the pretender. The Whigs were highly elated at the near prospect of an event, which they flattered themselves would not only dispel all their fears, in regard to the Protestant succession, but prove alike friendly to their power and to their principles. The Tories were depressed in an equal degree ; and the Jacobites were disconcerted, their projects being yet in embryo. Animated with the ardour of their party, and perhaps by a zeal for the welfare of their country, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle boldly entered the council-chamber, without being summoned. Though their presence was unacceptable, and so unexpected, that their appearance filled the council with consternation, they were desired by the timid Shrewsbury to take their places, and thanked for their readiness to give their assistance at such a crisis. Other Whig members joined them ; and a multitude of the nobility and gentry being assembled, as soon as the queen expired, orders were given in compliance with the act of settlement, to proclaim George Louis, elector of Hanover, king of Great Britain. A regency was appointed according to his nomination ; his title was acknowledged by foreign princes and

states; and all things continued quiet in England until his arrival¹.

George I. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age; and the same prudence, which had distinguished him in his negotiations with the British court, was conspicuous throughout his reign. Reprobating the ungenerous and impolitic maxim, too frequently embraced by the princes of the house of Stuart, of trusting to the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting, by favours, to make friends of their enemies, he made it a rule never to forget his friends, and to set his enemies at defiance. Conformably to this mode of thinking, which he perhaps carried to excess, he placed not only the administration, but all the considerable employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission; the command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Argyle was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland; the great seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy seal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; the duke of Somerset was declared master of the horse, Mr. Pulteney secretary of war, and Mr. Wal-
pole paymaster-general. A new parliament was called, 1715.

in which the interest of the Whigs predominated; and a secret committee, chosen by ballot, was appointed to examine all the papers and inquire into all the negotiations relative to the late peace, as well as to the cessation of arms by which it was preceded. This committee prosecuted its inquiries with the greatest eagerness; and, in consequence of its report, the commons resolved to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high treason. The grounds of these impeachments were, the share which Oxford and Bolingbroke had in the clandestine negotiations with France, and Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the suspension of arms². More timid, or conscious of superior guilt, Bolingbroke and Ormond made their escape to the Continent, while Oxford continued to attend his duty in parliament, and was committed to the Tower. His behaviour, throughout the prosecution, was firm and manly. When impeached by the commons at the bar of the house of lords, all the arguments of his friends being found insufficient

¹ *Monthly Mercury* for August, 1714.

² *Report of the Committee of Secrecy.*

to acquit him, he spoke to the following purport : " The whole charge against me may be reduced to the negotiating and concluding the peace of Utrecht : and that peace, bad as it is represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. As I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the queen, my mistress, and never offended against any known law, I am justified in my conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man ; but I cannot remain unconcerned, without the highest ingratitude, for the reputation of the best of queens. Gratitude binds me to vindicate her memory.—My lords," added he, " if ministers of state, acting by the immediate command of their sovereign, are afterward to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the case of every member of this august assembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing ; and I hope that, in the prosecution of this inquiry, it will appear I have *merited* not only the *indulgence*, but the favour of the *present government*¹." The new ministers seem at last to have been sensible of the truth of this assertion ; for the earl, when brought to his trial, after remaining near two years in prison, was dismissed for want of accusers, the commons not choosing to appear against him.

To these prosecutions, which have been represented as vindictive, and the partiality of the king to the Whigs, the rebellion that disturbed the beginning of this reign has been ascribed ; but very unjustly. The prosecutions were necessary, in order to free the nation from the imputation of having connived at a shameful breach of public faith : and if George I. had not thrown himself into the hands of the Whigs, he must soon have returned to Hanover. Of all the parties in the kingdom, they only were sincerely attached to his cause, or could now be said firmly to adhere to the principles of the Revolution. The moderate Tories might perhaps have been gained ; but the animosity, between that party and the Whigs, was yet too keen to admit a coalition. Beside, such a coalition, though it might have quieted, in appearance, some factious leaders, and produced a momentary calm, would have been dangerous to the established government.

The Tories were in general inclined to Jacobitism. The heads of the faction, both in England and Scotland, held a secret correspondence with the pretender ; and although no regular con-

¹ *Parl. Hist.* 1715.

cert had been formed, a tendency toward an insurrection appeared among them, from one end of the island to the other, and the most artful means were employed to inflame the body of the people, as well as to secure particular adherents. The disbanded officers were gained by money¹; scandalous libels were published against the electoral family; the pretender's manifestoes were every where dispersed; all the Whigs were brought under the description of dissenters; and the cry of the danger of the church was revived.

During these discontents and cabals, which were chiefly occasioned by the disappointment of the Jacobites and violent Tories, in consequence of the premature death of queen Anne, the zeal and loyalty of the Whigs could alone have supported king George upon the throne of Great Britain; and the arrival of a small body of foreign soldiers might have made the contest doubtful between the house of Stuart and that of Hanover. Such a body of auxiliaries the duke of Ormond, and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly solicited from the pretender, as necessary to render their designs in his favour successful.

Convinced of the reasonableness of this demand, the duke of Berwick used all his influence, but in vain, to procure a few regiments from the court of Versailles. Louis, broken by years and infirmities, and standing on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any measure that might disturb the minority of his great grandson. He therefore declined taking openly any part in the affairs of the pretender; and the vigilance of the earl of Stair, the British ambassador in France, effectually prevented any secret aids from operating to the disadvantage of his master.

The pretender, however, had still hopes of being able to ascend the throne of his ancestors, by means of his English adherents, and the assistance of the Scottish Jacobites, who had already provided themselves with arms, and were ready to rise at his command. His brother the duke of Berwick, and the fugitive lord Bolingbroke, to whom he had delivered the seals, as secretary of state, were less sanguine in their expectations; yet they flattered themselves, that some bold step would be taken, which might encourage the court of France to interpose in his favour. But the misconduct of the duke of Ormond disappointed these hopes.

This nobleman, after his impeachment, had retired to his

¹ Duke of Berwickl. ii.

house at Richmond, where he lived in great state, and was surrounded by the whole body of the Tories, of which he was supposed to be the head. He seemed to have set up the standard against his sovereign. And he assured the pretender, he would hold his station as long as possible; and that when he could maintain it no longer he would retire to the North or West of England (where he had many friends, among whom he had distributed a number of reduced officers), and in one of those quarters begin an insurrection. He had even settled a relay of horses, in order to proceed with greater expedition when the dangerous moment should arrive. But the duke, though personally brave, was destitute of that vigour of spirit, which is necessary for the execution of such an undertaking. When informed that a party of the guards had orders to surround his house and seize his person, he lost all presence of mind, and hastily made his escape to France; without leaving any instructions for his friends, who were waiting for an order to take up arms, and were eager to act under his command¹.

The unexpected flight of Ormond gave a fatal wound to the cause of the pretender. It not only disconcerted the plans of his English adherents, but confirmed the court of Versailles in the resolution of yielding him no open assistance. If a man, on whose credit the highest hopes of the Jacobites rested, was under the necessity of abandoning his country, without being able to strike a blow, the French ministry very reasonably concluded that the Tories could not be so powerful, or so ripe for an insurrection, as they had been represented.

Sept. 1. The death of Louis, which happened soon after, further N.S. embarrassed the pretender's affairs. "No prince," says the duke of Berwick, "was ever so little known as this monarch. He has been represented as a man not only cruel and false, but difficult of access. I have frequently had the honour of audiences from him, and have been very familiarly admitted to his presence: and I can affirm, that his *pride* was only in *appearance*. He was born with an *air of majesty*, which struck every one so much, that nobody could approach him without being seized with awe and respect; but as soon as you spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and put you quite at ease. He was the most polite man in his kingdom: and his answers were accompanied with so many obliging expressions, that, if he granted your request, the obligation was doubled by the manner

¹ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

of conferring it; and, if he refused, you could not complain." It was that air of majesty, mentioned by the duke, which so disconcerted the old officer, who came to ask a favour of Louis, that he could only say in a faltering voice, "I hope your majesty will believe I do not thus tremble before your enemies!" The character of this prince I have already had occasion to draw, and to exhibit in various lights.

The duke of Orléans, who was appointed, by the parliament of Paris, regent during the minority of Louis XV., in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, affected privately to espouse the interests of the house of Stuart; but the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority against the other princes of the blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to take, though with seeming reluctance, all the steps pointed out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the designs of the Jacobites. Of those measures, the most important was the stopping of some ships laden with arms and ammunition; an irreparable loss to the pretender, as he could neither procure money, nor permission to purchase a fresh quantity of such articles in any other country¹.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the indigent representative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquish his hopes of a crown: nor did his partisans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cause. But ardour, unless governed by prudence, is a wild energy, that often brings ruin on the party it was intended to serve. It required all the cool experience of the duke of Berwick, and the great talents of lord Bolingbroke, to moderate the zeal of the English and Scottish Jacobites. The Highlanders were eager to take arms: they had entered into a regular concert for that purpose; they knew their force; and, confident of success, they entreated the pretender to place himself at their head, or at least to permit them to rise in vindication of his just rights. Some account must here be given of this singular race of men.

The Highlanders are the reputed descendants of the original Celtic inhabitants of North Britain, and value themselves on having had the rare fortune of never being subjected to the laws of any conqueror. From the victorious arms of the Romans they took refuge in their rugged mountains, and there continued to enjoy their independence, while that ambitious people re-

¹ Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

mained masters of the southern parts of this island. Nor has the sword of Dane, of Saxon, or of Norman, ever reduced them to submission.

But although independent, the Highlanders were by no means free. Divided into a variety of clans or tribes, under chiefs who exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction over them, the body of the people were in a great measure slaves to the will of petty tyrants. And from that law of will, which it was the common interest and the pride of all the heads of clans to support, there lay no appeal; for, although the Highland chiefs acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Scotland, and held themselves bound to assist him in his wars, they admitted not his control in their private concerns, in their treatment of their own vassals, or in their disputes with hostile clans. His mediation was all he could presume to offer. Nor was that often obtruded upon them: the Scottish monarchs in general deeming themselves happy, if they could prevent these barbarous and predatory tribes from pillaging the more opulent and industrious inhabitants of the Lowlands¹.

The remote situation of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of any language but that of their rude ancestors, commonly known by the name of Erse, contributed to prolong their barbarity and slavery. They had no means of making known their grievances to the throne, and few opportunities of becoming acquainted with the benefits of civil government, and the arts or accommodations of civil life.

The servitude of the Highland vassals, however, was alleviated by certain circumstances connected with their condition. All the people of the different clans bore the name of their hereditary chief, and were supposed to be allied to him by the ties of blood. This admitted claim of a common relation, which, in small clans, was a strong curb upon the oppressive spirit of domination, and in all led to a freedom of intercourse highly flattering to human pride, communicated to the vassal Highlanders, with the most implicit submission to their chiefs, a sentiment of conscious dignity, and a sense of natural equality, not to be found among the subjects of other petty despots or feudal lords. This idea of personal importance, and the com-

¹ In palliation of those cruel inroads, it has been said, that the Highlanders having been driven from the Low Countries by invasion, have, from *time immemorial*, thought themselves "entitled to make reprisals upon the property of their invaders!" (Dalrymple's *Mem. of Great Britain*.) The same plea has been urged by the American savages as an apology for pillaging the European settlements, and with more plausibility, as the era of invasion is not *immemorial*.

plaisance of the Highland chiefs, were heightened by the perpetual wars among the clans; in which every individual had frequent opportunities of displaying his prowess, and of manifesting his attachment to the head of his family. The ties of blood were strengthened by those of interest, of gratitude, and mutual esteem.

Those wars, and the active life of the Highlanders in times of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or herding their cattle (the labours of husbandry among them being few), habituated them to the use of arms, and hardened them to the endurance of toil, without greatly wasting their bodily strength or destroying their agility. Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target or buckler, were a broad-sword, for cutting or thrusting at a distance, and a dirk or dagger, for stabbing in close fight. To these, when they became acquainted with the use of fire-arms, they added a musket, which was laid aside in battle after the first discharge. They occasionally carried also a pair of pistols, that were fired as soon as the musket was discharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude to the havoc of the broad-sword; which was instantly brandished by every arm, gleaming like the coruscations of lightning, to infuse terror into the heart and conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head or on the target of an antagonist, with the shock of thunder. Want of perseverance and of union, however, generally rendered the efforts of the clans, as a body, abortive, notwithstanding their prowess in combat, and exposed them to the disgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

The dress of the Highlanders was well suited to their arms, to their moist mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Instead of breeches, they wore a light woollen garment, called the *kilt*, which came as low as the knee; a thick cloth jacket; a worsted plaid, six yards in length and two in breadth, wrapped loosely round the body; the upper fold of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity, and their strokes with greater force. They fought not in ranks, but in knots or separate bands, condensed and firm.

Such were the people who, under their numerous chieftains, had formed a regular confederacy, and were zealous for the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepossessed in favour of the hereditary

descent of the crown, they could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of succession from political considerations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingship, and even of clanship. They therefore thought themselves bound, by a sacred indispensable obligation, to re-instate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to perish in the bold attempt.

The pretender's southern friends were no less liberal in their professions of zeal in his cause. They pressed him to land in the West of England; where his person would be as safe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no decisive measures for a general insurrection: though they still continued to represent arms and foreign troops as necessary to such a step, and were told that he was not only incapable of furnishing them with either, but assured that he could not bring with him so many men as would be able to protect him against the peace-officers¹.

To compose the spirit of the Highlanders, who seemed to fear nothing so much, as that the business of restoring their king would be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated by others, they were informed, that the pretender desired to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted, that they might in strict concert assist each other; and that it was very much to be wished all hostilities in Scotland could be suspended until the English were ready to take arms. A memorial, drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already sent, by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites in England, representing the unreasonableness of desiring the pretender to land among them before they were in a condition to support him. They were now requested to consider seriously whether they were yet in such a condition; and were assured, that, as soon as an intimation to that purpose should be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the pretender was ready to put himself at their head. They named, as a landing-place, the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and said they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive the king; but they offered no conjecture with respect to the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed on the persons who had engaged to rise.

This, as lord Bolingbroke justly observes, was not the answer

¹ Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*.

of men who knew what they were about. Greater precision was surely necessary in dictating a message, that was expected to be attended with such important consequences. The duke of Ormond, however, set out from Paris, and the pretender from his temporary residence at Bar on the frontiers of Lorraine, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were sent to the West, some to the North of England, and others to London, to give notice that both were on their way. And their routes were so directed, that Ormond was to sail from the coast of Normandy a few days before the pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing, and of the prospect of success¹.

But the pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance of the English government, defeated the designs of his adherents in the West, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by priests and women, he had unwisely given, in the beginning of September, a secret order to the earl of Mar, already appointed his commander-in-chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and to take up arms. Mar, who had been secretary of state for Scotland during the reign of queen Anne, and who had great influence in the Highlands, did not hesitate a moment to obey. He instantly left London, attended by lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long served with distinction in Holland and Flanders; and as soon as he reached his own country, having assembled about three hundred of his friends and vassals, he proclaimed the pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and set up his standard Sept. at Braemar, summoning all good subjects to join him, in 6. order to restore their rightful sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunswick, usurper of the British monarchy².

In consequence of this proclamation, and a declaration by which it was followed, Mar was soon joined by the marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Mareschal and Southesk, and all the heads of the Jacobite clans. With their assistance, he was able in a few weeks to collect about nine thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his head quarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland which lies beyond the Frith of Forth.

¹ Bolingbroke's *Letter to Wyndham*.

² Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

This was great and rapid success. But the duke of Argyle had already received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces of North Britain; and the pretender's affairs had suffered, in the mean time, an irreparable injury in another quarter. The jealousy of government being roused by the precipitate insurrection of Mar, the lords Lansdown and Duplin, the earl of Jersey, sir William Wyndham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raise the West of England, were taken into custody on suspicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was disconcerted. The gentlemen were intimidated, the people were overawed; so that the duke of Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging, in a country where he expected to head an army and re-establish a king¹. He returned to France with the discouraging intelligence; but, as soon as the vessel that carried him could be refitted, astonishing as it may seem, he made a second attempt to land in the same part of the island. What he could purpose by this second attempt, his best friends could never comprehend; and they were of opinion, that a storm, in which he was in danger of being cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a yet greater peril—that of perishing in an adventure, as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all reasonable meaning, as any of those which have rendered the knight of La Mancha immortal.

The pretender's affairs wore a less unfavourable aspect, for a time, in the North of England. Mr. Foster, a gentleman of some influence in Northumberland, with the lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and assembled a considerable force. But as their troops consisted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the earl of Mar to send them a reinforcement of infantry. This request was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintosh was ordered to join them, with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the mean time, having failed in an attempt upon Newcastle, and being informed that Mackintosh had already crossed the Forth, they marched northward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horse, under the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the viscount Kenmuir, and other persons of distinction. They passed the Tweed at Kelso; and, when they had formed a junction with Mackintosh, a council of war was called, to deliberate on their future proceedings.

¹ Bolingbroke's *Letter to Wyndham*.

In this council, little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately toward the West of Scotland, and press the duke of Argyle on one side, while the earl of Mar attacked him on the other, seemed the most rational plan; as a victory over that nobleman, which they could scarcely have failed to obtain, would have put the pretender at once in possession of all North Britain. Such a proposal was made by the earl of Wintoun, and agreed to by all the Scottish leaders; but the English insisted on repassing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, who had been sent with only nine hundred horse to suppress the rebellion in Northumberland.

From an incomppliant spirit, mingled with national jealousy, the rebels adopted neither of those plans, nor embraced any fixed resolution. The English insurgents persisted in their refusal to penetrate into Scotland. Many of the Highlanders, equally obstinate, attempted in disgust to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintosh and Foster, who entered England by the western border, leaving general Carpenter on the left.

These leaders proceeded, by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they were in hopes of increasing their numbers, by the rising of the Catholics of Lancashire. But before they could receive any considerable accession of strength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that general Willes was ready to invest it, with six regiments of cavalry, and one battalion of infantry. They now prepared themselves for resistance, and repelled the first attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Willes being joined, the next day, by three regiments of dragoons under general Carpenter, the rebels lost all heart, and surren- Nov.
dered at discretion¹. Several reduced officers, found to 14.
have been in arms against their sovereign, were immediately shot as deserters; the nobles and gentlemen were sent prisoners to London, and committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the castle of Chester, and other secure places in the country.

The day before the rebellion in England was extinguished by the surrender of Foster and his associates at Preston, the rebels in Scotland received a severe shock from the royal troops. The earl of Mar, after having wasted his time in forming his army, with unnecessary parade, at Perth, resolved to march into England,

¹ *Annals of George I.*—Duke of Berwick, vol. ii.

and join his southern friends. With this view he marched to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to cross the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the southern side of that river, instead of waiting to dispute the passage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Stirling, as soon as he was informed of their intention, and encamped within a few miles of the earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblane, and his right toward Sheriff-Muir. His army scarcely exceeded a third part of the number of the rebel host; but he did not despair of success. On the approach of the enemy, finding himself out-flanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he altered the disposition and arrangements which he had previously made, and took possession of an eminence to the north-east of Dumblane. In consequence of this movement, which was attended with some degree of confusion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, composed of the clans, headed by Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, sir John Maclean, Campbell of Glenlyon, Gordon of Glenbucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders seemed at one time discouraged, by the loss of one of their leaders; when Glengary waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge to-day! grief to-morrow!" they rushed up to the muzzles of the muskets of the king's troops, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and made great havock with their broad-swords. The left wing of the royal army was quickly broken and routed. Witham, who commanded it, fled to Stirling, declaring that all was lost.

Meanwhile the duke of Argyle, who conducted in person the right wing of the royal army, consisting chiefly of horse, had defeated the left of the rebels, and pursued them with great slaughter, as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This pursuit, however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithstanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the shock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to resist, frequently made a stand, and endeavoured to renew the combat. And if the earl of Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had possessed only a moderate share of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to re-visit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered by numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no such attempt being made, and the advantage gained over his left wing not being properly improved, the duke returned triumphant to the

scene of action ; and Mar, who had taken post on the top of a hill, with about five thousand of the flower of his army, not only forbore to molest the king's troops, but retired in the night, and hastened to Perth. In the morning the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had saved him the trouble of dislodging them, drew off his army toward Stirling, carrying off the enemy's artillery, bread-waggons, and many prisoners of distinction¹.

This battle, though not in itself decisive, proved fatal in its consequences to the affairs of the pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers, who seemed disposed to join the rebels, now declared for the established government, and seized the important post of Inverness, from which he drove sir John Mackenzie ; while the earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been overawed, appeared openly in the same cause. Against those noblemen Mar detached the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vassals. But the rebel chiefs, instead of coming to immediate action, suffered themselves to be amused with negotiations ; and both, after some hesitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The marquis of Tullibardine also withdrew from the rebel army, in order to defend his own country against the friends of government ; and the clans, disgusted at their ill success, dispersed on the approach of winter, with their usual want of perseverance.

The pretender, who had hitherto resisted every solicitation to come over, took the unaccountable resolution, in this desperate state of his affairs, of landing in the north of Scotland. He accordingly set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, and arrived at Peterhead, attended only by six gentlemen. He was met Dec. at Fetterosse by the earl of Mar, and conducted to Perth. 22. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone. But he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony by the approach of the duke of Argyle ; who, having been reinforced with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced toward Perth, notwithstanding the rigour of the season.

As that town had no other fortification than a simple wall, and was otherwise unprovided for a siege, the king's troops took possession of it without resistance. Mar and the pretender had retired to Montrose ; and, seeing no prospect of better A. D. fortune, they embarked for France with the earl of Mel- 1716.

¹ *London Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1715.—*Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.—*Account of the battle of Dumblane*, printed at Edinburgh in 1715.

fort and other men of rank. General Gordon and the earl Mareschal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march so rapid as to elude pursuit. Many who did not expect pardon, embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly dismissed. The whole country submitted to the duke of Argyle.

Such, my dear Philip, was the issue of a rebellion, which originated, as we have seen, from the intrigues in favour of the pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, not from the measures of the new government, as represented by the Jacobite writers. Its declared object was the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; and that event many otherwise intelligent men have supposed, would have been attended with fewer inconveniences than the accession of the house of Hanover. But they who reflect, that the pretender was a bigoted papist, and not only obstinately refused to change his religion, though sensible of his being incapacitated by it from legally succeeding to the crown, but studiously avoided, in his very manifestoes, giving any open and unequivocal assurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law established*¹, will find reason to be of another opinion. They will consider the suppression of this rebellion, which defeated the designs of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguished the hopes of the pretender, as an event of the utmost importance to the happiness of Great Britain. The earl of Derwentwater, lord Kenmuir, and a few other rebel prisoners, publicly suffered death; but no blood was wantonly shed. These executions were dictated by prudence rather than by vengeance.

We must now turn our eyes toward another quarter of Europe, and take a view of the king of Sweden and his antagonist, Peter the Great. The Swedish prince particularly claims our attention at this period; as, among his other extravagant projects, he had formed a design of restoring the pretender.

¹ See Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham* in which many curious proofs of the pretender's duplicity and bigotry are given. When the draught of a declaration, and other papers, to be dispersed in Great Britain, were presented to him by his secretary, "he took exception against several passages, and particularly against those wherein a *direct promise* of securing the churches of England and Ireland was made. 'He was told,' he said, 'that he could not, in conscience, make such a promise.' The draughts were accordingly altered by his priests: and the most material passages were turned with all the jesuitical prevarication imaginable." In consequence of these alterations, Bolingbroke refused to countersign the declaration.

LETTER XXV.

Of the Affairs of Turkey, Russia, and the Northern Kingdoms, from the Defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa, in 1709, to the Death of Peter the Great, in 1725.

THE defeat of the king of Sweden at Pultowa, as I have already had occasion to notice, was followed by the most important consequences. The prince who had so long been the terror of Europe, was obliged to take shelter in the Turkish dominions, where he continued in a state of exile; while his former rival, the Russian monarch, victorious on every side, restored Augustus to the throne of Poland, expelled the Swedes from that country, and made himself master of Carelia and Livonia¹. A. D. 1709.

The circumstances attending these conquests are not sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. I shall therefore pass them over, and proceed to the intrigues of Charles and Poniatowski at the Ottoman court, which gave birth to more striking events. It is proper, however, to observe in this place, that the king of Denmark having declared war against Sweden, soon after the defeat of the Swedish monarch at Pultowa, in hopes of profiting by the misfortunes of that prince, and invaded Schonen, his troops were routed with great slaughter near Elsingburg, by the Swedish militia, and a few regiments of veterans, under general Steenbock. A. D. 1710. March 10, N. S.

Charles was so much delighted with the news of this victory, and enraged at the conduct of those enemies who had risen up against him in his absence, that he could not forbear exclaiming, "My brave Swedes! should it please God that I once more join you, we will beat them all!" He had then, indeed, a near prospect of being able to return to his capital as a conqueror, and to take severe vengeance on his numerous adversaries.

It is a maxim of the Turkish government, to consider as sacred the persons of such unfortunate princes as take refuge in the dominions of the grand signior, and to supply them liberally with the conveniences of life, according to their rank, while within the limits of the Ottoman empire. Agreeably to this

¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, chap. xix.

generous maxim, the king of Sweden was honourably conducted to Bender; and saluted, on his arrival, with a general discharge of the artillery. As he did not choose to lodge within the town, Ismael, the pasha or governor of the province, caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him on the banks of the Niester. Tents were also erected for his principal attendants; and these tents were afterward transformed into houses: so that the camp of the unfortunate monarch gradually became a considerable village. Great numbers of strangers resorted to Bender to see him. The Turks and neighbouring Greeks came thither in crowds. All respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting publicly twice a-day at divine service, induced the Mahomedans to say that he was a true believer, and inspired them with an ardent desire of marching under him to the conquest of Russia¹.

That idea still occupied the mind of Charles. Though a fugitive among infidels, and destitute of resources, he was not without hopes of yet being able to dethrone the czar. With this view his envoy at the court of Constantinople delivered memorials to the grand vizir; and his friend Poniatowski, who was always dressed in the Turkish habit, and had free access every where, supported these solicitations by his intrigues. Ahmed III., the reigning sultan, presented Poniatowski with a purse of a thousand ducats; and the vizir said to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other, and conduct him to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men!" But the czar's money soon changed the sentiments of the Turkish minister. The military chest, which Peter had taken at Pultowa, furnished him with new arms to wound the vanquished Charles, whose blood-earned treasures were turned against himself. All thoughts of a war with Russia were laid aside by the Porte.

The king of Sweden, however, though thus discomfited in his negotiations, by means of the czar's gold, as he had been in the field by the army of that prince, was not in the least dejected. Convinced that the sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of the vizir, he resolved to acquaint him with the corruption of his minister; and Poniatowski undertook the execution of this hazardous business.

The Turkish emperor goes every Friday to the mosque, surrounded by his *solaks*; a kind of guards, whose turbans are

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. v.

² *Id.* Ibid.

adorned with such high feathers as to conceal the prince from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to present, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the paper aloft. Sometimes the sultan condescends to receive the petition himself; but he more frequently orders an aga to take charge of it, and causes it to be laid before him on his return from the mosque. Poniatowski had no other method of conveying his master's complaint to Ahmed.

Some days after receiving the petition, the sultan sent a polite letter to Charles, accompanied with a present of twenty-five Arabian horses; one of which, having carried his sublime highness, was covered with a saddle and trappings ornamented with precious stones, and furnished with stirrups of massy gold. But he declined taking any step to the disadvantage of his minister, whose conduct he seemed to approve. The ruin of the vizir, however, was approaching. Through the intrigues of Poniatowski, he was banished to Caffa in Crim Tartary; and the seal of the empire was given to Numan Kupruli, grandson to the great Kupruli, who took Candia from the Venetians.

The new minister, who was a man of incorruptible integrity, could not bear the thoughts of a war against Russia, which he considered as alike unnecessary and unjust. But the same attachment to justice, which disinclined him to a violation of the faith of treaties, induced him to observe the rights of hospitality toward the king of Sweden, and even to enlarge the generosity of the sultan to that unfortunate prince. He sent Charles eight hundred purses, each containing five hundred crowns, and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions; either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which then lay in the harbour of Constantinople.

But the haughty and inflexible Charles, who still imagined that he should be able to engage the Turks in his project of dethroning the czar, obstinately rejected this, and every other proposal for his quiet return to Sweden. He was constantly employed in magnifying the power of his former rival, whom he had long affected to despise; and his emissaries took care, at the same time, to insinuate that Peter was ambitious of subduing the Cossacks, carrying his arms into Crim Tartary, and securing the command of the Black Sea¹. But these insinuations, which

¹ Voltaire, *ubi sup.* These particulars this lively author had partly from Poniatowski himself, and partly from M. de Feriol, the French ambassador at the Porte.

sometimes alarmed the Porte, generally yielded to the more powerful arguments of the Russian ministers.

While the obstinacy of the king of Sweden, in refusing to return to his own dominions in any other character than that of a conqueror, made his fate thus depend upon the caprice of vizirs; while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from the great enemy of Christianity, himself a devout Christian; presenting petitions to the grand Turk, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert;—the Russian monarch was exhibiting to his people a spectacle not unworthy of the ancient Romans, when Rome was in her glory. To inspire his subjects with a taste for magnificence, and impress them with an awful respect for his power, he made his public entry into Moscow (after reinstating his ally on the throne of Poland) under seven triumphal arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing that the climate could produce, or a thriving commerce furnish. First in procession marched a regiment of guards, followed by the artillery taken from the Swedes; each piece of which was drawn by eight horses, splendidly caparisoned. Next came the kettle-drums, colours, and standards, won from the same enemy, carried by the officers and soldiers who had captured them. These trophies were followed by the finest troops of the czar; and after they had filed off, the litter in which Charles was carried at the battle of Pultowa, shattered with cannon-shot, appeared in a chariot made on purpose to display it. Behind the litter marched, in pairs, count Piper, general Renschild, Lewenhaupt, and other distinguished captives, with a multitude of inferior prisoners. Then appeared the triumphant conqueror, mounted on the same horse which he rode in that memorable engagement, and followed by the generals who had a share in the victory; the whole being closed by a vast number of waggons, loaded with the Swedish military stores, and preceded by a regiment of Russian guards¹.

This magnificent spectacle, which augmented the veneration of the Moscovites for the person of Peter, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes than all his military achievements and civil institutions, furnished Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealousy of the Porte. The grand-vizir Kupruli, who had zealously opposed the views of the king of Sweden, was dismissed from his office, after having filled it only two months, and the seal of the empire was given to

¹ *Hist. de Russie*, chap. xix.—*Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. v.

Baltagi Mohammed, pasha of Syria. Baltagi, on his arrival at Constantinople, found the interest of the Swedish monarch prevailing in the seraglio. The mother of the reigning emperor, his favourite Kumurgi, the *kislar aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janisaries, were all for a war against Russia; and Ahmed himself, now embracing the same resolution, gave orders to the vizir to attack the dominions of the czar with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi was no warrior, but he prepared to obey¹.

The first violent step of the Ottoman court was the arrest of the Russian ambassador, who was committed to the Nov. castle of the Seven Towers. It is the custom of the 29. Turks to begin hostilities with imprisoning the ministers of those princes against whom they intend to declare war, instead of ordering them to leave the dominions of the Porte. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, they pretend to vindicate, by alleging that they never undertake any but just wars, and that they have a right to punish the ambassadors of the princes with whom they are at enmity, as accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

But the true origin of the practice may be referred to the ancient and hereditary hatred and contempt of the Turks for the Christian powers, which they take every occasion of showing²; and to the meanness of the latter, who from motives of interest, and jealousy of each other, continually support a number of ambassadors, considered as little better than spies at the court of Constantinople, while the proud sultan rarely sends an ambassador to any court in Christendom. It is a disrespect to the Christian name and the office of resident, that betrays the votary of the Koran into this flagrant breach of the law of nations; a law which his prejudices induced him to think ought only to be observed toward the faithful, or those eastern nations who though not Mohammedans, equal the Turks in stateliness of manners, and decline sending any ambassadors among them, except on extraordinary occasions. In consequence of these prejudices, the Russian ambassador was imprisoned, as a prelude to a declaration of war against his master.

The czar was soon ready to meet his new enemies. He

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. v.

² The insults to which Christian traders in Turkey are exposed, even at this day, are too horrid to be mentioned, and such as only the inordinate love of gold could induce any man of spirit to submit to, however small his veneration for the religion of the cross. Consuls and ambassadors, though invested with a public character, and more immediately entitled to protection, are not altogether exempted from such insults.

ordered his forces in Poland to march to the southward; withdrew his troops from Livonia, and made every preparation for opening the campaign with vigour on the frontiers of Turkey. Nor were the Turks negligent in taking measures for opposing, and even humbling him. The khan of Crim Tartary was ordered to keep a great army in readiness; and the military subjects of the Porte were collected from all quarters.

Gained over, by presents and promises, to the interest of the king of Sweden, the khan at first obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the Turkish forces near Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order more effectually to convince him, that the war was undertaken solely on his account. But the vizir Baltagi, who lay under no such obligations, did not choose to flatter a foreign prince so highly at the expense of truth. He was sensible, that the jealousy of the sultan at the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince as Peter, and his alarm at the increasing strength of Asoph, and at the number of Russian ships on the Black Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were the real causes of the war. He therefore changed the place of rendezvous. The troops of the Porte were ordered to assemble on the extensive and fertile plains of Adrianople, where the Turks usually muster their forces when they are going to make war upon the Christians. There the soldiers who arrive from Asia and Africa, are commonly allowed to repose themselves for

A.D. a few weeks, and to recruit their strength before they
1711. enter upon action. But Baltagi, hoping to anticipate the preparations of the czar, began his march toward the Danube, within three days after reviewing his forces.

Peter had already taken the field at the head of a formidable army, and planned his route through Moldavia and Walachia; the country of the ancient Daci, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, who are tributary to the grand signor. Moldavia was at this time governed by Demetrius Cantemir, a prince of Grecian extraction, and who united in his character the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks—the use of arms, and the knowledge of letters. This prince fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily triumph over a vizir who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his *kiaia*, or lieutenant-general, the superintendent of the customs at Constantinople. He accordingly resolved to join the czar, and did not doubt that all his subjects would readily follow his example, as the Greek patriarch encouraged him in his revolt. Having concluded a secret treaty with prince Cantemir, and

received him into his army, Peter, thus encouraged, advanced with alacrity, passed the Niester, and reached the northern banks of the Pruth, near Yassi, the capital of Moldavia¹. June.

But the Russian monarch, by confiding in the promises of the Moldavian prince, soon found himself in a situation as perilous, on the banks of the Pruth, as that in which his rival had involved himself at Pultowa, in consequence of relying on the friendship of Mazeppa. The Moldavians, happy under the Turkish government, which is seldom fatal to any but the grandes, and affects great lenity toward its tributary provinces, refused to follow the standard of Cantemir, or to supply the Russians with provisions. Meanwhile the vizir, having passed the Pruth, advanced with an army so numerous, that the czar's troops were in a manner encompassed. He formed an intrenched camp before them, the river running behind him; and forty thousand Tartars were continually harassing them on the right and left.

As soon as Poniatowski, who was in the Ottoman camp, saw that an engagement was inevitable, he sent an express to the king of Sweden; who, although he had refused to join the Turkish army, because he was not permitted to command it, immediately left Bender, anticipating the pleasure of beholding the ruin of the czar. To avoid that ruin, Peter decamped under favour of the night; but, his intent being discovered, the Turks attacked his rear by break of day, and threw his army into some confusion. The Russians, however, having rallied behind their baggage-waggons, made so strong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that it was judged impracticable to dislodge them, after two terrible attacks, in which the Turks lost a great number of men. Unwilling to risk a third assault, the vizir determined to reduce the czar and his exhausted army by famine. This was the most prudent measure he could have adopted. The Russians were not only destitute of forage and provisions, but even of the means of quenching their thirst. Notwithstanding their vicinity to the Pruth, they were in great want of water; a body of Turks guarding, by a continual discharge of artillery, that precious necessary of life.

In this desperate extremity, when the loss of his army seemed the least evil that could befall him, the czar, on the approach of night, retired to his tent, in violent agitation of mind: giving positive orders that no person whatever should be admitted to

¹ *Hist. de Russie.—Hist. de Charles XII.*

disturb his privacy—to behold his exquisite distress, or shake a great resolution he had taken of attempting, the next morning, to force his way through the enemy with fixed bayonets. Catharine, a Livonian captive of low condition, whom he had raised to the throne, and who accompanied him in this expedition, boldly exposing her person to every danger, thought proper to break through these orders. She ventured, for once, to disobey; but not from a feminine weakness. Her mind alone rode out that storm of despair, in which the prospect of unavoidable death or slavery had sunk the whole camp. Entering the melancholy abode of her husband, and throwing herself at his feet, she entreated the czar to permit her to offer, in his name, proposals of peace to the grand vizir. Peter, after some hesitation, consented. He signed a letter which she presented to him; and the czarina having made choice of an officer on whose fidelity and talents she could depend, dispatched him to the Turkish camp with the epistle, and a present of jewels and other valuable articles, according to the custom of the east.

“Let the czar send to me his prime minister!” said Baltagi, with the haughty tone of a conqueror; “and I will then consider what is to be done.” The vice-chancellor, Shaffiroff, immediately repaired to the Ottoman camp, and a negotiation took place. The vizir at first demanded, that Peter and his whole army should surrender prisoners of war. The vice-chancellor replied, that the Russians would perish to a man sooner than submit to such dishonourable conditions; that his master’s resolution was already taken: he was determined to open a passage with the point of the bayonet. Baltagi, though unskilled in military affairs, was sensible of the danger of driving to despair a body of thirty-five thousand brave and disciplined warriors, headed by

July a gallant prince. He granted a suspension of arms for six
21. hours; and, before the expiration of that term, it was agreed by the Russian minister, that the czar should restore Asoph, destroy the works at Taganrok, demolish the forts built near the Palus Mæotis, withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther disturbance to the Cossacks, and permit the Swedish monarch to return into his own kingdom¹.

On these conditions, Peter was allowed to retire with his army. The Turks supplied him with provisions; so that he had plenty of every thing in his camp, only two hours after signing the treaty. He would not, however, delay his retreat, aware of the

¹ Voltaire, ubi supra.

danger of intervening accidents.—And as he was marching off, with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the fight, and happy in the thought of having his enemy in his power. Poniatowski met him with a dejected countenance, and informed him of the peace. Inflamed with resentment, Charles flew to the tent of the vizir, and keenly reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. “I have a right,” said Baltagi, with a calm aspect, “to make either peace or war, and our law commands us to grant peace to our enemies, when they implore our mercy.”—“And does it command you,” subjoined Charles, in a haughty tone, “to stay the operations of war, by an unmeaning treaty, when you might impose the law of the conqueror? Did not fortune afford you an opportunity of leading the czar in chains to Constantinople?” The vizir, thus pressed, replied, with an imperious frown, “And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all crowned heads should leave their dominions!” Charles answered only by a contemptuous smile. Swelling with indignation, he threw himself upon a sofa; and, darting on all around him a look of disdain, he stretched out his leg, and entangling his spur in Baltagi’s robe, purposely tore it. The vizir took no notice of this splenetic insult, which he seemed to consider as an accident; and the king, farther mortified by that magnanimous neglect, sprang up, mounted his horse, and returned with a sorrowful heart to Bender¹.

Baltagi, however, was soon made sensible of his error, in not paying more attention to the claims of Charles. For although the grand signor was so well pleased with the recent treaty, when the news first reached Constantinople, that he ordered public rejoicings for a whole week, Poniatowski and the other agents of Charles soon found means to persuade him that his interests had been betrayed. The grand vizir was disgraced; but not before he had procured an order for discontinuing the liberal allowance of five hundred crowns a day, with which, beside a profusion of every thing necessary for his table, the exiled prince had been hitherto indulged. The new vizir, Yusef, was not more disposed than Baltagi to favour the views of the king of Sweden; for he confirmed the treaty with the czar; and all the attempts of Charles to rekindle the war between the Turks and Russians proved ineffectual; for the

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. v.—Voltaire had all these particulars from Poniatowski, who was present at the interview.

divan, wearied out with his importunities, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army as a king whose cause the sultan intended to support, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to dismiss, attended by a sufficient guard. For this purpose Ahmed sent Charles a letter; in April 19, which, after styling him *a very powerful prince among* 1712. *the votaries of Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory*, he peremptorily required his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the sultan, "to send our victorious army once more against the czar, we have found reason to change our resolution. To avoid the just resentment which we had expressed at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterwards renewed at our sublime Porte, that prince has surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Azoph; and endeavoured, through the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us. We have therefore granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, having first received his from their hands. We have given our inviolable orders to the khan of the Crimea and the pasha Ismael for your return to the north. You must therefore prepare to set out, under the protection of Providence, and with an honourable guard, on purpose to return to your own dominions, taking care to pass through those of Poland in a peaceable manner¹."

Although this letter is sufficiently explicit, it did not extinguish the hopes of the king of Sweden. He still flattered himself that he should be able to involve the Porte in a new war with Russia; and he had almost accomplished his aim. He discovered that the czar had not yet withdrawn his troops from Poland. When the sultan was informed of this circumstance, he threatened to strangle the vizir: but the favourite Kumurgi protected that minister; and, though the Russian ambassador was again committed to the castle of the Seven Towers, the storm was soon dissipated. The czar's plenipotentiaries, who had not yet left the Porte, engaged that the troops of their master should immediately evacuate Poland. The treaty of peace was renewed; and the king of Sweden was again desired to prepare for his departure.

When Ismael intimated this requisition to Charles, he replied that he could not commence his journey unless he had a suffi-

¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. vi.

cient sum for the payment of his debts. The pasha asked how much would be necessary. The king, at a venture, said, a thousand purses. Ismael acquainted the Porte with this request; and the sultan readily acceded to it. "Our imperial munificence," says he in a letter to the pasha, "hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender, to *remain* in your *custody* until the departure of the Swedish monarch; and then be given him, with two hundred purses more, as an additional mark of our imperial liberality."

Notwithstanding the strictness of these orders, Grothusen, the king's treasurer, found means to get the money from the pasha before the departure of his master, under pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey: and a few days after, to procure farther delay, Charles demanded another grant of a thousand purses. Confounded at this request, Ismael stood for a moment speechless, and was observed to drop a tear. "I shall lose my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty!" and he took his leave with a sorrowful countenance. He now wrote to the Porte in his own vindication; protesting that he did not deliver the twelve hundred purses, but upon a solemn promise from the Swedish minister that his master would instantly depart. The governor's excuse was admitted. A.D. The displeasure of Ahmed fell wholly upon Charles. 1713. Having convoked an extraordinary divan, he spoke to the following purport, his eyes flashing with indignation: "I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by his defeat at Pultowa, and the request he made to me for an asylum in my dominions. I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him. Nevertheless, without being influenced by any other motive than the hospitality of a true believer, directed by my natural generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the high as well as the low, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have received, protected, and maintained that prince, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, according to the dignity of a king; and, for the space of three years and a half, have continued to load him with favours. I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to pay some debts, though I defray all his expenses: instead of a thousand, I granted him twelve hundred purses; and having received these, he yet refuses to depart, until he shall obtain a thousand more, and a stronger guard, although that already appointed is more than sufficient. I therefore ask you, whether it will be a breach of the laws of

hospitality to send away this prince, and whether foreign powers can reasonably tax me with cruelty and injustice, if I should use force to expedite his departure¹?"

All the members of the divan answered, that such conduct would be consistent with strict justice. An order to that effect was accordingly sent to the pasha, who immediately informed Charles of it. "Obey your master, if you dare!" said the king; "and leave my presence instantly." The governor did not need this insult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands of his sovereign; and Charles, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, resolved, with his attendants and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to oppose a numerous army of Turks and Tartars, having ordered regular intrenchments to be thrown up for that purpose. After some hesitation, occasioned by the uncommon nature of the service, the word of

Feb. command was given. The Turks and their associates

12. marched up to the Swedish fortifications; and the cannon began to play. The little camp was quickly forced, and all the soldiers were made prisoners.

Charles, who was then on horseback, between the camp and his house, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domestics. With these, he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tartars; killed some of them, and bravely maintained his post, till the house was in flames, and one half of the roof fell in. In this extremity, a sentinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the chancery house had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and defend themselves to extremity. "There is a true Swede!" cried Charles, rushing out like a madman, at the head of a few desperadoes. The Turks at first recoiled, from respect to the person of the king; but suddenly recollecting their orders, they surrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made prisoner, with all his attendants. Being in boots as usual, he entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. A number of janisaries sprang upon him. He threw his sword up into the air, to avoid the mortification of surrendering it: and some of the janisaries taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner to the tent of the pasha².

Ismael gave Charles his own apartments, and ordered him to be served as a king, but not without taking the precaution to

¹ Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. vi.

² Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

plant a guard of janisaries at the door of the chamber. The next day he was conducted toward Adrianople, as a captive, in a chariot covered with scarlet. On his way he was informed by the baron Fabricius, envoy from the duke of Holstein, that he was not the only Christian monarch who was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks; that his friend Stanislaus, having come to share his fortunes, had been taken into custody, and was under a guard of soldiers, who were conducting him to Bender. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius!" cried Charles—"desire him never to make peace with Augustus, and assure him that our affairs will soon take a more flattering turn." Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janisary; having first obtained leave from the pasha, who in person commanded the guard.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that, although abandoned by all the world, deprived of great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whose liberality he had abused, and now led captive without knowing whither he was to be carried, he still reckoned on the favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would send him home at the head of a hundred thousand men!—This idea continued to occupy him during the whole time of his confinement. He was at first committed to the castle of Demitrash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, but was afterward allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Mariza. There he renewed his intrigues; and a French adventurer, counterfeiting madness, had the boldness to present, in his name, a memorial to the grand signor. In that memorial the imaginary wrongs of Charles were set forth in the strongest terms, and the ministers of the Porte were accused of extorting from the sultan an order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, as well as of the hospitality of a Moslem—an order in itself utterly unworthy of a great emperor, to attack with twenty thousand men, a sovereign who had none but his domestics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sublime Ahmed.

In consequence of this intrigue, as was supposed, a sudden change took place in the seraglio. The mufti was deposed; the khan of Tartary was banished to Rhodes, and the pasha Ismael was confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago. One vizir was disgraced and another strangled. But these changes in the ministry of the Porte produced none in the condition of the

king of Sweden, who still remained a prisoner at Demotica; and, apprehending that the Turks might not be disposed to treat him with the respect due to his royal person, or might oblige him to submit to various degradations, he resolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of sickness. This resolution he is said to have kept for ten months¹.

While the naturally active and indefatigable Charles, who held in contempt all effeminate indulgences, and had set even the elements themselves at defiance, was wasting, from caprice, his time and his constitution in bed, or harassing his mind with fruitless intrigues, the northern princes, who had formerly trembled at his name, and whose terrors he might by a different conduct have prolonged, were dismembering his dominions. General Steenbock defended Pomerania, and all his master's possessions in Germany, as long as possible. But he could not prevent the combined army of Danes and Saxons from besieging Stade, a place of great strength and importance, situated on the banks of the Elbe, in the duchy of Bremen: the town was bombarded and reduced to ashes, and the garrison obliged to surrender, before Steenbock could come to their assistance.

The Swedish general, however, with twelve thousand men, pursued the enemy, whose number exceeded twenty thousand, and overtook them at Gadebush, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in December 1712. He was separated from them, when he first came in sight, by a morass. The Danes and Saxons, who did not decline the combat, were so posted as to have this morass in front and a wood in the rear. Not deterred by those advantages, from which the foe derived hopes of success, Steenbock passed the morass at the head of his troops, and began one of the most furious and bloody battles that ever occurred between the rival nations of the North. After a well-disputed conflict of three hours, the Danes and Saxons were totally routed with great slaughter. But Steenbock stained the honour of his victory, by burning the flourishing, though defenceless, town of Altena, belonging to the king of Denmark. In consequence of that severity many thousands of the inhabitants perished of hunger and cold. All Germany exclaimed against so shocking an insult on humanity; and the ministers of Poland and Denmark wrote to the Swedish general, reproaching him with an act of cruelty committed without necessity, which could not fail to awaken the vengeance of Heaven and earth against him. The enlightened

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. vii.

but unfeeling Goth replied, that he never should have exercised such rigour, had it not been with a view of teaching the enemies of Sweden to respect the laws of nations, and not to make war, for the future, like barbarians. They had not only, he observed, ravaged the beautiful province of Pomerania, but sold near a hundred thousand of its inhabitants to the Turks; and the torches which had laid Altena in ashes, he said, formed a proper return for the red-hot bullets which had wrapped in flames the more valuable city of Stade¹.

Had the king of Sweden appeared in this scene of action, while his subjects carried on the war with such implacable resentment, and even with success, against their numerous enemies, he might perhaps have repaired his ruined fortunes. His troops, though so widely separated from his person, were still animated by his spirit. But the absence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and, in particular, prevents his generals from making a proper use of their victories. Steenbock lost, almost instantly, the fruits of his valour and conduct; which, at a happier crisis, would have been permanent conquests. Though victorious, he could not effectually impede the junction of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, whose hostilities obliged him to seek an asylum for himself and his gallant army in Toningen, a fortress of Holstein.

That duchy was then subjected to the most cruel ravages. The young duke, nephew of Charles, and presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to strip his father of his dominions, and to crush *him* in the very cradle. The bishop of Lubeck, one of his father's brothers, and administrator of the dominions of this unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in a very critical situation. His own territories were already exhausted by continual contributions; the Swedish army claimed his protection; and the forces of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, threatened the duchy with immediate desolation. But that danger was seemingly removed by the address of the famous baron de Goertz, who wholly governed the bishop, and was the most artful and enterprising man of his time; endowed with a genius uncommonly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource.

Goertz had a private conference with general Steenbock, at which he promised to deliver up to him the fortress of Toningen, without exposing the bishop-administrator, his master, to any

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. vii.

inconvenience; and he gave, at the same time, the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmost. The governor accordingly refused to open the gates; but the Swedes were admitted partly within the walls and partly under the cannon of the town, in consequence of a pretended order from the young duke. This indulgence, however, procured by ingenious deceit, proved of little use to Steenbock, who was soon obliged to surrender himself to captivity with his whole army¹.

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conquerors. The young duke became the object of Danish vengeance; and was doomed to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. Finding his original project thus rendered abortive, the baron formed a scheme for establishing a neutrality in the Swedish provinces in Germany. With this view, he privately entered into negotiations with the several princes who had set up claims to any part of the territories of Charles XII., all which, the kingdom of Sweden excepted, were ready to become the property of those who wanted to share them. Night and day he continued passing from one province to another. He engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover, by way of sequestration, in order to prevent the Danes from taking possession of them for themselves; and he prevailed upon the king of Prussia to accept, in conjunction with the duke of Holstein, the sequestration of Stetin, which was in danger of falling a prey to the Russians.

In the mean time the czar was pushing his conquests in Finland. Having made a descent at Helsingfors, the most southern part of that cold and barren region, he ordered a feigned attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He afterwards made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast; defeated the Swedes near Tavasthus; penetrated as far as Vasa, and reduced every fortress in the country. Nor were the conquests of Peter confined to the land. He gained a complete victory over the Swedes by sea, and subdued the isle of Oeland.

These successes, more especially his naval victory, furnished the czar with a new occasion of triumph. He entered Petersburg, as he formerly had Moscow, in procession, under a magni-

¹ *Hist. de Russie*, seconde partie, chap. iv.

ficent arch, decorated with the *insignia* of his conquests. After that pompous ceremony, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, Peter delivered a speech worthy of the founder of a great empire. "Countrymen and friends," said he, "is there any one among you who could have thought, twenty years ago, that he should fight under me upon the Baltic, in ships built by ourselves? or that we should form settlements in the countries now conquered by your valour and perseverance?—Greece is said to have been the birth-place of the arts and sciences. They afterward took up their abode in Italy; whence they have spread themselves, at different times, over every part of Europe. It is at last our turn to call them ours, if you will second my designs, by joining study to obedience. The arts and sciences circulate through this globe, like the blood in the human body; and perhaps they may establish their empire among us, in their return to Greece, their native country. I may even venture to flatter myself that we shall one day put to the blush the most civilized nations, by our polished manners and illustrious labours."

During these important transactions, so fatal to the power and the glory of Sweden, Charles continued to keep his bed at Demotica. Meanwhile, his ministers, who acted as regents, driven to despair by the exigencies of the state, the miseries of the nation, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have utterly abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in regard to their proceedings. And the senate went in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, and entreated her to take the government into her own hands, until the return of her brother. She agreed to the proposal; but finding that their purpose was to force her to make peace with Russia and Denmark, a measure to which she knew her brother would never consent, on disadvantageous terms, she resigned the regency, and wrote to the king a circumstantial account of the whole affair.

Roused from his affected sickness, by what he considered as a treasonable attempt upon his authority, and now despairing of being able to make the Porte take arms in his favour, Charles signified to the vizir his desire of returning, through Germany, to his own dominions. The Turkish minister neglected nothing which might facilitate that event. In the mean time the king, whose principles were perfectly despotic, wrote to the senate, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which they should receive

their orders!—and, when the preparations for his departure were completed, he set out with a convoy consisting of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, he had the satisfaction to learn, that orders had been given for his being received, in every part of the Imperial dominions, with the respect due to his rank. But he had no inclination to bear the fatigue of so much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkish convoy, as soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Transylvania; and, assembling his attendants, desired them to give themselves no farther concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralsund. In disguise, and in company with only two officers, he reached that town

Nov. after a fatiguing journey; and, without considering the
21. wretched state of his affairs, he immediately dispatched orders to his generals to renew the war against all his enemies with fresh vigour¹.

The approach of winter, however, delayed the military operations till the spring. Meanwhile the king was employed
1713. in recruiting his armies; and, in order to strengthen his interest, he gave his only surviving sister (Ulrica Eleonora) in marriage to Frederic prince of Hesse Cassel, who had distinguished himself in the Imperial service in the Low Countries, and was esteemed a good general. But Charles, on the opening of the campaign, was surrounded by such a multitude of enemies, that valour or conduct, without a greater force, could be of little service. The German troops of the king of Great Britain, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar, while the combined army of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, formed the siege of Stralsund. The czar was at the same time in the Baltic (with twenty ships of war, and a hundred and fifty transports, carrying thirty thousand men), threatening a descent upon Sweden.

Stralsund, the strongest place in Pomerania, is situated between the Baltic sea and the lake of Franken, near the strait of Gella. It is inaccessible by land, except by a narrow causeway, guarded by a citadel, and by other fortifications, which were thought impregnable. It was defended by about ten thousand men, and besieged by three times the number of the garrison.

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. vii. "These particulars," says Voltaire, "which are so consistent with the character of Charles XII., were first communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterward confirmed to me by the count de Croissy, ambassador from the regent of France to the king of Sweden."

The allies were animated by a love of glory and of conquest; the Swedes by despair, and the presence of their warlike king. Unfortunately, however, for the latter, it was discovered that the sea, which, on one side, secured the Swedish entrenchments, was at times fordable.

In consequence of this discovery, the Swedes were unexpectedly attacked at night. While one body of the besiegers advanced upon the causeway, that led to the citadel, another entered the ebbing tide, and penetrated by the shore into the Swedish camp, before their approach was even suspected. The Swedes, thus surprised, and fiercely assailed, were incapable of resistance. After a terrible slaughter, they were obliged to abandon their entrenchments; to evacuate the citadel, and take refuge in the town, against which their own cannon were now pointed by the enemy, who henceforth pushed the siege with unremitting vigour¹.

To deprive Charles with his little army of all succours, and of even the possibility of escape, the allies had begun their operations with chasing the Swedish fleet from the coast of Pomerania, and taking possession of the isle of Usedom, which made a gallant defence. They now resolved to make themselves masters of the isle of Rugen, which served as a bulwark to Stralsund. Though sensible of the importance of Rugen, and of the designs of the enemy, the king was not able to place in it a sufficient garrison. Twelve thousand men, under the prince of Anhalt, were landed in that island, without any loss. Charles hastened to its relief, with two thousand select combatants, and advanced at midnight against the invaders. But he did not find them unprepared. The prince of Anhalt, aware what incredible things the unfortunate monarch was capable of attempting, had ordered a deep fosse to be sunk as soon as he landed, and fortified it with *chevaux-de-frise*. The king, though surprised at the discovery of the ditch, was not disconcerted. He instantly leaped into it, accompanied by the boldest of his men, and attempted to force the enemy's camp. The impetuosity of the assault threw the Danes and Prussians at first into some confusion. But the contest was unequal: the Swedes were repulsed, and obliged to repass the fosse. The prince of Anhalt pursued them into the plain. There the battle was renewed with great fury, and the victory was obstinately disputed; until Charles had seen his friend Grothusen and general Dardoff fall dead at his feet, and

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

the greater part of his brave troops cut to pieces. He himself was wounded; and being put on horseback by Poniatowski, who had saved his life at Pultowa, and shared his misfortunes in Turkey, he was obliged to retire, and abandon Rugen to its fate¹.

Stralsund was now reduced to extremities. The besiegers had reached the counterscarp, and were throwing a gallery over the principal ditch. The bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes. Charles, however, still preserved his firmness of mind. One day, as he was dictating some letters, a bomb bursting in the neighbourhood of his apartment, his secretary dropped his pen. "What is the matter?" said the king, with a degree of chagrin, as if ashamed that any one belonging to him should be capable of fear. "The bomb!" sighed the intimidated scribe, unable to utter another word. "Write on!" cried Charles, with an air of indifference; "what relation has the bomb to the letter that I am dictating?" But he was soon obliged to admit less heroic ideas. After two fierce attacks, during which he fought among his grenadiers like a private man, the besiegers made themselves masters of the horn-work. The grand assault was every moment expected, and the king resolved to sustain it; but the danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, and of being a second time made prisoner from his obstinacy, induced him to listen to the entreaties of his friends, and quit a place which he was no longer able to defend. He accordingly embarked in a small vessel, that was fortunately in the harbour; and, by favour of the night, passing safely Dec. through the Danish fleet, reached one of his own ships, 27. which landed him in Sweden. General Ducker, governor of Stralsund, soon after surrendered the place².

Unwilling to visit his capital in his present unfortunate circumstances, Charles passed the winter at Carlsroon; whence he had set out, in a very different condition, fifteen years before, animated with all the high hopes of a youthful hero, ready to give law to the North, if not to overawe the world. Those hopes ought now to have been moderated: but he had not yet learned to profit by adversity; and unhappily for his subjects, he found, in his distress, a minister who encouraged his most extravagant projects, and even suggested new schemes of ambition. This was the baron de Goertz, who, from a congeniality of ideas,

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

² *Id. ibid.*

became the particular favourite of the king of Sweden, after his return to his dominions. To such a king and such a minister nothing seemed impossible. When all Europe expected that Sweden would be invaded, and even overrun by her numerous enemies, Charles passed over into Norway, and defeated the Danes in several conflicts; but the want of provisions, and other inconveniences and obstacles, obliged him to return to Sweden. March, 1716.

Meanwhile Wismar, the only town that remained to Charles on the frontiers of Germany, had surrendered to the Danes and Prussians; who, jealous of the Russians, would not even allow them to be present at the siege. Of this jealousy, which alienated the czar's mind from the cause of the confederates, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden, Goertz took advantage. He ventured to advise his master to purchase a peace from Russia at any price; intimating that the forces of Charles and Peter, when united, would be able to strike terror into all Europe. Nor did he conceal the sacrifices necessary to be made, in order to procure such an union. He declared that there would be a necessity of ceding to the czar some of those Swedish provinces of which he was already the possessor; and he entreated the king to consider, that, by relinquishing territories which he was in no condition to recover, he might lay the foundation of his future greatness. Pleased with this mighty project, without building upon it, Charles furnished his minister with full power to treat with the czar, or any other prince with whom he should think proper to negotiate¹.

Goertz accordingly, by himself or his agents, secretly entered into negotiations, which he conducted at the same time with the heads of the English Jacobites, and with the courts of Petersburg and Madrid. Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a man of the most boundless ambition, and in genius not inferior to the northern statesman, had resolved to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and the duke of Ormond, whose zeal knew no bounds, projected a marriage between that prince and Anna Petrowna, daughter of the czar. In consequence of these intrigues, count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of London, was taken into custody, and Goertz in Holland. They were set at liberty, however, after an imprisonment of six months; and Goertz renewed his negotiations with the court of Russia. Peter proceeded cautiously;

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

but conferences were, at last, appointed to be holden in the isle of Aland. And every thing seemed to promise the conclusion of a treaty, which would probably have changed the face of affairs in Europe, when an unexpected event, fortunately for the repose of mankind, rendered abortive all the labours of the baron de Goertz.

This was the death of the king of Sweden. Having under-
 A.D. taken a second expedition into Norway, instead of
 1718. attempting to recover any of his fertile German provinces, he invested Frederickshal in December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropped down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege; sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak! One night, as he was viewing the progress
 Dec. of the works by star-light, he was killed by a half-
 11. pound ball, from a cannon loaded with grape-shot. Though he expired without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind¹.

No prince perhaps ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities, as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to female charms; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity, and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

The death of Charles was considered as a signal for a general cessation of arms. The prince of Hesse, who commanded under the king, immediately raised the siege of Frederickshal, and led back the Swedes to their own country. Nor did the Danes attempt to molest them on their march².

The first act of the senate of Sweden, after being informed of

¹ *Hist. de Charles XII.* liv. viii.

² *Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

the fate of their sovereign, was to order the baron de Goertz to be arrested; and a new crime was invented for his destruction. He was accused of having "*slanderosly* misrepresented the nation to the king!" He had at least encouraged the king in his ambitious projects, which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin; he had invented a number of oppressive taxes, in order to support those projects; and, when every other resource failed, he had advised his master to give to copper money the value of silver; an expedient productive of greater misery than all the former. In resentment of these injuries, Goertz, though found guilty of no legal crime, was condemned to lose his head, and executed at the foot of the common gallows¹.

The Swedes having thus gratified their vengeance, at the expense of the reputation of a king whose memory they still adore, proceeded to the regulation of their government. By a A.D. free and voluntary choice, the states of the kingdom 1719. elected Ulrica Eleonora for their queen. But they obliged her to renounce, by a solemn act, all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrages of the people; while she bound herself by oath never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. And sacrificing, soon after, the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband the prince of Hesse, who was chosen by the states, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort.

The new government was no sooner established than the Swedes turned their views towards peace. It was accordingly brought about by different treaties. One was adjusted Nov. with the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, to whom the queen of Sweden agreed to cede the duchies of Bremen and Verden, in consideration of a million of rix-dollars; another with the king of Prussia, who restored Stralsund A.D. and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stettin, with the isles of 1720. Usedom and Wollin; and a third with the king of Denmark, who retained part of the duchy of Sleswick, conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, on condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt². The war with Russia still continued; but an English squadron being sent to the A.D. assistance of Sweden, the czar thought proper to recall 1721. his fleet, after committing the most terrible depredations on the coasts of that kingdom. New negotiations were opened at

Hist. de Charles XII. liv. viii.

² *Contin. Puffend.* lib. vii.

Nystadt; where a treaty of peace was, at last, concluded between the hostile crowns, by which the czar was left in possession of the provinces of Livonia and Ingria, with some parts of Finland¹.

Peter henceforth took the title of emperor, which was soon formally acknowledged by all the European powers. He had now reached the highest point of human greatness; but he was yet to receive an increase of glory. Persia being at that

A. D. time, as almost ever since, distracted by civil wars, he
1722. marched to the assistance of prince Thamas, the lawful heir of the crown, whose father Hossein had been dethroned and
A. D. imprisoned by an Afghan usurper. In return for his ex-
1723. ertions, as well as to procure his future support, he was put in possession of the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, bordering on the Caspian Sea.

But although this extraordinary man deserves much praise as a warrior, and was highly successful as a conqueror, extending his dominions from the southernmost limits of the Caspian to the extremity of the Baltic Sea: though great in a military, he was still greater in a civil capacity. As he had visited England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the useful arts, he made a journey into France, in 1717, in order to become acquainted with those which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artists, in every branch, allured by the prospect of advantage, followed him from France, to settle in Russia. And on his return to Petersburg, he established a board of trade, composed partly of natives, and partly of foreigners, that justice might be impartially administered to all. One Frenchman commenced a manufactory of plate-glass for mirrors; another set up a loom, for working rich tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and a third succeeded in the making of gold and silver lace: linen cloth was made at Moscow, equal in fineness to that of the Low Countries; and the silken articles manufactured at Petersburg began to rival those of Ispahan².

Nor was the attention of Peter, in a civil line, confined merely to arts and manufactures. He extended his views to all the departments of government, and to every species of improvement. A lieutenant-general of police, destined to preserve order from one end of the empire to the other, was now appointed. An

¹ Voltaire's *Hist. of the Russian Emp.* vol. ii.

² Voltaire, vol. ii.

uniformity was established with regard to weights and measures; and other useful regulations were ordained by the vigilant czar. The education of youth drew a great share of his attention; and his wise policy new-modelled the courts of law, while it corrected the abuses in religion. The great canal which joins the Caspian Sea to the Baltic, by means of the Wolga, was finished under his care; and engineers and men of science were sent to make the tour of the Russian empire, in order to furnish exact accounts and delineations of it, that mankind might be fully acquainted with its extent and importance.

But Peter, after all his noble institutions, and his liberal attempts to civilize his people, was himself no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for succeeding in the most difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the most magnificent designs; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will, he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to combine their ease and happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to think that they were formed solely for his, not he for their, aggrandisement. His savage ferocity turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis (his only son by his first wife) having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilization, he compelled him to sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown, and afterward assembled an extraordinary court, consisting of the principal Russian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death,—but without prescribing the manner in which it should be inflicted¹. The event, however, took place, and suddenly.

Alexis was seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him; but whether in consequence of the agony occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain². We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant son, who bore his own name, and whom he intended for his successor; and as the birth of this son had probably accelerated the prosecution, and increased the severity of the proceedings against Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to disinherit, it is not impossible or improbable that the friends of Catharine might

¹ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

² Voltaire has taken great pains to clear up this point; yet, after all, he has left it doubtful. *Hist. Russ.* part ii. chap. x.

hasten the death of the same prince, in order to save the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflections that must have followed such an awful transaction.

The principal crime of which the ill-fated Alexis was convicted (for he was questioned even as to his private thoughts) was that of having *wished* for the death of his father!—If the eldest sons of kings were ALL to be judged by this criterion, few palaces would be free from blood. Another atrocious crime was, his having absconded, and taken shelter in the imperial dominions; “raising against us,” says Peter, “his father and his lord, numberless calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute him, so as even to endanger his life, if he continued with us¹.” That the fears of the czarowitz were well founded, sufficiently appeared, when drawn from this asylum on a promise of pardon, he was first compelled to relinquish his right to the succession, and afterward condemned to death.

It cannot be improper here to observe, that although Peter had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of Alexis, he never threatened to disinherit him, until he had a near prospect of issue by Catharine; and, as his first letter to the czarowitz containing such threat, is only dated a few days before she was delivered of a son, it seems very questionable whether it was written before or after that event. Then, indeed, he spoke out. “I am determined at last,” says he, “to signify to you my final purpose; willing, however, to defer the execution of it for a time, to see if you will reform. If not, know that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, as I would lop off an useless branch.”—“We cannot, in conscience,” adds Peter in his Declaration, “leave him after us the succession to the throne of Russia, foreseeing that, by his vicious courses, he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation, and the safety of our dominions, which, through God’s providence, we have acquired and established by incessant application, causing our people to be instructed in all sorts of civil and military sciences.” This, if impartially true, might be a sufficient reason for depriving a son of the inheritance of empire, but not surely for putting him to death. That measure could only be dictated by a tyrannical and jealous policy, in order to prevent his disturbing the government under the legal successor.

The death of the czarowitz, whatever might be its cause, was

¹ *Czar’s Declaration.*

soon followed by that of young Peter ; whom the emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his subjects of all ranks and conditions, to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, " by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy Gospels, kissing the cross !" Catharine continued nevertheless to maintain her influence over the violent spirit of her husband. Her ascendancy was indeed extraordinary. One day, in the height of his passion, and in order to display the extent of his power, Peter broke a magnificent mirror. " See," said he, " how with one stroke of my hand I can, in a moment, reduce that glass to its original dust !" " True," replied Catharine, coolly, " you have destroyed the finest ornament of your palace ; but will the absence of that ornament improve the beauty of the imperial mansion ?" The czar's choler instantly subsided. The very sound of her voice was sufficient to calm his rage, when no other person dared to approach him.

As a prelude to the eventual succession of the czarina, Peter himself, after his return from his Persian expedition, A.D. assisted at her solemn coronation. That ceremony, the 1724. meaning of which was well understood, added great weight to the already respectable character of Catharine ; so that, Feb. 8, on the death of the emperor, she quietly succeeded to the 1725. throne, and her government was such as might have been expected from the widow of Peter the Great¹.

The following lines, which are commonly quoted as part of the czar's epitaph, form a panegyric not unworthy of him :—

" Let Antiquity be dumb,
Nor boast her ALEXANDER or her CÆSAR.
How easy was victory
To Leaders who were followed by Heroes ;
And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
At being thought less vigilant than their Generals !
But HE,
Who in this Place first knew Rest,
Found Subjects base, and inactive,
Unwarlike, unlearned, intractable,
Neither covetous of Fame, nor fearless of Danger ;
Creatures under the Name of Men,
But with Qualities rather brutal than rational !
Yet even these
He polished from their native Ruggedness ;
And breaking out, like a new Sun,

¹ I am sensible that a less favourable account of the latter years of Catharine has been given by some travellers ; but the tongue of scandal is busy in every country, and travellers are generally most industrious in collecting defamatory anecdotes.

To illuminate the Minds of a People,
 Dispelled their Night of hereditary Darkness;
 And, by the Force of his invincible Influence,
 Taught them to Conquer
 Even the *Conquerors of Germany*.
 Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies;
 PETER THE GREAT created them."

This panegyric would have been as just as it is elegant, had not Peter left the body of his people as he found them, in a state of abject servitude to the nobles, who were themselves every moment at the mercy of the capricious will of the sovereign. These evils, which still in some measure remain, must be effectually eradicated, before the Russian empire can attain a very high degree of population, culture, or general civilization.

LETTER XXVI.

A General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of Louis XIV. in 1715, to the Death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740.

THE period on which we are now entering is, *happily*, distinguished by few great events: for great events are generally connected with great calamities. The war that had so long ravaged A.D. the finest part of Europe, had ceased at the peace of 1715. Utrecht, and discord seemed to have left the earth with the restless spirit of Louis XIV.; but a certain degree of agitation remained, like the rolling of the waves after a storm.

The progress of the rebellion in Britain against the authority of king George, I have already had occasion to trace. The speedy and fortunate suppression of that rebellion, as must ever be the case in all free governments, increased the influence of the crown. The Whig ministry, no longer under any apprehensions from the encroachments of arbitrary power, and willing to crush their political enemies, without foreseeing the stab they were giving to public liberty, framed a bill for repealing the Triennial Act (lately thought essential by their own party, to the freedom of the English constitution), and for *extending* the *duration* of *parliaments* to the term of SEVEN YEARS. This bill, though warmly

opposed by the Tories (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular side of all questions), and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houses, was A. D. carried by a great majority: and the king, by the uniform 1716. support of the Whigs, who in their love of power forgot their republican maxims, found himself firmly seated on the British throne.

The authority of the duke of Orléans, who acted as regent of France during the minority of Louis XV., was less perfectly established. He had a powerful faction to struggle with; and therefore judged it prudent to strengthen himself by alliances. But it will be proper, my dear Philip, before I enter into the particulars of those alliances, to turn your eye for a moment toward another quarter of Europe.

The Turks, who are far from being profound politicians, happily remained quiet while the Christian princes were most deeply embroiled among themselves; but, when the general peace had been concluded, Ahmed III., inflamed with the hopes of glory and conquest, declared war against the republic of Venice. In the first campaign (that of 1715), his troops invaded the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus, reduced the citadel of Corinth, Napoli di Romania, and other towns and fortresses, and marked their course with wanton and atrocious barbarity. The emperor Charles VI., as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which the Morea had been assigned to the republic of Venice, was bound in honour to declare war against the Turks for infringing it; and the pope, alarmed at the progress of the infidels, urged his imperial majesty to stand forth in defence of Christendom. Charles accordingly assembled a powerful army, under prince Eugene; who passed the Danube, and attacked the forces of the grand signor Aug. 5, near Peterwaradin. With the loss of about 5,000 men on N. S. the part of the Imperialists, above 25,000 of the Turks were slain or drowned¹. In another campaign the prince under- A. D. took the siege of Belgrade. The Turks advanced to its 1717. relief, and besieged him in his camp. His danger was imminent; but military skill and disciplined valour triumphed over numbers and savage ferocity. He sallied out of his entrenchments, Aug. routed his adversaries with great slaughter, and took their 16. cannon, baggage, and every thing belonging to their camp. Belgrade surrendered immediately after.

The consequence of these two victories was the peace of Pas-

¹ *Campagnes du Prince Eugène en Hongrie*, tome i.

A.D. 1718. sarowitz, by which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade and the whole district of Temeswar. But the Venetians, on whose account the war had been undertaken, did not recover their possessions in Greece: the Morea was left, and until lately remained, in the hands of the Turks.

While the arms of the emperor were employed against the infidels, a new enemy was rising up against him in Christendom, and even from the bosom of the Catholic church. Philip V. of Spain having lost his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farnese, presumptive heiress of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. This marriage, which not a little alarmed the emperor, was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of Alberoni, a native of Placentia, who soon rose to the highest favour at the court of Madrid, and was honoured by the pope with a cardinal's hat. The princess Ursini, who had long directed the affairs of Spain, and who, it is said, might have shared the throne, had she not hoped to govern more absolutely and less invidiously by means of another, was now ordered to quit the kingdom. The new queen, who was a woman of spirit, governed alone her too easy husband; and Alberoni governed the queen by flattering her ambition¹.

The bold, rather than correct or illuminated, genius of that minister formed the most extraordinary projects. The principal as well as most rational of these, though in itself sufficiently romantic, was to recover all the territories that Spain had ceded at the peace of Utrecht, but more especially her Italian dominions. This idea seems to have occupied the mind of Alberoni when he negotiated the union of Philip with the princess of Parma, whose interest in Italy was great, and for whose offspring those speculative conquests were designed, as all hopes of their succeeding to the Spanish monarchy were apparently cut off by the children of the first marriage. For the promotion of that ambitious project, which was highly flattering to the queen, he laboured indefatigably, and with no small degree of success, to put the Spanish finances on a respectable footing, while he new-modelled and greatly augmented both the army and navy.

The cardinal, however, did not rely merely on the resources of Spain for the execution of so great an undertaking. He extended his negotiations and intrigues to every court in Europe. He endeavoured to engage the Turks, notwithstanding their losses, to continue the war against the emperor, whom he in-

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iii.

tended to deprive of his Italian conquests. He persuaded Philip that his renunciation was invalid, and that he had still a better right than the duke of Orléans, not only to the crown of France, in case of the death of Louis XV. without male issue, but also to the regency during the minority of that prince. In hopes of bringing about this important revolution, and becoming prime minister both of France and Spain, he studiously inflamed the French malcontents. He also encouraged the Scottish Jacobites, with whom he held a secret correspondence; and he had formed a scheme, as I have already hinted, of acquiring a new and powerful ally to his master, by placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain. But these dazzling projects soon vanished into air, and this meteor of a moment disappeared with them.

We have seen in what manner the intrigues of the baron de Goertz were defeated, by the seizure of the papers of count Gyllenborg and the subsequent death of Charles. Those of Alberoni were baffled, in like manner, by the seizure of the papers of prince Callamar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France. The prince's project was, to land a body of Spanish troops in Bretagne, in order to favour the assembling of the malcontents of Poictou; to seize the person of the duke of Orléans, and oblige him to resign the regency to Philip. On the discovery of this plot, cardinal Polignac, one of the principal conspirators, was confined to his abbey; the duke and duchess of Maine were taken into custody; the prince de Dombes and the count d'Eu were ordered to retire from court; the Spanish ambassador was conducted to the frontiers; five Breton gentlemen were put to death; and the duke of Orléans found his authority thenceforth more firmly established¹.

The formerly precarious state of that authority, and the dangerous intrigues of Alberoni, had induced the regent of France, in 1716, to enter into a league with England and Holland; and the violent ambition of the court of Spain, which seemed to know no bounds, now disposed those three powers, in conjunction with the emperor, to form the famous **QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE**, as a dyke against its fury. After the articles which provided for the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht, the principal stipulations in the new treaty were, that the duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in Italy, should exchange with the emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which

¹ *Mem. of the duke of Berwick*, vol. ii.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

he should take the regal title; and that don Carlos, son of the young queen of Spain, should be gratified with the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue.

This formidable alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni. The article that regarded the eventful succession of Carlos was rejected with scorn by the Spanish court, which had already taken possession of Sardinia, under pretence of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, and of a great part of the island of Sicily. The consequence of this obstinacy, and of these unprovoked hostilities, was a declaration of war against Spain, by France and England.

But before that measure was embraced, every method had been tried, though ineffectually, to adjust matters by negotiation. Alberoni sought only to gain time, by amusing the ministers of the two crowns. He did not, however, succeed in his scheme. His Britannic majesty, even while he negotiated, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under sir George Byng, who, being invested with very ample powers, and finding every proposal to induce the Spaniards to accede to a cessation of arms treated with disdain, proceeded to execute his ultimate

Aug. 11, instructions. He accordingly engaged the Spanish fleet

N. S. near the coast of Sicily, and took seven large ships, while captain Walton, who had been detached from the main fleet, captured or destroyed eight others. Yet the English could not prevent the Spanish troops, commanded by the marquis de Lede, from making themselves masters of the citadel of Messina, the town having surrendered before Byng's arrival. But by his

A. D. activity in transporting German troops into Sicily, both

1719. the town and citadel were recovered: and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the island. The recovery of Sicily was followed, in 1720, by the surrender of Sardinia¹.

In the mean time the duke of Berwick conducted a French army toward the frontiers of Spain, and reduced St. Sebastian and Fontarabia; the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spanish army in Great Britain; and the duke of Berwick

A. D. having made preparations for opening the next campaign

1720. with the sieges of Roses and Pampeluna, Philip dismissed the turbulent Alberoni, and acceded to the terms prescribed by the framers of the quadruple alliance.

While the enterprising cardinal, the son of a peasant, and for-

¹ Corbet's Narrative.—*Annals of the Reign of George I.*

merly the curate of a petty village near Parma, was ambitiously attempting to change the political state of Europe, a great and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. Professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, Law had been obliged to abandon his native country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the continent: and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Louis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy that evil appeared a task worthy of his daring genius:—and he flattered himself that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orléans, whose bold spirit and sanguine temper induced him to adopt the wildest projects.

Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution; and the necessities of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly formed a bank, which was soon declared royal, and united with the Mississippi or West India company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also obtained the privileges of the old East India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and had given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Mississippi company, in a word, seemed to be fixed on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary rise deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Mississippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage it by mysterious reports. It was whispered as a secret, that the celebrated (but supposed to be fabulous) mines of St. Barbe had at length been discovered; and that they were much more valuable than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent out to

Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, for the abundant treasure; with a body of soldiers sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company: the *Mississippi Scheme* became the grand object, and the ultimate aim of all pursuits¹. Even Law himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded eighty times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

This profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the royal bank, by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wished to convert the notes into cash; but the disproportion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once: and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated, and obliged to fly from a country which, without enriching himself, he had beggared, in order to discharge the debts of the crown. The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors were so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Above four hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted

¹ The adventurers were not satisfied with a bare association with the company, which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. The proprietors were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations; which, it was represented, would yield, in a few years, a hundred times the sum necessary to be laid out upon them. The richest and most intelligent men in the nation were the most forward in making these purchases; and such as could not afford to become purchasers, solicited the management of plantations, or even to be employed in cultivating them! During this general infatuation, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiscuously and carelessly crowded into ships, and landed on the burning sands of the Biloxi, a district in West Florida, between Pensacola and the mouth of the Mississippi, where a French settlement had been inconsiderately formed, and where these unhappy men perished in thousands, of want and vexation; the miserable victims of a political imposture, and of their own blind avidity. Raynal, *Hist. Philos. et Politique*, liv. xvi.

to a sum too incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres to be paid in specie¹.

Thus terminated in France, the famous MISSISSIPPI SCHEME, so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its violence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury. The SOUTH SEA SCHEME, evidently borrowed from that of Law, first excited the avidity of the nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the *Stocks*, and the rise of the *South Sea Company*.

Nothing, my dear son, is so much talked of in London, and so little understood, as the NATIONAL DEBT, the PUBLIC FUNDS, and the STOCKS: I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you a general idea of them. The *National Debt* is the residue of those sums which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not hitherto found it convenient to pay off. The *Public Funds* consist of certain ideal aggregations, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to the payment of the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the SINKING FUND, as it was originally intended to be applied toward the reduction, or *sinking*, of the national debt. The *Stocks* are the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into a multiplicity of portions or shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure, and which rise or fall in value according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

¹ Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors.

Such is the present state of the stocks; which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity. For, as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of ever receiving their capital from government, the stocks are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless it be attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid, without any farther deduction, must raise the stocks nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity. Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, beside the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies the parliament granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed, England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the extraordinary success of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht no such freedom was obtained. But the contract for negroes, already mentioned, and the privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of the burthen of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities, were vested exclusively in the SOUTH SEA COMPANY. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements: and the company was farther permitted to freight, in the ports of the South Sea, vessels of four hundred tons, for the conveyance of its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as it pleased; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export¹.

Nor was this all. The agents of the British South Sea company taking advantage of the permission for the annual voyage to Porto Bello, poured their commodities on the Spanish colonies, without limitation or reserve. Instead of the stipulated vessel of five hundred tons, they usually employed one of a thousand tons: she was accompanied by three or four smaller vessels, which supplied her wants, and, mooring in some neighbouring

¹ Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

creek, furnished her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, in order to replace such as had been sold¹.

By these various advantages the profits of the company became very great; and the public supposed them to be yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprise, sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous SOUTH SEA SCHEME. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South Sea company should become the sole public creditor.

A scheme so plausible, and seemingly so advantageous to the state, was readily adopted by the ministry, and soon received the sanction of parliament. The purport of the bill now enacted was, that the South Sea company should be authorized to buy up, from the several proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five *per cent.*, and that, after the expiration of six years, the interest should be reduced to four *per cent.*, and the capital be redeemable by parliament. But, as the directors could not be supposed to possess money sufficient for so great an undertaking, they were empowered to raise it by different means; and particularly by opening books of subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors as should think proper to *exchange* the *security* of the *crown* for that of the *South Sea company* with the *emoluments* which might result from their *commerce*².

While this affair was in agitation, the company's stock rose from one hundred and thirty, or thirty pounds on the hundred above its primary value, to near four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the first subscribers; and in order to raise it still higher, sir John Blount circulated a report, on the completion of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged for some places in Peru, by the cession of which the British trade to the South Sea would be much enlarged. In consequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the subscription books were

¹ Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii. See also Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

² These emoluments, as we have already seen, were very great: yet so intelligent a writer as Dr. Smollett has said, that "in the scheme of Law there was *something substantial*: an *exclusive trade* to Louisiana promised *some advantage*; but the South Sea scheme promised *no commercial advantage of any consequence*." (*Hist. of England*, vol. x.) So liable are men even of great talents to be the dupes of ignorance and prejudice!

no sooner opened than persons of all ranks and both sexes crowded to the South Sea House, eager to become proprietors of the stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money which had been paid for them; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation, was carried so far, that the stock at last procured ten times its original price. New projectors were frequently starting up, to profit by the avidity and credulity of individuals; and the Welsh copper company, the York building company, and many others, were formed.

No interested project was so absurd as not to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South Sea scheme continued to be the chief object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the *bubble* began to *burst*. It was discovered, that such as were thought to be in the secret had disposed of all their stock, while the tide was at its height. An universal alarm was spread. Every one wished to sell, and none would buy, except at a very reduced price. The stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb; so that, in a little time, nothing was to be seen of this bewitching scheme but the direful effects of its violence—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies!—nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of disappointed ambition, the execrations of beggared avarice, the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, the grief of unexpected poverty, or the frantic howlings of despair!—Only the seasonable interposition and steady wisdom of parliament could have prevented a general bankruptcy.

A committee of the house of commons was chosen by Dec. ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the South Sea act; and this committee discovered, that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing of A. D. the bill. Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, 1721. who had shared largely in the stock, was expelled from the house of commons, and committed to the Tower, for having promoted the destructive execution of “the South Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and having combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit.” Secretary Craggs and his father, also great delinquents, died before they underwent the censure of the house; but the commons resolved, nevertheless, that Mr. Craggs, senior, was “a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, treasurer to

the South Sea company, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices : and, therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed at the time of his death, should be applied toward the relief of unhappy sufferers by the South Sea scheme¹." The estates of the directors were also seized, and ordered to be applied to the same purpose, with the exception of a certain allowance for each director according to his conduct and circumstances.

The commons having thus punished the chief promoters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their ill-gotten wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible, the mischief it had occasioned. They soon prepared a bill for that purpose. On the inquiries relative to the framing of this bill, it appeared that the whole capital stock of the South Sea company, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds; that the stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds; and that the remaining capital belonged to the company in its corporate capacity, being the profit arising from the execution of the fraudulent stock-jobbing scheme. Out of this, it was ordained, that seven millions should be paid to the public sufferers. It was also enacted, that several additions should be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that which the company possessed in its own right; and that, after such distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among the proprietors. By these wise and equitable regulations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the nation gradually subsided.

The discontents and disorders occasioned by the South Sea scheme encouraged the English Jacobites to think of making a new attempt to change the line of succession. But the same want of concert, of secrecy, and success, attended this, as every other plan for the restoration of the unfortunate family of Stuart. George, who had spies in every popish court, and who had, by alliances, made almost every European potentate his friend, was informed, by the regent of France, of the conspiracy planned against his government. In consequence of this intima- A. D. tion, Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the 1722. Middle Temple, was taken into custody, condemned and punished with death, for having enlisted men for the service of the Pretender. The earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury bishop

¹ Journals of the Commons, 1721.

of Rochester, lord North and Grey, and many suspected persons of less note, were committed to prison. The bishop was A.D. degraded, deprived of his benefice, and banished for 1723. life by act of parliament. As he was a man of distinguished talents, and intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party, his cause was warmly pleaded in the house of peers. Lord Bathurst, turning towards the bench of bishops, who had discovered peculiar animosity against the prisoner, said he could hardly account for the inveterate malice and rancour with which some men pursued the learned and ingenious prelate, unless they were infatuated with the superstition of certain savages, who fondly believe that they inherit, not only the spoils, but the abilities of any great men whom they destroy. When the bishop of Rochester arrived at Calais, he met lord Bolingbroke on his return from exile, and had the spirit to observe, smiling, that they were *exchanged*¹!

Soon after this conspiracy was defeated, died Philip duke Dec. 2, of Orléans, regent of France, one of the most elegant, N.S. accomplished, and dissipated men of his time. As a prince, he possessed great talents for government, which he did not fail to exert during his administration. Notwithstanding his precarious situation, he governed France with more absolute authority than any minister since cardinal Richelieu, and took many important steps for the benefit of the kingdom; but his own libertine example, and the necessity of making the oppressed people forget their miseries in a perpetual round of amusements, introduced a general corruption of manners which spread itself even to foreign nations. He was succeeded in the administration (not in the regency, as the king was of age) by the duke of Bourbon. This minister was supplanted, about three years afterward, by cardinal Fleury, a man of a mild and pacific disposition, who had been preceptor to Louis XV., and who, at the advanced age of seventy-three, took upon himself the cares of government.

Fortunately for the happiness of mankind, sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister of Great Britain, possessed a disposition no less pacific than that of Fleury. In consequence of this coinciding mildness of temper, the repose of Europe, for almost twenty years, was not very seriously interrupted. Meanwhile several treaties were negotiated between its different kingdoms and states, for securing more effectually, as was pretended, the

¹ *Historical Register*.—Tindal.

objects of the quadruple alliance, and the balance of power. One of these treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between A.D. the emperor and the Spanish monarch, excited the jealousy of George, who was under apprehensions for the safety of his German dominions, as well as of some secret article in favour of the Pretender, many of whose adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid. It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch, as it granted to the subjects of the house of Austria greater advantages, in their trade with Spain, than those enjoyed by any other nation¹: and it guaranteed a new India company, formed at Ostend, which France, England, and Holland, were strongly desirous of suppressing. 1725.

To counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at Hanover, between the three offended powers, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king of Great Britain, however, fitted out A.D. three squadrons, one of which he sent to the West Indies, under admiral Hosier, who had orders to block up the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to seize them if they attempted to come out. In cruising off that unhealthy coast, where he was restrained from obeying the dictates of his courage, a multitude of his officers and men were swept away by the diseases of the climate; his ships were greatly injured by the worms; and he himself is supposed to have A.D. died of a broken heart. 1727.

The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and a reconciliation was soon after brought about, through the mediation of France. It was agreed that the charter of the obnoxious India company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations in the quadruple alliance, particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the three duchies, should be fulfilled; and that all differences should be adjusted by a congress. This congress, which was holden at Soissons, produced the treaty of Seville, which was strongly promoted by the conciliatory spirit of sir Robert Walpole, though it did not highly please the English in general, who lamented that it was not sufficiently agreeable to the emperor.

¹ Count Konigseck, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Madrid, had procured these advantageous conditions, by flattering the queen of Spain with the prospect of a match between her son Carlos and the archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress to the extensive dominions of the house of Austria.—*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

July 11. During these negotiations died George I., a prudent and virtuous prince, whose attachment to his German dominions, which had been much magnified, was by the Tories made subservient to the purpose of rendering him odious to the English nation. He was succeeded by his son, George II., whose accession made no alteration in the system of British politics. The administration was wisely continued in the hands of the Whigs, the only true friends to the Protestant succession, or to the principles of the Revolution: and the same Tory faction, which had attempted to thwart the measures, and overturn the throne of the first George, continued its violent opposition in parliament, during the earlier part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction (Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others), being men of great abilities, were soon joined by some disgusted courtiers, of equal, if not superior talents; who hoped, by such coalition, to humble their successful rivals, and procure the highest employments of the state. Mr. Pulteney, the finest speaker of the house of commons, and lately a member of administration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Chesterfield, the most distinguished orators in the house of peers, afterward joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually opposing the measures of government, and passionately railing against continental connexions, soon acquired great popularity, and at last became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or Country Party, as the members in opposition affected to call themselves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midst of profound peace and great national prosperity; and a small standing army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was represented as an engine of despotism. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But those liberties, or at least the freedom of the constitution, suffered more from a pernicious system of domestic policy, which that violent opposition at first rendered necessary, than from the dreaded military establishment.

When the wheels of government are clogged, and the machine rendered almost stationary, by the arts of an ambitious faction, the whole influence of the crown must be employed to accelerate their motion. The force of opposition must be broken; its ablest members must be drawn over to the side of royalty, by the emoluments of office or the splendour of titles; by the highest honours and employments of the state. If this cannot be effected, if nothing less will content their pride than an entirely

new arrangement of the servants of the crown, a measure always disagreeable to a sovereign, and often dangerous, as it may be attended with the loss of his throne ;—if the heads of opposition cannot be overawed, or induced to change sides, without a total change of administration, the king must either resign his minister, or that minister must secure a majority in the national assembly by *other means*¹. No minister ever understood these means better than sir Robert Walpole. Possessed of great abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament in corrupting its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many ; and, to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections². The fountain of liberty was poisoned at its source.

This, my dear Philip, is an evil interwoven with the very frame of our mixed government, and which renders it, in some respects, inferior to a mere monarchy, regulated by laws, where corruption can never become a necessary engine of state. To say that it is absolutely necessary in our government, would perhaps be going too far ; but experience proves, that it has generally been thought so, since the Revolution, when the powers of the crown were abridged. The opportunity which able and ambitious men have, by the freedom of debate in parliament, and which they have seldom failed to exercise, of obstructing our public measures, renders the *influence* of the crown in some degree necessary : and that is but a more refined species of *corruption*, or a milder name for the same thing.

Our patriotic ancestors, who so gloriously struggled for the abolition of the more dangerous parts of the prerogative, certainly did not foresee the weight of this enslaving influence, which the entire management of an immense public revenue has thrown into the scale of government, by giving rise to such a multitude of officers, created by, and removable at, the royal pleasure ; and by the frequent opportunities of conferring particular obligations, by preference in loans, lottery-tickets, contracts, and other pecuniary transactions ; an influence too great

¹ Some men of patriotic principles have fondly imagined, that a good minister must always be able to command such a majority, merely by the rectitude of his measures ; but experience has evinced, that, in factious times, all the weight of government is often necessary to carry even the best measures.

² "To destroy British liberty," says lord Bolingbroke, "with an army of Britons, is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. To corrupt the parliament is a slower, but a more effectual method." *Dissert. on Parties*, Letter x.

for human virtue to withstand, and which, it may be affirmed, has left us little more than the shadow of a free constitution¹. The Revolution was, in various respects, a precipitate measure. It guarded only against the direct encroachments of the crown. The subsequent provisions were few: and the Whigs, formerly so jealous of liberty, were afterward so fully employed, one while in combating their political enemies in order to preserve the parliamentary settlement of the crown, and at another in opposing the violent faction occasioned by the Hanoverian succession, which it had been their great object to bring about, that they had no leisure to attend to the new bias of the constitution. In their anxiety for the security of that succession, stimulated by the lust of power, they shamefully neglected the independence of parliament, as well as the freedom of elections, in which it has its origin, till the malady was too inveterate to admit of a speedy cure. The Septennial Bill was a cruel stab to liberty.

Let us not, however, despair. Some acts of a later period, for regulating elections, and for excluding from the house of commons contractors and money jobbers, will contribute to restore, if not to perfect, the British constitution. But the friends of monarchy will perhaps question, whether an independent parliament would be a *public good* in this *licentious* kingdom? And that question is not without its difficulties. Yet we know, that *corruption* is a *public evil*; that it is the parent of *licentiousness*, and of every enslaving vice. And as the reigning family is now fully established on the throne, without a competitor, government happily can have no occasion for *undue* influence to promote any salutary measure. I shall, therefore, conclude my observations on this subject with the memorable words of lord Bolingbroke:—"The *integrity of parliament* is a kind of PALLADIUM, a tutelary goddess, who protects our state²," and whenever she is finally removed,

¹ "Nothing," as lord Bolingbroke justly remarks, "can destroy the constitution of Britain, but the people of Britain; and whenever the people of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by corruption (for they are no longer in danger of being awed by prerogative) to choose persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under an influence arising from private interest, dependents upon a court, and the creatures of a minister; or others, who are unknown to the people that elect them, and bring no recommendation but that which they carry in their purses; then will that trite proverbial speech be verified in our case, that *the corruptions of the best things are the worst*; for then will that very change in the state of property and power, which improved our constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it."—*Dissert. on Parties*, Letter xvii.

² *Dissert. on Parties*, Letter x.

we must bid adieu to all the blessings of a free people. The forms of our constitution and the names of its different branches may remain, but we shall not be, on that account, the less slaves.

In consequence of the treaty of Seville, which was reluctantly confirmed by the emperor, who agreed to a new treaty at Vienna, the Spanish troops, in the name of Don Carlos, took A.D. quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, 1731. the succession becoming vacant, and the former prince withdrawing his troops. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed, that the Ostend company should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, or that solemn law by which he had secured to his female heirs the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, in case of his dying without male issue. The proposal was acceded to; and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed till the death of Augustus king of Poland¹.

On this event, Stanislaus Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had invested with the sovereignty of Poland, and whom A.D. Peter the Great had dethroned, was a second time chosen 1733. king, being recommended by the king of France, to whom his daughter was married. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector of Saxony (son of the late king of Poland), who had married the emperor's niece, was raised to the throne; and Stanislaus was again constrained to relinquish his crown.

Though the distance of his situation, and the pacific disposition of his minister, prevented the king of France from yielding effectual support to his father-in-law, a sense of his own dignity determined him to take revenge upon Charles VI. for the insult he had suffered in the person of that unfortunate prince. He accordingly entered into an alliance with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who also thought themselves aggrieved; and a war

¹ That prince, when surprised by death, was occupied with a design of rendering the crown of Poland hereditary in his family. With this view he had planned a division of the Polish dominions, hoping thereby to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours. The project, however, he knew to be impracticable, without the concurrence of the king of Prussia. He, therefore, desired Frederic II. to send him the *maréchal de Grumkou*, that he might open his mind to him. Each being anxious to discover the sentiments of his companion, they promoted the intoxication of each other; and this bacchanalian interview was followed by the death of the king, and a fit of sickness in Grumkou, from which he never recovered. (*Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.) Augustus was endowed with extraordinary bodily strength, a sound understanding, a social disposition, and many princely accomplishments.

began in Italy and on the frontiers of Germany. The king of Great Britain, who anxiously observed the politics of the continent, wished to engage in this war, as a supporter of the interests of the emperor; but his minister warmly and effectually remonstrated against such interference, and also dissuaded George from concluding an alliance with the Danish and Swedish sovereigns. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine, at the

A. D. head of the French army, and reduced Fort Kehl. He

1734. afterwards invested Philipsburg in the face of the imperial forces, while the count de Belleisle made himself master of Traerbach. The duke was killed by a cannon ball in visiting the trenches¹; yet Philipsburg was taken. The marquis d'Asfeld, who succeeded to the command as the oldest lieutenant-general, continued the operations of the siege in the sight of prince Eugene; and in spite of the efforts of that experienced general, and the overflowings of the Rhine, the place was forced to surrender.

The French and their allies were no less successful in Italy. The count de Montemar having gained a complete victory over the Imperialists at Bitonto in the province of Bari, the Spaniards afterward carried every thing before them; and in two campaigns, became masters of Naples and Sicily. Meanwhile the forces of France and Piedmont, under the experienced Villars and the king of Sardinia, took Milan and other important places. The maréchal de Coligny, who succeeded Villars, defeated the Im-

June perialists under the walls of Parma, after an obstinate

29. battle, in which the count de Merci, the Austrian general,

Sept. was killed. The Imperialists were again worsted at

19. Guastalla, where the prince of Wirtemberg was slain.

In these two engagements the emperor lost above eight thousand men; and the victors are said to have lost an equal number.

¹ The duke of Berwick is justly reputed one of the greatest of modern commanders. No general ever had the *coup-d'œil* quicker or more accurate: either to discover, in battle, the blunders of an enemy, and make those decisive movements that carry victory with them; or, in a campaign, to observe and take advantage of positions, on which the success of the whole depends. His character in private life, though not less worthy of admiration, is less known. "It was impossible," says Montesquieu, "to behold him, and not to be in love with virtue, so evident were tranquillity and happiness in his soul. No man ever knew better how to avoid excesses; or, if I may so express myself, to keep clear of the snares of virtue. He had a great fund of religion, and was fond of the clergy, but could not bear to be governed by them. No man ever followed more strictly those precepts of the Gospel which are most troublesome to men of the world; no man, in a word, ever practised religion so much, and talked of it so little. He never spoke ill of any one, nor bestowed any praise upon those whom he did not think deserving of it. In the works of Plutarch, I have seen, at a distance, what great men were; in him I behold, at a nearer view, what they are." *Sketch of an Historical Panegyric.*

Discouraged by these defeats, the court of Vienna signified a desire of peace: and as this was the sincere and constant wish of cardinal Fleury, preliminaries were signed in the A.D. following year. It was stipulated that Stanislaus should 1735. renounce his pretensions to the throne of Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorrain, which he should enjoy during life, and which after his death, should be re-united to the crown of France; that the duke of Lorrain should have Tuscany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, and that Louis should insure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the grand-duke John Gasten, the last prince of the house of Medicis; that the emperor should acknowledge Don Carlos as king of the two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as an indemnification for these two kingdoms; and that he should cede to the king of Sardinia (who advanced pretensions to the whole duchy of Milan) the Novarese and the Tortonese provinces. In consideration of these cessions, the king of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction¹.

Before these stipulations were improved into a defini- A.D. tive treaty, a new war broke out on the confines of 1736. Europe and Asia, in which the emperor found himself involved. Provoked at the incursions of the Tartars, as well as at the neglect of all remonstrances on that subject, the empress of Russia² resolved to do herself justice. She accordingly ordered Laschi, one of her generals, to attack Asoph, which he reduced; while the count de Munich, with another army, forced the lines of Prekop, and ravaged the Crimea with fire and sword. In the next campaign Munich invested Oczakoff, which was de- A.D. fended by three thousand Janisaries and seven thousand 1737. Bosniacs. A bomb having set fire to the powder magazine, it immediately blew up, and communicated its contents to many of the houses. The Russian general seized this opportunity of storming the town; and the Turks, unable to recover from their consternation, or to fight on narrow ramparts contiguous to buildings that were in flames, tamely suffered themselves to be cut to pieces³.

¹ Voltaire.—Tindal.—Smollet.

² Anne (niece to Peter the Great), who had been raised to the throne in 1730, after the short reign of the much-lamented youth Peter II. the grandson of the illustrious czar.

³ *Mém. de Brandebourg*, tome ii.

The rapid successes of the Russians awakened the ambition of the court of Vienna, which was bound, by treaty, to assist that of Petersburg against the Porte. The emperor was encouraged to believe, that, if he should attack the Turks on the side of Hungary, while the Russians continued to press them near the Black Sea, the Ottoman empire might be subverted. Prophecies were even propagated, that the period fatal to the Crescent had at last arrived. But these prophecies and the emperor's ambitious hopes proved illusory. The Turks turned their principal force toward Hungary. The imperial generals were unsuccessful in the field; several important places were lost; Belgrade was besieged; and Charles, wishing to put an end to a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace, had

A. D. recourse to the mediation of France. M. de Villeneuve, 1739. the French ambassador at Constantinople, accordingly repaired to the Turkish camp; and the Russian empress, though recently victorious at Choczim, afraid of being deserted by her ally, and left to support alone the whole weight of the war, also had recourse to negotiation.

In consequence of this pacific disposition in the Christian allies, the Turks, so lately devoted to destruction, obtained an advantageous peace. The emperor ceded to the grand signor Belgrade and the whole province of Servia, with the Austrian Walachia; and the contracting powers agreed, that the Danube and the Save should, in future, be the boundaries of the two empires. Asoph was left to the czarina, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established.

Oct. 20, Soon after this peace was signed the emperor died; 1740. and the disputed succession to his hereditary dominions kindled anew the flames of war in Europe. But before we enter upon that important subject, I must give you, my dear son, a short account of the maritime war which had already commenced between Spain and Great Britain; and in order to make the grounds of the rupture distinctly understood, it will be necessary to continue our view of the progress of navigation, commerce, and colonization.

LETTER XXVII.

Of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Year 1660, to the Year 1739, when Spain and Great Britain engaged in a Maritime War, occasioned by certain Commercial Disputes—an Account of the principal Events of that War—the Reduction of Porto Bello, the Siege of Carthagena, and the Expedition of Commodore Anson to the South Sea.

WE have seen, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the English and Dutch in possession of almost the whole trade of the universe. But the Dutch commerce received a severe wound from the English Navigation Act, passed by the commonwealth parliament in 1651; and the two wars between England and Holland, in the reign of Charles II., reduced still lower the trade of the United Provinces. Their trade to the East Indies, however, continued to flourish, while that of England remained in a languishing condition till after the Revolution. But this disadvantage on the part of England was amply compensated by the population, culture, and extension of her colonies in North America and the West Indies, which began to consume a vast quantity of European goods; and by a great and lucrative trade to Spain, Portugal, and Turkey¹. During no former or subsequent period, indeed, did England make such a rapid progress in commerce and riches, as during that inglorious one, which followed the Restoration, and terminated with the expulsion of the house of Stuart²; though she found at that time a formidable rival in France, and a rival whose encroachments were not sufficiently repressed by her pusillanimous and pensioned monarchs.

By the great Colbert, who introduced order into the French finances in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV., who encouraged the arts, promoted manufactures, and may be said to have created the French navy, an East India company was erected

¹ England sent annually to the Levant about twenty thousand pieces of woollen cloth.

² Davenport affirms, that the shipping of England was more than doubled during those twenty-eight years. (*Discourse on the Public Revenues*, part ii.) And we learn from sir Josiah Child, that, in 1638, there were on the Exchange more men worth ten thousand pounds, than there were, in 1650, worth one thousand. *Brief Observations*, &c.

in 1664. This company, which founded its principal settlement at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, never attained any high degree of prosperity, notwithstanding the countenance shown to it by government. At last, in consequence of Law's Mississippi scheme, it was united with the West India company, which had been formed in the same year with the Oriental society, and was also in a languishing condition. A separation afterward took place. The West India company was judiciously abolished, as a pernicious monopoly¹; and the French trade to the East Indies became, for a time, of some importance, while that to the West Indies flourished greatly when it became free.

But France is chiefly indebted for her wealth and commerce to the genius and industry of her numerous inhabitants, and to the produce of an extensive and naturally fertile territory. Her wine, her brandy, her raisins, her olives, have been long in request; and by her ingenious manufactures, established or encouraged by Colbert, her gold and silver stuffs, her tapestry, her carpets, her silks, velvets, laces, linen, and toys, she laid all Europe, and indeed the greater part of the world, under contribution for half a century. Colbert extended his attention also to the manufacture of wool; and the French, by fabricating lighter cloths, by employing more taste and fancy in the colours, and by the superior convenience of the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, soon acquired the chief command of the trade of Turkey, formerly so beneficial to England. The same, and other circumstances, procured them a great share in the trade of Spain and Portugal².

The prosperity of the French manufactures, however, received a temporary check, from the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685. The persecuted Protestants, to the number of almost a million, who had been chiefly employed in these manufactures, took refuge in England, Holland, and other countries, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion; carrying with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their industry, to a very great amount, in gold and silver. They were much caressed in England, where they improved or introduced the manufacture of hats, of silk, and of linen. The importation

¹ Exclusive companies may sometimes be useful to nourish an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where the trade is between different parts of the dominions of the same prince, under the protection of his laws, and is carried on by his own subjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, such companies are not only absurd in their nature, but are also injurious to commercial prosperity.

² Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

of those articles from France was soon prohibited, as inconsistent with national interest; the culture of flax was encouraged; raw silk was imported from Italy and China; beaver skins were procured from Hudson's Bay, where settlements had been established, and where all sorts of furs were found in the greatest plenty, and of the most excellent quality. Watch-work was executed, in England, with distinguished elegance and exactness, as were also other kinds of machinery, cutlery, and jewelry; the cotton manufacture, now so highly perfected, was introduced; and toys of every species were at length finished with so much taste and facility as to become an article of exportation, even to the European continent, and privately to France itself, the birth-place of fashion, and the nursery of splendid *bagatelles*.

In the mean time, the English and French colonies in North America enlarged their boundaries, and increased in wealth and population. The French colony of Canada, or new France, was augmented by the settlement of Louisiana; and a line of communication was established, before the middle of the eighteenth century, from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Mississippi. The English colonies, more populous and cultivated, extended along the sea coast, from the Bay of Fundy to the river Alatomaha, on the frontiers of Florida. New England furnished masts and yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uses; New York and New Jersey, formerly known by the name of Nova Belgia, conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and Pennsylvania, settled in 1681, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the supply of the English islands in the West Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland was a staple commodity, in high request, and a great source of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, so necessary to a naval and commercial people, soon became of vast importance.

But the most beneficial trade of both nations arose from their colonies in the West Indies. The rich produce of those islands, being carried in the ships of the mother countries, afforded employment to a great number of seamen; and as the inhabitants, who did not even make their own wearing apparel, or the common implements of husbandry, were supplied with clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, toys, and even the luxuries of the table, from Europe, the intercourse was active, and productive of mutual prosperity and happiness. The islands in the American Archipelago, in a word, were the prime marts for

French and English manufactures, and furnished the nations to which they belonged, in their sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and other articles, with a more valuable exchange than that of gold.

Nor are those islands wholly destitute of the precious metals, which however are not found there in abundance. An inquiry into this subject will lead us to many curious particulars in the history of the West Indies, and prove, at the same time, a necessary introduction to the maritime war between England and Spain, which broke out in 1739.

After the failure of the mines of Hispaniola, which were never very rich, and the conquest of the extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greatest profusion, that valuable island was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flourishing cities were deserted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained sunk into the most enervating indolence. It possessed, however, a very considerable portion of the necessaries, and not a few of the luxuries of life. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but especially the horned cattle, which had become in a manner wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by these conveniences, many French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers or Freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortoga as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. They at first subsisted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate fresh, part they dried, and the hides they sold to the masters of such vessels as came upon the coast; who furnished them, in return, with clothes, liquors, fire-arms, powder and shot¹. But the wild cattle at length becoming scarce, the Buccaneers were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. Such as were more sober-minded than the rest applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly required their toil; while those of a bold and restless disposition associated

¹ The dress of the Buccaneers consisted of a shirt, dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain; a pair of trowsers, dirtier than the shirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a loose sabre, and some Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it off; shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. These barbarous men, the outcasts of civil society, were denominated *Buccaneers*, because they dried with smoke, conformably to the custom of the savages, part of the flesh of the cattle they had killed, in places denominated *buccans*, in the language of the natives. *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, tome xv.

themselves with pirates and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England were indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies.

Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the piratical Buccaneers, who took the name of *Brothers of the Coast*. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in open boats, which generally contained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate; to the burning heat of the day, and the chilling damps of the night. The natural inconveniences, connected with this mode of life, were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition.

A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be too much cherished, rendered the Buccaneers averse to all those restraints which civilized men usually impose on each other for their common happiness; and as the authority which they had conferred on their captain was chiefly confined to giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest disorder. Like savages, having no apprehension of want, nor taking any care to guard against famine by prudent economy, they were frequently exposed to the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a sail transported them to a degree of phrensy. They seldom deliberated on the mode of attack; but their custom was to board the ship as soon as possible. The smallness of their own vessels, and their dexterity in managing them, preserved them from the fire of the enemy. They presented only to the broadside of a ship their slender prows, filled with expert marksmen, who fired on the enemy's port-holes with such exactness, as to confound the most experienced gunners. And when they could fix their grappling tackle, the largest trading vessels were generally obliged to strike¹.

Although the Buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought that the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised on the natives of the New World, were

¹ *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, ubi sup. *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vi.

a sufficient apology for any violence that could be committed against them. Accommodating their conscience to this belief, which perhaps, unknown to themselves, was rather dictated by the richness of the Spanish vessels than by any real sense of religion or equity, they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to Heaven for its success; nor did they ever return loaded with booty, without solemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune¹.

This booty was originally carried to the island of Tortoga, the common rendezvous of the Buccaneers, and then their only place of safety. But afterward the French went to some of the ports of Hispaniola, where they had established themselves in defiance of the Spaniards, and the English to those of Jamaica, where they could dispose of their prizes to more advantage, and expend their money more agreeably, either in business or pleasure.

Before the distribution of the spoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and protested he had secreted nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury, a case that seldom occurred, he was punished in a manner which seems to deserve the imitation of better men. He was expelled from the community, and left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a wretch unworthy to live in society, even with the destroyers of their species!

After providing for the sick, the wounded, the maimed, and settling their several shares, the Buccaneers indulged themselves in all kinds of licentiousness. Their debaucheries were limited only by the want which their prodigality occasioned. If they were asked what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly what they had earned with so much jeopardy, they made this ingenious reply:—"Exposed as we are to a variety of perils, our life is very different from that of other men. Why should we,

¹ *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, ubi sup. *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vi. This is a curious picture of the inconsistency of human nature, and a striking proof how little connexion there frequently is between religion and morality! a truth which is farther illustrated by a remarkable anecdote. "One of the chief causes of our disagreement," says an enlightened Freebooter, speaking of the quarrels between the French and English Buccaneers, in their expedition to the South Sea, "was the impiety of the English; for they made no scruple, when they got into a church, to cut down the arms of a crucifix with their sabres, or to shoot them down with their fusils and pistols, bruising and maiming the images of the saints in the same manner!" (*Voy. des Flibust. par Raveneau de Lussan.*) But it does not appear that those devout plunderers, who were shocked at seeing the image of a saint maimed, were more tender than the English Buccaneers of the persons or property of their fellow-creatures, or that they often attempted to restrain their impious associates from acts of injustice or inhumanity.

who are alive to-day, and run the hazard of being dead to-morrow, think of hoarding?—Studious only of enjoying the present hour, we never think of that which is to come¹.” This has ever been the language of men in such circumstances: the desire of passing life in indulgence and dissipation, not solicitude for the preservation of existence, seems to increase in proportion to the danger of losing it.

The ships that sailed from Europe to America seldom tempted the avidity of the first Buccaneers, as the merchandise they carried could not readily have been sold in the West Indies in those early times. But they eagerly watched the Spanish vessels on their return to Europe, knowing that they were partly laden with treasure. They usually followed the galleons and flota, employed in transporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama; and if, by any accident, a ship was separated from the fleet, they instantly beset her, and she rarely escaped them. They even ventured to attack several ships at once; and the Spaniards, who considered them as demons, and trembled at their approach, commonly surrendered, if they came to close quarters².

A remarkable instance of this timidity on one side, and temerity on the other, occurs in the history of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, who, with a small vessel, carrying no more than twenty-eight men and four guns, had the boldness to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. Resolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath to the same purpose from his crew, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the side of his own vessel, that all hope of escape might be cut off. This was no sooner done than he boarded the Spanish ship, with a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other: and, bearing down all resistance, entered the great cabin, attended by the most desperate of his associates. He there found the admiral surrounded by his officers; presented a pistol to his breast; and ordered him to surrender. Meanwhile the rest of the Buccaneers took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms. Struck with terror and amazement, the Spaniards demanded quarter³. Parallel examples are numerous in the history of the Buccaneers.

The Spaniards, almost reduced to despair, on finding themselves continually harassed by those ravagers, diminished the number of their ships; and the colonies relinquished their con-

¹ *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, tome xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

² *Id. Ibid.*

³ *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vii.

nexions with each other. These humiliating precautions, however, served but to increase the boldness of the Buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spanish settlements only to procure provisions; but no sooner did they find their captures decrease, than they determined to procure by land that wealth which the sea denied them. They accordingly formed themselves into larger bodies, and plundered many of the richest and strongest towns in the New World. Maracaybo, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Carthagena, on this side of the continent, severely felt the effects of their fury; and Guayaquil, Panama, and many other places on the coasts of the South Sea, were not more fortunate in their resistance, or treated with greater lenity¹. In a word, the Buccaneers, the most extraordinary set of men that ever appeared upon the face of the globe, but whose duration was transitory, subjected to their arms, without a regular system of government, without laws, without any permanent subordination, and even without revenue, cities and castles which had baffled the utmost efforts of national force; and if conquest, not plunder, had been their object, they would in all probability have made themselves absolute masters of Spanish America.

Among the Buccaneers who first acquired distinction in this new mode of plundering, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Having by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial, and perhaps exaggerated, account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, he conceived a strong antipathy against a nation that had committed so many enormities. His heated imagination, which he loved to indulge, continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of innocent people, murdered by a brood of savage monsters nursed in the mountains of Castile. He fancied that the unhappy victims called upon him for vengeance: he longed to embue his hands in Spanish blood, and to retaliate the cruelties of the Spaniards, on the same shores where they had been perpetrated. He accordingly embarked on board a French ship bound to the West Indies, and joined the Buccaneers, whose natural ferocity he inflamed. Humanity in him became the source of the most unfeeling barbarity. The Spaniards suffered so much from his fury, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*².

¹ *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part i. ii.—*Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, ubi sup.

² *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, tome xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

Michael de Basco and Francis Lolonois were also greatly renowned for their exploits, both by sea and land. Their most important, though not their most fortunate, enterprise, was that of the gulf of Venezuela, with eight vessels and six hundred and sixty associates. This gulf runs a considerable way up into the country, and communicates with the lake of Maracaybo, by a strait which was then defended by a castle called *la Barra*. A.D. The bold adventurers took that fortress, and nailed up 1667. the cannon. They then passed the bar, and advanced to the city of Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake. But, to their inexpressible disappointment, they found it deserted and unfurnished; the inhabitants, apprised of their danger, having removed to the other side of the lake with their most valuable effects.

If the Buccaneers had not spent a fortnight in riot and debauchery, they would have found at Gibraltar, a town near the extremity of the lake, every thing which the people of Maracaybo had carried off, in order to elude their rapacity. On the contrary, by their imprudent delay, they met with fortifications newly erected. They had the glory of reducing these works at the expense of much blood, and the mortification of finding another empty town. Exasperated at the second disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar; and Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the bribe they received for their lenity, they took with them the bells, images, and all the ornamental furniture of the churches; intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortoga, and to consecrate that part of their spoils to sacred uses¹! Like other plunderers of more exalted character, they had no idea of the absurdity of offering to Heaven the fruits of robbery and murder, procured in direct violation of its laws.

But of all the Buccaneers, French or English, no one was so uniformly successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of Wales. While de Basco, Lolonois, and their companions, were squandering at Tortoga the spoils they had acquired in the gulf of Venezuela, Morgan sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello; and A.D. his measures were so well concerted, that soon after his 1668. landing, he surprised the sentinels, and made himself master of the town, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence.

¹ *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. i.

In hopes of reducing with the same facility the chief fortress, into which the citizens had conveyed their most valuable property, and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan thought of an expedient that discovers his knowledge of national characters as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the nuns and other women, and also the priests, whom he had made prisoners, to plant the scaling-ladders against the wall of the fortress, from a persuasion that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would not suffer them to fire upon the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himself deceived in this flattering conjecture. The Spanish governor, who was a resolute soldier, used his utmost efforts to destroy every one that approached the works. Morgan and his English associates, however, carried the place by storm, in spite of all opposition; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandise, bullion and specie equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling¹.

With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise. Understanding that de Basco and Lolonois had been disappointed with regard to the plunder of Maracaybo, by their imprudent delay, he resolved, from emulation no less than avidity, to surprise that place. With this view, he collected fifteen vessels, carrying

A D. nine hundred and sixty men. These ravagers entered
1669. the gulf of Venezuela unobserved, silenced the fort that defended the passage to the lake of Maracaybo, and found the town, as before, totally deserted. But they were so fortunate as to discover the chief citizens, and the greater part of their wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not satisfied, however, with this booty, Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar, which he found in the same desolate condition; and while he was attempting, by the most horrid cruelties, to extort, from such of the inhabitants as had been seized, a discovery of their hidden treasures, he was informed of the arrival of three Spanish men of war at the entrance of the lake.

At this intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat dispatched to reconnoitre the enemy, the heart of the bravest Buccaneer sunk within him; but although Morgan considered his condition as desperate, his presence of mind did not forsake him. Concealing his apprehensions, he sent a letter to don Alonzo del Campo, the Spanish admiral, boldly demanding a ransom for the

¹ *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. vi.

city of Maracaybo. The admiral's answer was resolute, and excluded all hope of working upon his fears. "I am come," says he, "to dispute your passage out of the lake; and I have the means of doing it. Nevertheless, if you will surrender, with humility, all the booty and prisoners you have taken, I will suffer you to pass, and permit you to return to your own country, without trouble or molestation. But if you reject this offer, or hesitate to comply, I will order boats from Caraccas, in which I will embark my troops, and sailing to Maracaybo, will put every one of you to the sword. This is my final determination. Be prudent, therefore, and do not abuse my bounty by an ungrateful return¹. I have with me," added he, "very good troops, who desire nothing more ardently than to revenge, on you and your people, all the cruelties and depredations which you have committed upon the Spanish nation in America."

As soon as Morgan had received this letter, he called together his followers; and acquainting them with its contents, desired them to deliberate whether they would give up all their plunder in order to secure their liberty, or fight for it?—They unanimously answered, that they would rather lose the last drop of their blood, than resign a booty which had been purchased with so much peril. Morgan, however, sensible of his dangerous situation, endeavoured to compromise the matter, but in vain. The Spanish admiral continued to insist on his first conditions. When Morgan was informed of this inflexibility, he coolly replied: "If don Alonzo will not allow me to pass, I will find means to pass without his permission." He accordingly made a division of the spoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and having filled a vessel, which he had taken from the enemy, with preparations of gunpowder and other combustible materials, he gallantly proceeded to the mouth of the lake; burned two of the Spanish ships, and took one; and by making a feint of disembarking men, in order to attack the fort by land, he diverted the attention of the garrison to that side, while he passed the bar with his whole fleet, on the other, without receiving any damage².

The success of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders, served only to stimulate him to greater undertakings. Having disposed of his booty at Port Royal, in Jamaica, he put A. D. to sea with a larger fleet, and a more numerous body of 1670.

¹ *Voyages des Flibustiers.*

² *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part ii.

adventurers; and after reducing the island of St. Catharine, where he procured a supply of naval and military stores, he steered for the river Chagre, the only channel that could conduct him to Panama, the grand object of his armament. At the mouth of this river stood a strong castle, built upon a rock, and defended by a good garrison, which threatened to baffle all the efforts of the Buccaneers; when an arrow, shot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of those resolute men. With wonderful firmness and presence of mind, he pulled the arrow from the wound; and wrapping one of its ends in tow, put it into his musquet, which was already loaded, and discharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houses were of straw, and the sides of wood, conformable to the custom of building in that country. The burning arrow fell on the roof of one of the houses, which immediately took fire; a circumstance which threw the Spaniards into the utmost consternation, as they were afraid, every moment, of perishing by the rapid approach of the flames, or the explosion of the powder-magazine. After the death of the governor, who bravely perished with his sword in his hand, at the head of a few determined men, the place surrendered to the assailants¹.

This obstacle being removed, Morgan and his associates, leaving the larger vessels under a guard, sailed up the Chagre in boats to Cruces, and thence proceeded by land to Panama. On the savannah, a spacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made several attempts to repulse the ferocious invaders, but without effect: the Buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter. Foreseeing the overthrow of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods; so that Morgan took quiet possession of Panama, and deliberately pillaged it for some days².

At Panama, this adventurer met with what he valued no less than his rich booty. A fair captive inflamed his savage heart with love; and, finding all his solicitations ineffectual, as neither his person nor character could easily inspire the object of his passion with favourable sentiments toward him, he resolved to second his assiduities with a seasonable mixture of force. "Stop, ruffian!" cried she, as she wildly sprang from his arms;—"stop! thinkest thou that thou canst ravish from me mine honour, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? No! be assured, that my soul shall sooner be separated from this

¹ Ulloa's *Voyage*, vol. i.

² Id. *ibid*.

body:" and she drew a poniard from her bosom, which she would have plunged into his heart, if he had not avoided the blow¹.

Enraged at such a return to his fondness, Morgan threw this virtuous beauty into a loathsome dungeon, and endeavoured to break her spirit by severities; but his followers becoming clamorous, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity by a caprice which they could not comprehend, he was obliged to listen to their importunities, and give up his amorous pursuit. As a prelude to their return, the booty was divided; and Morgan's share alone is said to have nearly amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprise².

The defection of Morgan, and several other principal leaders, who sought and found an asylum in the bosom of that civil society whose laws they had so atrociously violated, with the total separation of the English and French Buccaneers, in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the Revolution in 1688, broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain being then in alliance A. D. with England, she repressed the piracies of her subjects 1690. in the West Indies. The French Buccaneers continued their depredations with success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjusted, a stop was every where put to hostilities, and not only the association, but the very name of this extraordinary set of men, soon became extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West Indies.

Before this period, however, the French colony in Hispaniola had arrived at a considerable degree of prosperity; and Jamaica, into which the spoils of Mexico and Peru were more abundantly poured, was already in a flourishing condition. The Buccaneers found at Port Royal better reception, and greater security, than in any other colonial town. They could there land their booty with the utmost facility, and spend in a variety of pleasures the wealth arising from their piracy; and, as prodigality and debauchery soon reduced them again to indigence, that grand incitement to their sanguinary industry made them eagerly hasten to commit fresh depredations. Hence the settlement reaped the benefit of their frequent vicissitudes of fortune, and

¹ *Voy. des Flibust.*

² *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, part iii. chap. v. vi. After Morgan settled in Jamaica, he was knighted by that prince of pleasure and whim, Charles II.

was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profusion ; by the vices which led to their want, and their abundance.

The wealth which flowed into Jamaica through that channel, gave great activity to every branch of culture ; and, after the piracies of the Buccaneers were suppressed, it proved a new source of riches, by enabling the inhabitants to open a clandestine trade to the Spanish settlements, whence it had its origin. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more facile and secure, by the Assiento which England obtained at the

A.D. peace of Utrecht. In consequence of that contract, as I 1713. have already had occasion to observe, British factories were established at Carthagena and other important places ; and the veil with which Spain had covered the state and transactions of her colonies, occasionally lifted by the Buccaneers, was now entirely removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in her towns of most extensive trade and ports of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of her American empire ; of observing its wants, and knowing what commodities might be imported into it with the greatest advantage. The merchants of Jamaica and other English colonies were accordingly enabled, by means of information so authentic and expeditious, to assort and proportion their cargoes with such exactness to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on to a vast amount, and with extraordinary profit¹.

For the suppression of this trade, which, with that carried on by the British South Sea Company, had almost ruined the rich commerce of the galleons, formerly the pride of Spain and the envy of other nations, ships of force, under the name of *Guarda-costas*, were stationed upon the coasts of those provinces to which the interlopers most frequently resorted. Such a precaution was certainly prudent ; but it ought to have been put in execution with equity. If the ships, commissioned to prevent that illicit traffic, had only seized the vessels really concerned in it, neither the commanders, nor the government that appointed them, could justly have incurred any blame ; but the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps a spirit of revenge, incited the Spanish officers to stop, under various pretences, many vessels that had a legal destination, and even to treat the seamen with great cruelty.

¹ Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.—Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

England, whose power and glory are founded on commerce, and who could not patiently suffer any restraint upon a branch of trade which custom had induced her to consider as lawful, was highly incensed, when she understood that those restraints were converted into hostilities, and carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. The body of the people loudly called for vengeance; and the leading members in both houses of parliament directed all the thunder of their eloquence against the minister, who could tamely see his country exposed to such indignities. But sir Robert Walpole, who still swayed the councils of Great Britain, despised party rage and popular opinion, and therefore paid little regard to these violent invectives and seditious clamours. Strongly convinced of the importance of peace to a trading nation, he endeavoured to obtain, by negotiation, satisfaction from the court of Madrid. The preliminaries of a convention were accordingly signed in the A.D. beginning of the year 1739. And although the terms of 1739. this treaty were neither so honourable nor so advantageous to Great Britain as might have been wished, they were the best that could be obtained, without involving the kingdom in a war with Spain, and eventually with France, as was foreseen by that minister.

The chief article of the convention provided, that the king of Spain should pay to the subjects of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, as an indemnification for their losses, in consequence of the seizures made by the Guardacostas. This was, in effect, acknowledging the justice of those seizures; but, as no provision was made against future acts of violence, the grand question, "Whether British vessels, navigating the American seas, should be any where, or under any circumstances, subject to a SEARCH?" being left to be discussed by a congress, the interests of the country were supposed to be betrayed, and the whole nation was thrown into a ferment. Petitions against the convention were sent from the principal trading towns in the kingdom; and the general outcry was, "A free sea, or a war!" Walpole found himself under the necessity of resigning, or of yielding to the voice of the multitude: and the king of Spain, by neglecting to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed day, furnished him with a decent pretext for declaring war, without abandoning his pacific principles. On the contrary he affirmed, that the convention Oct. 19. treaty would have been attended with all the advantages that

could be procured by the most successful war¹, and that future ages would do justice to the counsels that produced it.

But although the pacific disposition of sir Robert Walpole, and his intimate knowledge of the essential interests of his country, rendered him averse to war, he no sooner resolved upon hostilities than the vigour of his measures was as conspicuous as his former moderation. A powerful fleet, under admiral Haddock, was sent to cruise off the coast of Spain; and admiral Vernon, an officer who stood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a squadron in the West Indies. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the house of commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the minister, and bluntly speaking his sentiments on every occasion. In a debate upon the Spanish depredation, he declared that he would undertake to reduce Porto Bello with six ships. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in opposition, and reverberated from every corner of the kingdom. Vernon became the idol of the people: and the minister, in order to gain their confidence, sent him to fulfil his boast; not perhaps without hopes that he might fail in the attempt, and draw disgrace on himself and his party.

The event, however, justified the admiral's assertion. He sailed from Jamaica with no more than six ships, and two hundred and forty soldiers on board. Yet so dastardly were the Spaniards, and such was the romantic bravery of the British

Nov. 22. seamen, who mounted the walls of the fortifications in a manner thought impracticable, that Porto Bello was taken almost without bloodshed. Of that place some account must be given.

The town of Porto Bello is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain, which embraces an excellent harbour. This harbour was well defended by forts, all which

¹ It would at least have been productive of more advantages than the war that ensued. And if it should be said, that it was impossible to foresee the subsequent misfortunes, which arose from a variety of causes, it may at least be affirmed in reply, that the interests of a few merchants concerned in a contraband trade, however lucrative, was not a sufficient object to engage two great nations in a war, the success of which must be doubtful, and which, it was evident, must be prosecuted at a vast expense of blood and treasure. It was the unsubmitting pride of the two nations that involved them in hostilities: and that pride, on the part of England, was inflamed by a set of ambitious men in both houses of parliament, who assumed to themselves the deluding name of patriots; but who, since time has elucidated their characters, appear to have been only a desperate faction, struggling for the emoluments of office.

were taken and blown up by admiral Vernon, who immediately abandoned his conquest. It could only indeed be of importance to the masters of Peru, as its opulence depended entirely upon its situation; and even that opulence could only induce an inconsiderable number of inhabitants constantly to reside on a spot so unhealthy, that it was denominated the *Grave of the Spaniards*. But during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, Porto Bello was a theatre of the richest commerce that was ever transacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern side of the isthmus which divides the two seas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, silver and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of necessity, accommodation, and luxury. The sickly and almost deserted town was quickly filled with people: its port was crowded with ships; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules laden with the precious metals: instead of silence and solitude, nothing was to be seen in the streets and squares but bustling multitudes, bales of goods, and chests of treasure¹.

But that rich commerce, and also the contraband trade, were afterward ruined by the abolition of the galleons, and the substitution of register ships, which sailing round Cape Horn, passed immediately to the ports of Chili and Peru, with a supply of European goods, and returned to Europe with the treasure by the same course. In consequence of this new regulation, which took place in 1748, the trade of Panama and Porto Bello rapidly declined: and these towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South Sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies, served in the sequel only as a passage for the negroes that were conveyed to Peru, and some other inconsiderable branches of decaying traffic².

The joy of the English nation, at the late success, was extreme. The two houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms: the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the minister to continue him in the command of the British fleet in the West Indies.

This compliance with the wishes of the people, however, served only to render the popular members in the house A.D. of commons more clamorous. They considered it as a 1740.

¹ Ulloa's *Voyage*, vol. i.

² Robertson's *Hist. of Amer.* book viii.

partial victory, and resolved to push their advantage: they aimed at the entire removal of the minister; and a motion was even made for that purpose. Piqued at this ungenerous return (as he considered it) to his condescensions, sir Robert Walpole concluded a masterly speech (in which he refuted every charge brought against him) with the following keen expressions, that strongly mark the character of those contentious and venal times. "Gentlemen," said he, "have talked a great deal of *patriotism*; a venerable virtue, when duly practised! But I am sorry to observe, that of late it has been so much hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace; the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst purposes. A patriot! why, patriots spring up like mushrooms: I could raise fifty of them within four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in a night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or insolent demand, and up starts a patriot.—I have long heard of this *patriotic* motion," added he; "and let gentlemen contradict me, if they can, when I say I could have prevented it: by what means I leave the house to judge¹."

The reduction of Porto Bello was but a prelude to greater enterprises. Nothing less was resolved upon than the utter destruction of the Spanish settlements in the New World. With this view, a squadron was dispatched to the South Sea, under commodore Anson, in order to ravage the coasts of Peru and Chili: while twenty-seven sail of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, store-ships, victuallers, and transports, with ten thousand soldiers on board, were sent to the West Indies under sir Chalonèr Ogle, to reinforce admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Anson, by means of intelligence to be conveyed across the isthmus of Darien. The land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, as well as experience in military affairs: and the ardour of both soldiers and sailors to come to action was excessive. This ardour drew from lord Cathcart the following words, in a letter to admiral Vernon, "In the troops I bring you, there is spirit, there is good-will; which, when properly conducted, will produce, I hope, what the nation expects from us—will make us the glorious instruments of finishing the war, with all the advantages to the public that its happy beginning promises; and with this distinguishing circumstance, that those happy effects have been owing to a perfect *harmony* between the *sea* and *land-forces*²."

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 1740.

² *Modern Universal Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

The want of that harmony proved the ruin of the armament. As lord Cathcart unfortunately died soon after his arrival in the West Indies, the command of the land forces devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, resolution, or authority. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the admiral had for the land service. These two ill-associated A. D. commanders, whose powers were discretionary, after 1741. being reinforced with some troops from the English colonies in America, determined to attack Carthagena.

The city of Carthagena is seated on a sandy peninsula, joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadest of which is not above seventy yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. The houses are mostly of stone, and the streets are broad, straight, and well paved. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of a middling height, on which is built the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and, in some measure, the harbour, which is the safest in the American dominions of Spain, and one of the best any where known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a safe and excellent bottom¹. When the Spanish trade in South America was carried on by the galleons, those ships sailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and visited it again on their return. Its trade has declined since their abolition; but the excellence of its harbour, and its vicinity to the rich provinces of Santa Fé and Popayan, must ever make it a place of great importance.

In consequence of the resolution of the English commanders to attack this opulent and strong city, a descent was made Mar. on the peninsula of Tierra Bomba, near the entrance of 9. the harbour which is known by the name of Boca Chica, or *Little-mouth*, from its narrowness, and which was fortified in a surprising manner with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. Several of the smaller castles were quickly reduced by sir Chaloner Ogle: and batteries being erected against the principal fortifications, the Boradera battery and Fort St. Joseph were successively taken by storm. A breach was made in Castillo Grande; and the British troops, supported by the seamen, advanced to the assault. Contrary to all expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spanish ships, which lay across the

¹ Ulloa, lib. i. cap. 3.

mouth of the harbour, were either taken or destroyed; the passage was opened; the fleet entered without farther opposition, and the troops were disembarked within a mile of the city.

After surmounting so many difficulties with such facility, the besiegers thought that little remained but to take possession of Carthagena. A ship was accordingly sent express to London with intelligence to that effect; and public rejoicings were held at Jamaica, and over all the English islands in the West Indies. But the animosities which broke out between Vernon and Wentworth disappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as the sanguine expectations of those who were concerned in the expedition. Each seemed more eager for the disgrace of his rival than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was always putting the general in mind of the necessity of cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and of attacking the citadel of St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Resolutions, in a council of war, were taken for that purpose; but nothing was done in consequence of them. A shameful inactivity, which might partly proceed from the climate, seems to have possessed the troops¹.

The general, by way of recrimination, threw the blame of the delay upon the admiral, in not landing the tents, stores, and artillery. And it must be admitted that both were in fault. If Wentworth had attacked the citadel before the enemy had recovered from the panic occasioned by the reduction of the forts that defended the harbour, the English would certainly have become masters of the place; whereas the inaction of the land forces, beside the diseases to which it exposed them, gave the Spaniards time to recover their spirits, and to take every precaution for their defence. Nor was Vernon less remiss in his duty, in not sending his ships to batter and bombard the town by sea; for it is certain, notwithstanding some surmises to the contrary, that great execution might have been done by such a mode of attack. The largest ships could have lain near enough to have damaged the buildings without being exposed to much

¹ The heat is excessive and almost continual at Carthagena; and the torrents of water that are incessantly pouring down, from May to November, have this singularity, that they do not cool the air, which, however, is sometimes a little moderated during the dry season by the north-east winds. The night is as hot as the day. Hence the inhabitants, wasted by profuse perspiration, have the pale and livid appearance of invalids: their motions are languid and sluggish: their speech is soft and slow, and their words are generally broken and interrupted. Every thing relative to them indicates a relaxed habit of body. *Ulloa*, lib. i. cap. v.

injury; and the bombs would have been attended with great effect, as the houses in that country are chiefly covered with shingles, or small thin boards, instead of slate or tiles.

During these disputes, the soldiers were employed in erecting batteries, to make a breach in fort St. Lazarus. But the heavy cannon, not having been yet brought up, and the batteries being far from completion, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered so much stronger before the batteries could be opened, as to overbalance the advantage to be expected from them. This absurd opinion, seconded by the importunities of Vernon, determined Wentworth to hazard an assault, after all rational prospect of success from that kind of attack had ceased, until a breach should be made in the walls. So firm, however, was the courage of the British troops, that, if other instances of misconduct had not accompanied that unsoldier-like attempt, there is reason to believe Carthagena would have been taken. The assault, instead of being made in April the night, was delayed till morning; the soldiers were 9. conducted, by mistake, against the strongest part of the citadel; the scaling-ladders were found too short; the woolpacks and grenade-shells were left in the rear; and the admiral neglected to divert the attention of the enemy by battering the town from the sea, or even making use of his bomb-ketches¹. In consequence of these errors, the brave assailants were exposed to the whole fire of the fort, and partly to that of the city, without the least power of defending themselves, or of annoying the Spaniards. A mere carnage ensued; and although a retreat was soon judged necessary, colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, fell on the occasion, and six hundred of the flower of the English army were killed or severely wounded.

The besiegers were so discouraged by this unpropitious and ill-directed effort, that they gave up all hopes of being able to reduce the place; and the rainy season came on with such violence, as to render it impossible for the troops to live on shore. They were therefore re-embarked, and the enterprise was relinquished, after the admiral had made a feeble attempt to bombard the town, in order to convince the general of its impracticability; though that conclusion did not fairly result from this impertinent experiment. On the contrary, it was affirmed, that the continuance of such a mode of attack, properly conducted, would have reduced the city to heaps of ruins; that a floating battery, which

¹ *Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.—*Smollet's Hist. of Eng.* vol. xi.

had been prepared, did not lie in the proper place for annoying the enemy; that the water was there indeed too shallow to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success, but that, a little toward the left, the harbour was sufficiently deep, and that four or five ships of the line might have been moored within pistol shot of the walls¹.

After the re-embarking of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury. Nothing was heard from ship to ship, but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead! Nothing was seen but objects of woe or images of dejection; and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in pleading the expediency of a retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour of Carthagena were accordingly demolished; and the English fleet sailed for Jamaica, to the astonishment and confusion of the mother-country, as well as of the colonies. The people were depressed in proportion to that exuberant joy with which they had been elevated; nor was any thing afterward done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterprise, to retrieve the honour of the British arms. Although Vernon was reinforced with several ships of the line, and Wentworth with three thousand soldiers from England—and though they successively threatened St. Jago de Cuba and Panama—they returned home without effecting any thing of consequence, after having lost about fifteen thousand men.

The expedition under Anson was not more fortunate in the beginning; and, but for accident, it would have terminated in equal disgrace. Being attacked by a furious storm in passing Cape Horn, two of his ships were obliged to return in distress; one was lost; and the greater part of his people died of the scurvy, before he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. In that delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and spirits; and when he had again put to sea, he took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, on the coast of Peru, where he found a booty of silver to the amount of about thirty thousand pounds sterling. From his prisoners he learned that, notwithstanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in those latitudes; as Don Joseph Pizarro, who commanded a Spanish squadron destined to oppose him, had been

¹ *Univ. Hist.* vol. xv.

obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having lost two ships and fifteen hundred men, in attempting to double Cape Horn.

But this consolatory intelligence was balanced by information of a less agreeable kind. The commodore also learned from some papers found on board his prizes, that the English expedition against Carthagena had miscarried. Such discouraging news made him sensible of the impropriety of attempting to execute that part of his instructions which regarded an attack upon Panama, in consequence of a supposed co-operation with the British troops, across the isthmus of Darien. He therefore bore away for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he understood was then at sea. Happily for the Spaniards, she had reached that port before his arrival. A.D. He endeavoured to intercept her in her return, but 1742. without effect. At this time he had only one ship, as two had been destroyed or abandoned for want of men to navigate or means to repair them. He at length reached Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, where he and his crew were gratified with ample refreshments. He then sailed toward China, and arrived at Macao after a long and distressful voyage. Having A.D. refitted his ship, and taken in a supply of provisions, he 1743. again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and, after cruising for some time, he fortunately met with and took the annual ship bound from Acapulco to Manilla, laden with treasure to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, beside a variety of valuable commodities¹.

Anson now returned to the coast of China, where he asserted the honour of the British flag in a very spirited manner; and after an absence of about three years and nine months A.D. he re-appeared on the shores of England, to the great joy 1744. of his countrymen, who had heard of his disasters, and concluded that he and all his crew were lost. The Spanish treasure was carried to the Tower in pompous parade; and an expedition, which, all things considered, ought rather to have been deemed unfortunate, was magnified beyond measure. Anson's perseverance, however, deserved praise; and the success of a single ship seemed to point out what might be performed by a strong squadron on the coast of the South Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterprise against Carthagena was still so fresh in

¹ *Anson's Voyage*, by Walter. The treasure consisted of one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty dollars or pesos, with uncoined silver equal in value to forty-three thousand six hundred and eleven dollars.

the memory of the nation, that no farther attempt was made during the war to distress the Spanish settlements in America.

I shall here, my dear Philip, close this letter; as the naval transactions in the European seas, though seemingly connected with the subject, will more properly enter into the general narration. The war occasioned by the death of the emperor Charles VI. must now engage our attention.

LETTER XXVIII.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of Charles VI. to the Treaty of Dresden, in 1745, and the Confirmation of the Treaty of Breslau.

THE death of the last prince of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, without male issue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, the adjustment of whose pretensions threw A.D. Europe into a ferment. By virtue of the Pragmatic 1740. Sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the succession to all the Austrian dominions belonged to the archduchess Maria Theresa, the late emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the provinces of Silesia, Austrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Burgaw, Brigsaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, composed that ample inheritance.

Almost all the European powers had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction; but, as prince Eugene judiciously remarked, "a hundred thousand men would have guaranteed it better than a hundred thousand treaties!" Selfish avidity and lawless ambition can only be restrained by force. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. Augustus II. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in right of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. His Catholic majesty deduced similar pretensions from the rights of the daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. wife to Philip II. of Spain, from whom he was descended by females;

and the king of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the duchy of Milan. The king of France also pretended that he had a right to the whole disputed succession, as being descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses, married to his ancestors Louis XIII. and XIV. But, conscious that such a claim would excite the jealousy of all Europe, he did not appear as a competitor; though he was not without hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by abetting the claims of another.

In the mean time Maria Theresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance which was secured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian provinces. Possessed of a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But, above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their sovereigns: by which the subjects, in case of an invasion of their privileges, are allowed to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels.

As the ancestors of this princess had ever been backward in complying with such engagements, the early adoption of that prudent measure was attended with extraordinary popularity. The Hungarians, who, after two hundred years spent in seditious broils and civil wars, still bore with impatience the Austrian yoke, submitted with pleasure to the government of Maria Theresa, whom they almost adored, and who was worthy of their high regard. Her first care, after conciliating the affection of her people, was to procure for her husband a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent; and she flattered herself, that the consequence, thus conferred upon the grand duke, would soon raise him to the imperial throne. But she had forgotten that she was destitute of money; that a number of pretenders, for the whole or a part of the Austrian succession, were rising up against her; and that her troops, though far from inconsiderable, were dispersed over her extensive dominions.

The first alarm was given by a formidable, but unexpected pretender. Frederic III. king of Prussia, had lately succeeded his father, Frederic William, a wise and politic prince, who had, by rigid economy, amassed a prodigious treasure, though he maintained, for his own security, an army of sixty thousand men,

which he prudently left his son to employ. "If we may be said to owe the shade of the oak," observes the royal historian, "to the acorn from which it sprang, in like manner we may discern, in the sagacious conduct of Frederic William, the source of the future greatness of his successor¹."

This ambitious, enlightened, and enterprising monarch, whose A.D. character I shall have occasion to develop in describing 1741. his heroic achievements, and in tracing his extensive plans of policy, revived an antiquated claim of his family to a part of Silesia; and, instead of having recourse to unmeaning manifestos, he began his march at the head of thirty thousand disciplined warriors, in order to establish his right. When he found himself in the heart of that rich province, and in possession of Breslau, its capital, he showed a disposition to negotiate. He offered to supply Maria Theresa, then commonly known by the appellation of queen of Hungary, with money and troops; to protect, to the utmost of his power, the rest of her dominions in Germany, and to use all his interest to place her husband on the imperial throne, provided she would cede to him the Lower Silesia.

That would have been a small sacrifice for peace and security. But the queen was sensible, that, by yielding to the claims of one pretender, she should only encourage those of others. She therefore rejected, perhaps too hastily, the offers of the king of Prussia, and sent count Neuperg, one of her best generals, with a strong body of troops into Silesia, to expel the invaders. The April 10, two armies, nearly equal in number, met at Molwitz, near N. S. Neiss, where a fierce battle ensued. When it had continued four hours, the Austrians, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiss.

This victory, which was followed, though not immediately, by the reduction of Glatz and Neiss, and the submission of the whole province of Silesia, was acquired solely by the firmness of the Prussian infantry, and their celerity in firing, in consequence of a new exercise which they had learned from their young king. The cavalry were totally routed, by the superiority of the Austrians in horse; the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himself, in danger of being made prisoner, was carried off the field, in the more early part of the engagement. But the second line of infantry stood immovable; and, by the admirable discipline of that body, the battle was restored².

¹ *Mém. de Brandebourg*, tom. ii.

² Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*, chap. v.

The success of the king of Prussia astonished Europe ; and the refusal of Maria Theresa to comply with his demands, which had lately been dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness :—so apt are mankind to judge of measures by events, and to connect wisdom with good fortune, and folly with disaster ! But, even at this distance of time, when a more impartial judgment may be formed, if the queen's resolution were again to be taken, it would be difficult for political sagacity to direct her which alternative to choose. What might have been the consequence of her compliance with the proposals of the Prussian monarch, it is impossible to say ; but we know that her intrepidity of spirit in resolving, at all hazards, to preserve undivided the Austrian succession, exalted her in the esteem of her most natural and powerful allies, who ultimately secured to her the greater part of that inheritance. It must, however, be admitted, that Frederic's successful invasion, the unforeseen consequence of her refusal, and an assurance of the support of so powerful a prince, encouraged the court of Versailles in the ambitious project of placing the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne. The rise of this scheme deserves to be traced.

France had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction ; and cardinal Fleury, whose love of peace increased with his declining years, was desirous of preserving inviolate the engagements of his master. But no sooner was it known at Versailles that the king of Prussia had invaded Silesia, than the cardinal found himself unable to withstand the ardour for war in the French councils. This ardour was increased by the battle of Molwitz, and the failure of the English in their attempt upon Spanish America. Assured of the assistance of Spain, which turned a wishful eye on the Italian possessions of the queen of Hungary, the princes of the blood and young nobility, eager for an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in arms, represented to the king, that the period so long desired had now arrived, of finally breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins ; by dismembering the dominions of Maria Theresa, and placing on the imperial throne Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, a stipendiary of his most Christian Majesty.

The moderation and natural equity of the French king yielded to arguments so flattering to his pride ; and to the count, afterward *maréchal* and duke de Belleisle, and his brother the chevalier, the chief inspirers of these violent counsels, the execution of that ambitious project was committed. They proposed that

forty thousand men should pass the Rhine, and advance toward the Danube, before the beginning of June; that another army, of about thirty thousand men, should be formed on the side of Westphalia, to overawe the electorate of Hanover; and that proper application should be made to the most considerable princes of the empire, corresponding to their several situations, inviting them to concur in the destruction of the house of Austria, and to share in its spoils. Attempts were quickly made for carrying this plan into execution.

Meanwhile the count de Belleisle, being dispatched into Germany in the double capacity of ambassador and general, had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg. By this treaty Louis engaged to assist that prince with his whole force, in order to raise him to the imperial throne; and the elector promised, that after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which the French should have conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and suffer France to retain irrevocably whatever places might be subdued by her arms in the Austrian Netherlands. The count also negotiated a treaty between Louis and the king of Prussia: in which it was stipulated, that the elector, with the imperial crown, should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the county of Tirol; that the king of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that Frederic should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz.

These treaties were no sooner concluded, than the French forces were put in motion; and Louis appointed the Bavarian elector, whom he intended to place in the first station among Christian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the *maréchals* Belleisle and Broglio to act under him. He at the same time issued a declaration, importing that, the troops of the elector of Hanover being in a threatening posture, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had resolved, without prejudice to the Pragmatic Sanction, to send forces toward the Rhine, in order to guard the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to assist those princes who might call upon him for the execution of his engagements.

The fallacy of this declaration was obvious to all Europe; yet it did not fail of its intended effect. The king of Great Britain, alarmed for the safety of his German dominions, and finding, after a tedious and fruitless negotiation, that he could not depend upon the support of the Dutch, who were timid and back-

ward, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover ; in Sept. 27, consequence of which not only the troops of that electo- N. S. rate, but the auxiliary Danes and Hessians, in British pay, who had been commanded to march to the assistance of Maria Theresa, were ordered to remain in their respective countries ; and the embarkation of a body of British troops, collected for the same purpose, was countermanded. A subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, granted by the British parliament, was however transmitted to the queen of Hungary, and proved a seasonable supply in the midst of her multiplied necessities.

In the mean time the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under Broglio, surprised the imperial city of Passau ; and entering Upper Austria, at the head of sixty thousand men, took possession of Lintz, the capital of that duchy, where he received the homage of the states. From Lintz, several detachments of his troops advanced within a few leagues of Vienna ; which being badly fortified, could make, it was generally thought, but a feeble resistance against the victorious enemy. And many of those who were best acquainted with Germany, and with military operations, considered that city as in extreme danger of reduction. The inhabitants took the alarm, and removed their most valuable effects to places of greater safety.

In this extremity of her fortune, the archduchess, committing her affairs to the care of her husband and her brave generals, left Vienna, and retired to Presburg in Hungary ; where having assembled the states of that kingdom, she appeared before them with her eldest son (yet an infant) in her arms, and addressed them in a speech to the following purport : “ Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked by my nearest relatives, I have no resource left but in your fidelity and valour. On you alone I depend for relief ; and into your hands I commit, with confidence, the son of your sovereign, and my just cause.” At once filled with rage and compassion at these affecting expressions of confidence, by so flattering an appeal to their loyalty, and by the appearance of a young, beautiful, and heroic princess, in distress, the Palatines drew their sabres, and exclaimed, in a tone of enthusiasm, “ We will die for our KING¹ Maria Theresa !” Nor was this a momentary start of passion. While with tears they swore to defend her, they published a manifesto against the elector of Bavaria ; and, by a solemn act of state, they decreed a

¹ So the Hungarians always call their sovereign, whether male or female.

perpetual exclusion of him and his posterity from the throne of Hungary.

The nobles were instantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the name of *Father*, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men. Kevenhuller, the governor, had a garrison of twelve thousand: count Neuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thousand: the grand duke and his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain, who was the delight of the Austrian armies, commanded another large body; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berinclau, count Traun, and other general officers, were exerting themselves to the utmost in raising troops for the service of their mistress.

These powerful armies, the declining season, and the strength of the garrison of Vienna, induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his ideas. Instead of investing that capital, he marched into Bohemia; and being there joined by about fifteen thousand Saxons, he laid siege to Prague. The place was taken by storm; and on this occasion not only the enterprising courage of Maurice count de Saxe, natural son of Augustus I. king of Poland, was particularly displayed, but he also exhibited a remarkable instance of his generosity and humanity. He saved the town from pillage, and the persons of the inhabitants from violence or insult.

A.D. The elector having been crowned king of Bohemia at 1742. Prague, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was chosen emperor, under the name of Charles VII.

The *maréchal de Belleisle*, who made a splendid figure at the inauguration of the new emperor, seemed now in a fair way to complete his undertaking, more especially as he had found means to engage the Swedes in a war with the Russians, in order to prevent the latter from aiding the queen of Hungary. But events suddenly took a new direction in Germany, as we shall soon have an opportunity of observing. In the mean time we must turn our attention to the affairs of the north, and also take notice of those of England.

After the peace of the year 1739, which was not very honourable to the Russians or the Austrians, the Swedes, remembering with disgust the unfavourable terms to which they had been constrained to agree at Nystadt, and influenced by Gallic intrigues, made preparations for a war with Russia. The empress Anne, however, warded off the storm till her death, in the autumn of 1740. This princess was not destitute of merit, either in a political or private view; but she had the weakness to suffer her-

self to be guided by the counsels of her favourite Biron, whose government in her name was inhumanly despotic. She was succeeded by John, the son of her niece Anne, princess of Mecklenburg; and Biron, by the appointment of his too indulgent patroness, assumed the regency during the minority of the new sovereign. But he was quickly deprived of that dignity, and banished to Siberia, by order of the princess, who then took into her own hands the reins of government. Being unable to prevent the Swedes from rushing into a war, she sent count Lasci against them with a respectable army; and a battle ensued near Wilmanstrand, in Finland, to the advantage of the Russians. This was the only important event of the campaign; and it was soon followed by a revolution at Petersburg¹.

The boyars and people, dissatisfied with the administration of the princess of Mecklenburg, who did not sufficiently attend to the political concerns of her high station, and showed a strong partiality to Germans and other foreigners, turned their eyes toward Elizabeth, daughter of the great Peter. Lestocq, the physician and favourite of this princess, exerted himself so strenuously in her behalf, while French gold also was employed for the promotion of her interest, that she acquired the crown by a bloodless insurrection. She continued with success the war against Sweden, and insisted on the acquiescence of that court in her terms of peace. A contest arising for the succession to the Swedish throne, she recommended Adolphus, bishop of Lubeck; while the king of Denmark² proposed his son; and prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel was supported in a similar claim by his uncle, then reigning. To smooth the way for the elevation of Adolphus, Elizabeth at length consented to some restitutions, not indeed of former conquests, but of the territories seized during the recent war; and Adolphus was declared heir to the Swedish crown. The czarina, at the same time, was more inclined to assist the Austrian princess than to gratify the enmity of the French court against her; but she delayed her determination in that respect till she was better prepared to give powerful aid.

The intimate connexion between England and the house of Austria, since the Revolution in 1688, cemented by the blood spilled during two long and desolating wars, in which the subjects of the two powers had greatly signalized themselves, by

¹ Tooke's *Hist. of Russia*, vol. ii.

² Christian VI., an amiable and patriotic prince, who succeeded his father Frederic IV., in 1730.

opposing the ambition of Louis XIV., made the people consider this connexion, and not altogether without reason, as essential to the preservation of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous usurpations of the house of Bourbon. The English nation, therefore, warmly espoused the cause of the queen of Hungary; and no sooner was it known that France, in violation of the Pragmatic Sanction, had formed the project of dismembering the succession of Charles VI., and placing a creature of her own upon the imperial throne, than the cry was loud for war, and for fulfilling to the utmost the treaties with the late emperor. The miscarriages in the West Indies were forgotten; the increase of taxes, which had lately occasioned so much clamour, was disregarded; and liberal subscriptions were opened by private individuals for the support of Maria Theresa.

George II., who seemed only to value the British crown as it augmented his consequence in Germany, was sufficiently disposed to enter into these views; and although the imminent danger, to which his electoral dominions were exposed, induced him to submit to a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, that treaty did not affect him in his regal capacity. As king of Great Britain, he might still assist the queen of Hungary; he might even, it was said, subsidize his electoral troops to fight the battles of Maria Theresa. Of this he seemed convinced. But the leading members of the opposition in parliament had declaimed so long, and so eloquently, against continental connexions, that a change in his ministry was judged necessary before any effectual step could be taken.

The parliamentary opposers of sir Robert Walpole had lately increased their strength, and redoubled their zeal and vehemence of attack, so as to alarm and confound his dependents and partisans. Even by his own account¹, "the panic was so great among his friends, that they all declared that his retiring was become absolutely necessary," as the only means of carrying on the public business with efficacy. He was very unwilling to re-

Feb. ^{11.} linquish his power; but, when he found that he could

not preserve a majority in the house of commons, he consented to retire from the helm. In accepting the resignation of a minister for whom he had a high regard, the king was so affected that he shed tears.

On the retreat of sir Robert, who was ennobled as earl of Orford, the earl of Wilmington was appointed first lord of the

¹ In a letter to the duke of Devonshire.

treasury: Mr. Sandys, who had distinguished himself by his perseverance in opposing the minister, was declared chancellor of the exchequer: lord Carteret, the Cicero of the house of peers, became secretary of state; and the admired orator, Mr. Pulteney, was restored to the dignity of a privy counsellor, and soon after created earl of Bath. Some changes of less consequence also took place.

From the new ministry the most popular measures were expected: nothing less was presumed on than a total renovation of the constitution. Various motions to this purport were accordingly made in both houses; but, to the astonishment of the nation, they were violently opposed, and quashed, by the very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whose former speeches had suggested them. The most important of these motions were the three following: one for appointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs during the last twenty years; one for bringing in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parliaments; and one for excluding pensioners from the lower house. In this ministerial opposition Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, and lord Carteret, particularly distinguished themselves.

The eyes of the people were now opened; and they discovered that the men whom they had been accustomed to consider as incorruptible patriots, and who had so long distracted the councils of the nation with their thundering orations, were only the heads of an ambitious faction, struggling for power, and ready, when gratified with a share in the honours and offices of the state, to espouse measures and adopt maxims, which they had formerly reprobated, as pregnant with ruin and disgrace. This political apostacy was no less observable in their conduct with respect to foreign than domestic affairs. Though German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, had been the constant objects of their indignation, while out of place, and had furnished them with the occasion of some of the finest strokes of their popular eloquence, the new ministry extended their complaisance to their sovereign in all these particulars, much farther than their execrated predecessors. Beside providing for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, they procured a vote of five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary: they augmented the land forces to sixty-two thousand five hundred men: they sent the earl of Stair into the Netherlands with sixteen thousand British soldiers, to make a diversion in favour of Maria Theresa, even before they were assured of the

concurrence of Holland; and they ordered those troops to be joined by six thousand Hessians, and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in British pay. This army, however, after much idle parade, went into winter-quarters, without performing any thing of consequence; the earl being employed during the greater part of the summer in fruitless negotiations with the Dutch, in order to induce them to fulfil their engagements with the late emperor. The campaign was more active in Germany.

The good fortune of the elector of Bavaria terminated with his elevation to the imperial throne. He then received an account of the loss of Lintz, though it was defended by a considerable French garrison. Kevenhuller, the Austrian general, who had performed this important service, having dislodged the French from all the strongholds of Upper Austria, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions, defeated *maréchal* Thoring at Memberg, and took Munich. In the mean time prince Lobkowitz, with eleven thousand foot and five thousand horse, was appointed to observe the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry, advanced against the Prussians and Saxons, who had invaded Moravia. They retired with precipitation on his approach, and abandoned Olmutz, which they had taken¹.

This retreat was deemed an event of great importance by the Austrians, as it seemed to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force against the French under Belleisle and Broglio, who were too strong for prince Lobkowitz singly. But the active and enterprising king of Prussia, having received a numerous reinforcement under the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, marched to the assistance of his allies in Bohemia. By this expedition and generalship, he arrived before the intended junction could be formed; and, in order to prevent it, he gave battle to prince Charles of Lorraine at Czaslau. The disciplined troops on both sides were nearly equal; but the Austrians had the advantage of a large body of barbarous irregulars, Croats, Pandours, Talpaches, who engaged with incredible fury². The ranks of the Prussians were broken: the king left the field; and a total defeat must have ensued, had not the lust of plunder seized the Austrian

¹ *Annals of Europe*, 1742.

² The first of these are the militia of Croatia. The *Pandours* are Slavonians who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save; they wear a long cloak, carry several pistols in their girdle, and also make use of a sabre and poniard. The *Talpaches* are a sort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sword.

irregulars at the sight of the Prussian baggage. Their example infected the regulars of the Austrian right wing, who also gave over the pursuit. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity of rallying; they returned to the charge; and, after an obstinate dispute, broke the main body of the Austrian army, and obliged prince Charles to retire with the loss of four thousand men.

The king of Prussia, though victorious, having some reason to suspect the sincerity of the court of France, began to turn his thoughts towards peace; and, being no less politic than June 11, brave, he concluded at Breslau, without consulting his N. S. allies, an advantageous treaty with the queen of Hungary. She ceded to him the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz; and he engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions within fifteen days after the ratification of the articles. A treaty of peace was concluded, nearly at the same time, between Maria Theresa and the king of Poland, to whom she yielded some districts in Bohemia, while he guaranteed to her the possession of the rest of that kingdom¹.

Upon the court of France, like a clap of thunder, came the intelligence of the treaty of Breslau: and the news which followed it did not contribute to alleviate the consternation occasioned by that blow. Belleisle and Broglio no sooner found themselves deserted by the Prussians, than they abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves in a kind of peninsular meadow, formed by the windings of the Moldau; while the prince of Lorrain, having formed a junction with the Austrian army under Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Grinnitz.

Finding themselves surrounded by a superior force, the French generals offered to evacuate Prague, Egra, and all the other places which they held in Bohemia, provided they should be permitted to retire with their arms, ammunition, and baggage. This proposal, though highly reasonable, was haughtily rejected by Maria Theresa, who insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. Belleisle, who had assumed the command in Prague, treated the queen's demand with disdain; assuring his master, that he apprehended nothing from the enemy but famine. The Austrian generals, though less skilful than brave, made him sensible that their approaches were not to be slighted. By cutting

¹ Millot.—Voltaire.—Smollet.

off his supplies, they reduced him to the greatest necessities, while they harassed his troops by very frequent assaults.

To permit the surrender of so fine an army was deemed inconsistent with the honour and glory of the French nation, as well as with its interest. Maillebois, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, had therefore orders to march to the relief of Prague, at the head of forty thousand men. When he arrived at Amberg, he was joined by thirty thousand French and Imperialists from Bavaria, under Seckendorff and count Saxe. Thus reinforced, he entered Bohemia without resistance. The prince of Lorraine now left eighteen thousand men to blockade the town, and advanced with the main body of the army toward the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppose Maillebois. At Hayd he was joined by the grand Austrian army under Kevenhuller, who had followed count Saxe and Seckendorff from Bavaria. Meanwhile Belleisle and Broglio broke out of Prague, and marched to Leutmeritz; and, as Maillebois was then in the neighbourhood of Egra, a junction with him did not seem impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking possession of the passes in the interposing mountains, defeated their scheme. Maillebois was under the necessity of returning to the Palatinate, whither he was followed, and harassed on his march, by the prince of Lorraine; while Lobkowitz, with a strong detachment, obliged Belleisle and Broglio again to seek refuge in the capital of Bohemia.

Soon after the renewal of the blockade, Broglio made his escape in disguise, and took the command of the French forces in the Palatinate, Maillebois being recalled; so that the fate of Prague, toward which the eyes of all Europe were now turned, rested solely on the courage and conduct of Belleisle and the small remains of that gallant army, which had given an emperor to Germany. All prospect of relief was cut off: a retreat seemed impossible; and famine, accompanied with disease, its melancholy attendant, made cruel havoc among the French troops. The intrepid spirit of Belleisle, however, which bore him up amid all his misfortunes, communicated itself to his officers and soldiers; and few days passed without sallies, in which the French had generally the advantage.

These sallies being chiefly occasioned by the zeal of the French in attacking the Austrian magazines near the town, prince Lobkowitz ordered them to be guarded by the flower of his army, in hopes that famine would soon compel the enemy to surrender at discretion. Now it was that Belleisle made known the resources

of his genius. Having secretly formed the design of a retreat, he had with wonderful diligence remounted his cavalry, and sent troops of them out every day to forage. At last, by making in one quarter of the town a feint for a general Dec. forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and gained a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy, he left a small garrison in that city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The ground was covered with snow, the cold excessively intense; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and the prince, with twelve thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, hung on his rear. Under all these disadvantages, however, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. And with so much judgment had he planned his route, that, although the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progress, by striking through frozen marshes, which had never perhaps before been trodden by the foot of man; he himself always pointing the way, though confined to his coach or sedan by a violent rheumatism. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy, but of a thousand in consequence of the rigour of the season¹.

We must now turn our attention toward Italy, where the war raged, during this campaign, with no less violence than in Germany.

I have already observed, that, on the death of Charles VI., the king of Spain put in a claim to the whole Austrian succession, and that the king of Sardinia revived one of the Milanese duchy. Both afterward thought proper to moderate their pretensions. The Spanish monarch seemed disposed to be satisfied with the Austrian dominions in Italy, which he intended to erect into a kingdom for Philip, his second son by the princess of Parma: and his Sardinian majesty, alarmed at the encroachments of the house of Bourbon, entered into an alliance with the queen of Hungary and the king of Great Britain, in consideration of an annual subsidy, and the cession of certain places contiguous to his dominions, though without absolutely renouncing his antiquated claim to the duchy of Milan. The other Italian powers

¹ *Annals of Europe*.—Millet.—Voltaire.

affected, from fear, to remain neutral: so that, when a body of Spanish soldiers, under the duke de Montemar, landed on the coast of Tuscany, in the autumn of 1741, the grand duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, whose territories they came to invade, permitted them to pass through his dominions. The Genoese showed no less complaisance to another body of Spanish troops; the Venetians issued a declaration to the same purpose; and the pope, as the common father of Christendom, wisely permitted both parties to take refuge alternately in the ecclesiastical state, and treated both with equal cordiality. Don Carlos, king of the Two Sicilies, while he declared himself neutral, resolved to abet the claims of his family to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Milan. But the appearance of an English squadron before his capital, which could soon have been laid in ashes, obliged him to submit, for a time, to a real neutrality as unnatural as that of the grand duke.

This transaction, and others connected with it, were attended with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit detail; the more especially, as they lead us into the line of the naval operations of Great Britain in Europe.

Admiral Haddock had cruised in the Mediterranean ever since the rupture with Spain; and sir John Norris had repeatedly threatened the coasts of that kingdom, with a considerable armament, without achieving any memorable enterprise. At length the former of these officers seemed to have an opportunity of distinguishing himself and effectually serving his country. As he lay at Gibraltar, with twelve stout ships, he was informed, that a strong fleet commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, with two hundred transports, and fifteen thousand soldiers on board, had passed the Strait in the night. He immediately stood to sea. He came up with the enemy and was preparing to engage, when a French squadron, from Toulon, stood in between the hostile fleets with a flag of truce; and the commander sent a message to the English admiral, intimating that, as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he was under the necessity of acting in concert with his master's allies. This unexpected interposition prevented an engagement, and the Spanish admiral proceeded with his convoy¹.

Worn out with years, and chagrined by repeated disappointments, Haddock resigned the command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean to rear-admiral Lestock, who was soon joined

¹ Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. viii.—Smollet, vol. xi.

by seven ships of the line, under vice-admiral Matthews, a brave and able officer. Beside being appointed commander-in-chief on that station, Matthews was invested with full powers to treat with all the princes and states of Italy, as his Britannic majesty's minister. In this double capacity he watched the motions of the Spaniards both by sea and land; and understanding that a body of the troops of Don Carlos, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, had joined the Spanish army, he sent commodore Martin with an English squadron into the bay of Naples, with orders to bombard that city, unless the king would withdraw his troops, and sign a promise, that they should not act in conjunction with Spain during the war. The inhabitants of Naples were thrown into the utmost consternation at this unexpected visit; and the king, being sensible that his capital, naturally much exposed by its ascending situation, was not in a state of defence, thought proper to comply with the conditions. He at first called an extraordinary council, which held several consultations, without coming to any fixed resolution. At length the British commodore, who had dropped anchor before the town at four in the afternoon, by a noble boldness put an end to farther hesitation. On receiving an ambiguous answer, he pulled out his watch, and fixing it to the main-mast, sternly replied, that the council must come to a final determination within an hour, otherwise he should be obliged to execute his orders, which were absolute. The king's promise of neutrality was immediately sent; and the English fleet left the bay before midnight¹. History affords few instances of such decision and dispatch in affairs of equal importance.

As a prelude to the signing of this forced neutrality, which disconcerted the schemes of the court of Madrid, the Spanish army, under the duke de Montemar, had been obliged to retreat toward the frontiers of Naples before the king of Sardinia, and count Traun, the Austrian general. Meanwhile, Philip, for whose aggrandisement the war had been undertaken, invaded Savoy with an army which he had led through France, and soon made himself master of that duchy. Alarmed at this irruption, and anxious for the safety of his more valuable dominions, the king of Sardinia returned with his forces to the defence of Piedmont, which the Spaniards in vain attempted to enter. And count Traun found himself sufficiently strong, after the king of the Two Sicilies had withdrawn his troops, to maintain his

¹ *Annals of Europe*.—Tindal.

ground, during the remainder of the campaign, against the Spanish army under the count de Gages, who was sent to supersede the duke de Montemar¹.

The Spaniards, in a word, had little reason to boast of their success in Italy, where their armies were reduced to great distress, by the vigilance of the British fleet in cutting of their supplies. The queen of Hungary, now all victorious in Germany, was in possession of the territories of the emperor; so that the French, weary of supporting that prince, in whose cause they had lost a great number of their best troops, at last made proposals of peace on equitable, or rather humiliating terms. This condescension was the more remarkable, as the councils of the court of Versailles were no longer influenced by the mild spirit of cardinal Fleury. He had died, at a very advanced age, in the beginning of the present year.

But Maria Theresa, elate with her unexpected success, and rendered confident by the support of so powerful an ally as the king of Great Britain, rejected all pacific propositions; while lord Carteret, who now acted as prime minister to George II., and who had formerly declaimed with so much violence against continental connexions, could now see nothing but triumphs to be acquired in Flanders, though the Dutch had not yet engaged to take part in the war. He therefore urged the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe. In vain did the popular party in parliament reply, that this balance was no longer in danger; that the queen of Hungary herself was now sufficiently strong to protect all her dominions; that she had only to restore peace to Germany, in order to be enabled to drive the Spaniards out of Italy; and that England, instead of rousing the jealousy of other states, by lavishing its blood and treasure in feeding the pride of an ambitious woman, ought to direct all its force against Spain, the only power with whom it was actually at war, and in whose humiliation it was particularly interested. These arguments met with little attention. The king of Great Britain was fired with the thirst of military glory; and the king of France, finding that peace could not be obtained for the emperor, made preparations for prosecuting the war with vigour.

In the mean time, the good fortune of the queen of Hungary continued to attend her. In Bavaria, Charles of Lorraine defeated the Imperialists near Braunau, and took possession of

¹ Millot.—Voltaire.

their camp; while prince Lobkowitz, marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate. These two generals afterward obliged Broglio to abandon a strong camp which he occupied at Pladling on the Danube, and to retire with precipitation toward the Rhine, the Austrian irregulars harassing him on his march, and cutting off a multitude of his men. When he reached Donawert, he was joined by twelve thousand men under count Saxe: yet he did not think proper to hazard an engagement, his main body being almost ruined. He retreated before prince Charles to Heilbron; and the emperor, abandoned by his allies, and stripped of his dominions, took refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity¹.

The operations on the side of Flanders, during this campaign, were far from being unimportant, though they were less decisive. The British and Hanoverian troops, commanded by the earl of Stair, and the Austrians under the duke d'Aremberg, began their march early in the year, from the Low Countries toward Germany. Louis ordered the duke of Noailles to assemble a great force on the Maine, to prevent them from joining the prince of Lorrain; while he sent another army under the maréchal de Coigny into Alsace, in order to oppose that prince, if he should attempt to pass the Rhine. Having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, Noailles crossed the Rhine, and posted himself above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced toward him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Maine and the forest of Darmstadt. From this situation he moved to Aschaffenburg, with a view of securing the navigation of the Upper Maine, which was necessary for the conveyance of forage and provisions from Franconia. But he was anticipated by the vigilance and activity of the enemy; for Noailles, posted on the opposite side of the river, had already gained possession of the principal posts, so as to cut off all supplies².

When his Britannic majesty, attended by his second son the duke of Cumberland, and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allies, he found the army, amounting to about forty thousand men, eager for battle, but in great want of provisions. The French general had taken his measures so wisely, that it was thought the confederates would be forced to surrender prisoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. A retreat, however, was resolved upon, both as necessary to procure subsistence,

¹ *Annals of Europe*.—Millet.

² *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.

and to form a junction with twelve thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, who had reached Hanau, and were exposed to great danger. The troops were accordingly ordered to strike their tents, and to begin an expeditious march. Their route lay between a mountain and the river Maine, over which the French had been unaccountably permitted to erect several bridges. The allies were annoyed in their march, by the enemy's cannon on the opposite banks; and the French general, with a part of the main body of his army, marching over the bridges, took possession of the village of Dettingen, in front of the allies, while in their rear a detachment occupied Aschaffenburg, which they had abandoned.

Having made these dispositions, which he flattered himself would oblige his adversaries to attack him under great disadvantage, the duke de Noailles repassed the Maine, the better to observe the motions of the hostile troops, and to bring forward the remainder of his forces. Meanwhile the duke of Grammont, his nephew and lieutenant-general, who was stationed at Dettingen with thirty thousand men, and all the young generals and princes of the blood, eager to engage, passed the defile behind which they were posted, and advanced into a small plain, where June 26, the allies had formed themselves in order of battle.

N.S. Noailles, who was still on the other side of the river, beheld this motion with grief and astonishment, and made all the haste possible to form a new disposition. But he came too late to repair the mistake that had been committed; for although the French charged with great impetuosity, and the household troops put the Austrian cavalry into disorder, the British and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the presence of their sovereign (who rode between the lines with his sword drawn), stood firm as a rock, and poured forth an incessant fire, which nothing could resist. By a masterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry, led by the nobility and princes of the blood, who rushed on in seeming desperation, those intrepid battalions opened their lines, and afterward closing again, made great havoc in that gallant body. Terror now seized the whole French army; and Noailles found himself under the necessity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, after five thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners¹. Had he been warmly pursued, the victory of the allies would probably have been complete. The earl of Stair proposed such a measure; but his sovereign, happy in having bravely extricated

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.—Voltaire.—Tindal.

himself from one imminent danger, did not choose to rush into another. He was afraid of an ambuscade. His troops had received little sustenance for some days; they had had fatiguing marches; they had been many hours under arms; and the enemy had still a superior army, and a great train of artillery, it was said, to dispute the passage of the river.

These military considerations may be thought sufficient to account for the caution of the king—whose loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to three thousand men—without the intervention of invidious political motives. And it must be admitted, even by those who blame his conduct, and think the French might have been totally routed in their first confusion, that the circumstance of his being only an ally, and not a principal in the war, was a strong argument for his not risking too much. Happy would it have been for his kingdom, if the same prudence had restrained him from taking so active a part in a quarrel, in which he was not immediately interested!—He dined on the field of battle, and in the evening prosecuted his march to Hanau; recommending his sick and wounded to the care of the duke de Noailles, who treated them with great humanity and tenderness¹.

The king was no sooner joined by the expected reinforcement at Hanau than the earl of Stair proposed, that as the numbers on both sides were nearly equal, the French should be attacked by passing the Maine. But, to the surprise of all Europe, no such attempt was made. George, flattered with humiliating proposals of peace from the emperor, became every day more irresolute. Even after the retreat of the duke de Noailles, who was under the necessity of marching into Upper Alsace, which was threatened by prince Charles of Lorraine, no effort was made to disperse or destroy the body of observation left under count Saxe; and although the allied army was reinforced with twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries in September, it was early distributed into winter quarters, without performing any thing of consequence after the victory of Dettingen.

¹ The character of Adrian Maurice, duke de Noailles, who united the talents of the consummate general to those of the able statesman, at the same time that he successfully cultivated literature, and acquired the reputation of a good citizen, is one of the most amiable and exalted of the age in which he lived. He enjoyed in a very high degree the confidence of Louis XV., and delivered his sentiments to his sovereign, in a variety of letters and memorials on the most important subjects, with an honest freedom that is almost unexampled in a subject and a courtier. [See the third and fourth volumes of a curious work, entitled *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires composés sur les Pièces originales (recueillies par Adrian Maurice, Duc de Noailles, Maréchal de France, et Ministre d'Etat), par l'Abbé Millot.*]

The earl of Stair was so dissatisfied with this inaction, that he resigned in disgust; and the duke de Noailles, who had apprehended the greatest disasters, unacquainted with the restraints imposed upon the British commander, felicitated his master, with that modesty which is peculiar to real merit, that he had not to deal with an Eugene, a Marlborough, or a Staremberg; otherwise the issue of the campaign must have been very different. The duke effectually defeated the designs of prince Charles upon Alsace; but he could not prevent Mentzel, the famous partisan, from making an irruption, with four thousand Austrian irregulars, into Lorrain and Luxemburg, where he committed terrible depredations.

The campaign in Italy was not more decisive, though its beginning promised the most vigorous exertions. Count de Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the province of Bologna, passing the Panaro in February, attacked the Austrian and Piedmontese forces under count Traun, at Campo Santo, where a desperate battle was fought, but without any decided advantage, both sides claiming the victory. Gages, however, found himself under the necessity of repassing the Panaro; and his army being much weakened by desertion, he retired to Rimini. He there fortified his camp, and remained unmolested till October, when prince Lobkowitz, having succeeded Traun in the command of the Austrian army, entered Romagna, and obliged the Spanish general to retreat to Fano. Gages afterward took post at Pesaro, fortifying the passes of the Foglia.

The season was so far in the decline, before Philip and the Spanish army in Savoy entered upon action, that the campaign on the side of Piedmont was distinguished by no important event. This inaction was occasioned by a secret negotiation between the house of Bourbon and the king of Sardinia; and notwithstanding the encomiums that have been paid to the fidelity of that prince, he would have entered into the views of France and Spain, if they had complied with his demands, or if the queen of Hungary had not agreed to more advantageous terms than they were willing to grant¹.

These negotiations produced the treaty of Worms; by which his Sardinian majesty renounced his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and guaranteed anew the Pragmatic Sanction. Maria Theresa, beside relinquishing in his favour all title to the town and marquise of Final, then possessed by the republic of

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.

Genoa, but on which she had some claims, agreed to put him in possession of the Vigevanesco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies between the Po and the Tesino, and to cede to him the towns of Placentia and Bobbio, with all the territory from the source of the Nura to the lake Maggiore, and the frontiers of the Swiss Cantons. She farther engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy, as soon as the situation of her affairs in Germany would permit; and the king, on condition of his receiving from Great Britain an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, obliged himself to keep up an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse¹.

This treaty, which dissipated all hopes of peace, and the haughty behaviour of the queen of Hungary, who not only refused to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation with the emperor, but avowed her purpose of keeping possession of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, as an indemnification for the loss of Silesia, produced a great change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their jealousy of the ambition of the house of Austria revived; and their pride was wounded by the degradation of the imperial dignity in the person of Charles VII.; now no better than an illustrious beggar, depending on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. They resolved to interpose in favour of the head of the empire, whose misfortunes had awakened their compassion. The court of Versailles, ever watchful, encouraged these new dispositions²; and a secret negotiation was begun with the distressed emperor, the elector Palatine, the king of Sweden, (as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel,) and the king of Prussia, who dreaded the speedy loss of his late conquests, unless the growing power of Maria Theresa should be restrained. The issue of this negotiation, which was conducted by Chavigni, the French minister at the imperial court, or rather asylum, in Frankfort, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. In the mean Oct.
time a family compact (or perpetual alliance and mutual 25.

guarantee of possessions and claims) was formed between France and Spain at Fontainebleau³, and great preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour both by sea and land. Twenty thousand French soldiers, under the prince of Conti, were ordered to join Philip in Savoy; and the French and Spanish squadrons at Toulon were commanded to act in concert,

¹ Tindal, vol. ix.

² *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.

³ One of the principal articles of this treaty imported, that no peace should be concluded unless Gibraltar should be restored to Spain. *Mém. de Noailles*.

and attempt to recover the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. If successful, they were to join the Brest fleet; and, having established a superiority in the Channel, to assist in a projected invasion of England.

That enterprise, which had for its remote object the re-establishment of the house of Stuart, was more immediately planned with a view of obliging the king of Great Britain to recall his troops from the continent, and apply his attention to the defence of his own dominions, instead of engaging in the support of foreign powers. A correspondence was accordingly re-opened with the English and Scottish Jacobites, who readily offered their assistance, and magnified the public discontents, at the same time that they endeavoured to inflame them. The real discontents, however, were very great. The people were enraged at the mysterious inaction of the last campaign, which they justly ascribed to the influence of German counsels, and the political situation of George II., as elector of Hanover. Nor were they less dissatisfied at the prospect of the continuance of a bloody and expensive war, in which Great Britain was likely to become a principal instead of an ally, after an honourable peace might have been concluded with the emperor, and the queen of Hungary secured in the possession of all the Austrian dominions in Germany, except Silesia, which she had ceded to the king of Prussia. A general disgust at the measures of the court prevailed.

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the paucity of troops in England, and the assurances of a powerful support from the gentry and the people, Louis entered seriously into the views of the cardinal de Tencin, who had projected the enterprise; and sanguine hopes were entertained of the elevation of the pretender to the British royalty. Tencin was warmly attached to the Stuart family, by whose interest he had been raised to the purple; and having taken the lead in the French administration, on the death of cardinal Fleury, he was ambitious of showing his gratitude to his friends and at the same time of serving his master, by giving a new king to Great Britain.

Nor did such a revolution seem impossible, with the force that was prepared, to those who were best acquainted with the situation of this kingdom, if France had possessed the sovereignty of the sea. Fifteen thousand men were assembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; and a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne. Charles Edward, eldest son of the chevalier de St. George, and to whom that prince had

delegated his pretensions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. A descent was to be made on the coast of Kent; and M. de Roquefeuille, with twenty ships of war, sailed exultingly up the Channel to protect the transports and cover the landing of the troops. Seven thousand men were embarked, and the first division of the transports put to sea; but a sudden storm arising, they were driven back upon the French coast. Many of them were shattered; some of the largest, with all the men, were lost; and a superior English fleet, commanded by sir John Norris, obliged M. de Roquefeuille to retire with precipitation to Brest¹; so that the young pretender, after having a sight of the promised land, found himself under the necessity of waiting for a more favourable state of affairs, before he could attempt the recovery of the throne of his ancestors.

The alarm occasioned by this formidable, though abortive enterprise, united the Whigs in the firm support of the existing government. They were made sensible, that their opposition to some unpopular measures, and their political jealousies of each other, had been represented by the enemies of Great Britain as a proof of their dislike to the reigning family; and that the chevalier de St. George had founded his hopes of success chiefly on the division among the friends of the Protestant succession. This appeared by a letter which he wrote to John duke of Argyle, an inconsistent but zealous Whig, whom the Jacobites supposed to be ready for a revolt, on account of the violence of his speeches in parliament, and whom the pretender requested to dictate his own terms². But that harmony was of short duration. The intelligence which soon arrived of a naval engagement in the Mediterranean, and the judicial proceedings relative to it, gave rise to new divisions and discontents.

In consequence of the late alliance between France and Spain, the admirals of the combined fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, resolved to give battle to that of England, by which they had been blocked up, and which prevented them from carrying provisions or military stores to the Spanish armies in Italy. The Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, consisted of sixteen sail of the line (though only twelve were fully manned); and the French squadron, under M. de Court, of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships. On the other hand, the British admirals, Matthews and Lestock, had the command of twenty-eight sail of the line, six ships of fifty guns, four frigates,

¹ *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

² *Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.

and two fire-ships; a force which, if a misunderstanding had not prevailed between those officers, might have utterly ruined the associated fleets¹.

Matthews, as soon as he saw the French and Spanish fleets quit the road of Toulon, weighed anchor for the bay of Hieres,

Feb. and bore down upon them. An engagement ensued, in

11. which he behaved with great gallantry. But he was ill supported by his captains, and Lestock, with his whole division, remained all the time at a distance; so that the contest was long doubtful, and only the most vigorous exertions could have saved the ships that were engaged from being taken or destroyed. Victory, however, at last declared in favour of Matthews. The combined fleet, after an action of six hours, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of one ship of the line, named the Poder. The Royal Philip, another disabled ship, might also, it is supposed, have been taken, had the English admiral continued the chase; but his orders to guard the coast of Italy being positive, he did not think himself at liberty to neglect that important object, and to run the hazard of being drawn down the Strait, for the precarious possibility of making a single prize, the other ships of the enemy sailing too fast to leave him any hope of coming up with them².

The loss of this opportunity of breaking the naval power of the house of Bourbon occasioned loud complaints in England; and the failure of the British fleet to destroy that of the enemy became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. From a committee of the house of commons, the matter was referred to a court-martial. Several captains were convicted of misbehaviour, and subjected to different degrees of punishment; but, to the astonishment of the public, Lestock was fully acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy; though it was evident to every unprejudiced mind, that Lestock, by keeping aloof, when he had it in his power to engage, was not only the cause of the miscarriage complained of, but of exposing the British fleet to the most imminent danger, in order to gratify his vindictive spirit, while Matthews, rushing into the heat of action, fought like a hero, and discovered a noble zeal for the service of his king and country³. Such ridiculous things, as experience has since repeatedly proved, are courts-martial in factious times!

¹ *Annals of Europe.*

² See the *defence* made by Matthews on his trial.

³ Compare the *Trials* of Matthews and Lestock.

Before these judicial proceedings were finished, mutual declarations of war had been issued by the kings of France and England, who thenceforth became in some measure principals in the continental quarrel, the court of Versailles having also declared war in form against her Hungarian majesty. Louis accused George of having violated the compact for the neutrality of Hanover, of dissuading the queen from coming to an accommodation with the emperor, and of blocking up the ports and disturbing the commerce of France. His Britannic majesty recriminated, by accusing the French king of violating the Pragmatic Sanction; of attempting to destroy the balance of power in Europe, by dismembering the Austrian succession; of assisting the Spaniards, the avowed enemies of England, both secretly and openly, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of harbouring the pretender, and furnishing him with a fleet and army to invade Great Britain; and of committing actual hostilities on the British fleet in the Mediterranean¹. Both parties had formed the most sanguine and not ill-grounded hopes of success: the king of Great Britain depended on the valour of his troops, the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, and the vigorous exertions of the court of Vienna; the house of Bourbon on the new alliances they were forming in Germany, and the vast preparations they had made for prosecuting the war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

The campaign in Italy began early on the side of Piedmont. Philip, being joined by the prince of Conti, passed the Var, which descends from the Alps, and falls into the sea of Genoa a little below the city of Nice. The whole county of Nice submitted. But before the confederates could advance so far as they wished, they had to force the Piedmontese entrenchments at Villa Franca, and afterwards to reduce the castle of Montauban, situated among rocks, which form a chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the valour of the French and Spaniards, though not without great loss². Their intention was to penetrate into the duchy of Milan through the Genoese territories; a measure that would have been attended with pernicious consequences to the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. Admiral Matthews, who had by this time returned to the coast of Italy, therefore sent a spirited message to the senate of Genoa, declaring that if the confederate army should be suffered to pass through the domi-

¹ Printed *Declarations of War*.

² Voltaire.—Millot.

nions of the republic, he must consider it as a breach of her neutrality, and would be under the necessity of immediately commencing hostilities against her subjects.

Alarmed at this measure, the Genoese, though secretly in the interest of the house of Bourbon, prevailed upon Philip and the prince to choose another route. They accordingly defiled off toward Piedmont, by the way of Briançon, and attacked the strong post of Château Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in person. It was carried after a desperate attack, in which the officers and soldiers of the two confederate yet rival nations performed wonders. "We may behave as well as the French," said the count de Campo Santo to the marquis de las Minas, who commanded under Philip; "but we cannot behave better."—"This has been," says the prince of Conti, in a letter to Louis, "one of the most hot and brilliant actions that ever happened: the troops have shown a courage more than human¹. The valour and presence of mind of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the advantage. I recommend to you M. de Solemi and the chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed. Your majesty, knowing the value of friendship, will feel how much I am affected by his loss!" History records with particular pleasure such expressions of generosity and sympathy as do honour to the human character. The appeal of the prince to the heart of Louis is elegant and emphatic.

After losing the important pass of Château Dauphin, and another called the Barricades, the king of Sardinia, not being in a condition to hazard a battle, drew off his troops and artillery from the frontiers, in order to cover his capital. He took post at Saluzzo, to the southward of Turin; while the confederates, having made themselves masters of the castle of Demont, situated on a rock in the valley of Stura, and deemed impregnable, invested the strong town of Conti, the possession of which was necessary to open a passage into the duchy of Milan. The king, being reinforced by ten thousand Austrians under Pallavicini, resolved to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly advanced, in September, with a superior force, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments. But after an obstinate engagement, in which valour and conduct were equally conspicuous on both sides, he was obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men, to his camp in the valley of Murasso.

¹ They had the boldness to clamber up rocks of an extraordinary height, mounted with cannon, and to pass through the embrasures when the guns recoiled.

The loss of the enemy was little inferior. And his Sardinian majesty having found means to reinforce the garrison of Conti, and also to convey into the town a supply of provisions, Philip and the prince of Conti were obliged to raise the siege, which they had continued till the latter part of November, to the great injury and diminution of their army. Having destroyed the fortifications of Demont in their retreat, they utterly evacuated Piedmont, and took up their winter quarters in Dauphiné. But the Spaniards still continued in possession of Savoy, which they fleeced without mercy¹.

The campaign in the south of Italy was also distinguished by a diversity of fortune. Don Carlos having, in violation of his forced neutrality, joined the Spanish army with twenty-five thousand men, prince Lobkowitz, the Austrian general, was ordered to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly left the neighbourhood of Rome, and advanced toward Velitri, near which the confederates were posted. While the two armies lay in sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz sent a strong detachment into the province of Abruzzo, where they distributed a manifesto, in the name of her Hungarian majesty, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves again under the protection of the house of Austria. That measure, however, was attended with very little success, the Neapolitans showing no inclination to rebel. Lobkowitz therefore collected his forces, and resolved to make an attack upon the head-quarters of the enemy at Velitri. This enterprise he committed to Ulysses Maximilian, count Brown, an able and active general; and, to promote the success of the scheme, he amused the enemy with ambiguous motions. At the head of six thousand select warriors, the count surprised Velitri in the night; and the duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were in great danger of being made prisoners. They escaped with difficulty to the quarters of the count de Gages, who performed on this occasion the part of a great captain. He rallied the fugitives, removed the panic which had begun to prevail in the camp, and made a masterly disposition for cutting off the communication of the detachment of the enemy with the main body. Count Brown, therefore, apprehending that he might be surrounded, thought proper to attempt a retreat. This he effected with skill and gallantry, carrying away copious spoils. Three thousand of the Spaniards and

¹ Voltaire.—Millet.—Smollet.—*Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.—The two last volumes of this Continuation were written by the late Mr. Guthrie, though they bear the name of Tindal.

Neapolitans are said to have been killed in this nocturnal encounter, and eight hundred were taken. The Austrians lost only about six hundred men; but the failure of the enterprise, and the heats of autumn, proved fatal to their hopes. Prince Lobkowitz, seeing his army daily mouldering away, without the chance of its being recruited, decamped from Fiola; and passing the Tiber at the Ponte Molle, (anciently known by the name of Pons Milvius,) which he had just time to break down behind him when the enemy's vanguard appeared, he crossed the mountains of Gubio, and arrived, by the way of Viterbo, in the Bolognese territory¹.

The queen of Hungary and her allies were not more successful in Germany and the Low Countries. But considering the unexpected confederacy that was formed against them, and the inferiority of their generals, they had little reason to complain of fortune. The negotiations at Frankfort being brought to an issue, a treaty was there concluded, through the influence of France. Its declared object was to restore the imperial dignity and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging either to persuade or oblige the queen of Hungary to acknowledge the title of Charles VII., to give up the archives of the empire, still in her possession, and evacuate Bavaria; the emperor's claims on the Austrian succession to be settled by a friendly compromise, or judicial decision. So far the confederacy seemed laudable. But, by a separate article, which breathed a very different spirit, the king of Prussia engaged to put the emperor in possession of Bohemia, and to guarantee to him Upper Austria, as soon as it should be conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Konigin-gratz, in its whole extent, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from Konigin-gratz to the confines of Saxony. Frederic, however, by previous agreement, and a separate treaty with the court of Versailles, was not obliged to take arms, until he should see France act with vigour².

To procure the ready co-operation of this politic, ambitious, and powerful prince, Louis put himself at the head of his army in Flanders, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men, as early as the season would permit, and invested Menin. The duke de Noailles, and the celebrated count Saxe, now a maréchal

¹ Voltaire.—Milot.—Smollet.—*Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

² *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.

of France, commanded under him, and carried every thing before them. Menin surrendered in seven days. Ypres, Fort, Knocke, and Furnes, were reduced with almost equal facility. And the king entered Dunkirk in triumph, while the allied army, to the number of seventy thousand men, unable to obstruct his progress, continued posted behind the Scheldt.

But Louis was soon obliged to quit this scene of conquest, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions. Having received intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had passed the Rhine, and entered Alsace at the head of sixty thousand men, he dispatched the duke de Noailles with forty thousand to join the *maréchal de Coigni*, who commanded in that province, while he himself followed with a farther reinforcement; leaving Saxe, with the remainder of his army, to oppose the allies in the Netherlands. The masterly movements of that consummate general, and the want of concert between the Austrian and English commanders, *D'Aremberg* and *Wade*, prevented them from gaining any advantage during the campaign, though now greatly superior in force.

Before the duke de Noailles could form a junction with *Coigni*, the prince of Lorraine had taken *Weissenburgh*, and laid all Lower Alsace under contribution. At Metz the king of France was seized with a fever, which threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. Meanwhile prince Charles being apprised of the irruption of the Prussians into Bohemia, repassed the Rhine in sight of a superior army, and hastened to the relief of that kingdom. Louis, after his recovery, formed the siege of *Freyburg*; and the reduction of this important place, by the famous engineer count *Lowendahl*, who had entered into the French service, concluded the business of the campaign on the side of Alsace.

The king of Prussia, on taking arms, published a manifesto, in which he declared, that he could no longer remain an idle spectator of the troubles of Germany, but found himself obliged to make use of force, to restore the power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor; that he desired nothing for himself, had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and had only entered into the war as an auxiliary, in order to assert the liberties of the Germanic body; that the emperor had offered to relinquish his claims on the Austrian succession, provided his hereditary dominions should be restored to him; and that the queen of Hungary had rejected this and all other equitable proposals.

Before the arrival of prince Charles, the Prussian monarch had made himself master of Prague, Tabor, and the greater part of Bohemia. But these conquests were of short duration. The king of Poland, animated by a British subsidy, ordered sixteen thousand men to join the prince of Lorrain. He was also joined by a strong body of Hungarians, zealous in the cause of their sovereign, who had acquired by her popular manner¹, as well as her indulgences, both civil and religious, an extraordinary interest in their affections; so that the king of Prussia, unable to withstand so great a force, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retire with precipitation into Silesia. He was pursued thither by prince Charles; and perhaps only the rigour of the season prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Prussians on their retreat lost twenty thousand men, with all their heavy baggage, artillery, and waggons, laden with provisions and plunder.

While the high-minded Frederic was experiencing this sudden reverse of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII., once more gained possession of his capital. Seckendorff, his general, having been joined by a body of French troops, had driven the Austrians out of Bavaria. But the retreat of the Prussians, and the rapid progress of the prince of Lorrain, filled the emperor with new apprehensions: and he was in danger of being again Jan. 20, 1745, chased from his dominions, when death came to his

N. S. relief, and freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguish of a wounded spirit. His son, Maximilian Joseph, being only seventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the imperial throne. He therefore wisely concluded, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty, notwithstanding all the intrigues of France, a treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary, who had again invaded Bavaria, and was ready to strip him of his whole electorate. By this treaty, Maria Theresa agreed to recognise the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of Charles VII. and to put his son in complete possession of his hereditary dominions. On

¹ To the old count Palfy, chief Palatine of Hungary, who had, on this occasion, caused the red standard of the kingdom to be displayed, as a signal for every man who could bear arms to turn out, she wrote the following letter, accompanied with a present of her own horse, richly caparisoned, a gold-hilted sword ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of great value:

“ Father Palfy!

“ I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted only by the most zealous of my faithful subjects. Receive at the same time this sword, to defend me against my enemies: and accept this ring, as a mark of my affection for you.

“ MARIA THERESA.”

the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Austrian succession; and consented to become a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, to give his vote for the grand duke at the ensuing election of an emperor, and dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service¹.

This treaty, it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification, as the cause of the war in Germany no longer existed; and the treaty of Frankfort, the avowed purpose of which was the support of the imperial dignity, had now no object. The queen of Hungary, to procure peace, and the vote of Brandenburg for her husband, would readily have agreed to confirm the treaty of Breslau; and the king of Prussia, after his severe losses, could have required nothing more for himself than the undisputed possession of Silesia. But the court of France, which had commenced the war out of policy, instigated and pensioned by that of Spain, resolved to continue it from passion; and his Britannic majesty was too intimately connected with the queen of Hungary, as well as too highly interested in preserving the balance of Europe, to desert his allies at such a crisis.

The marquis d'Argenson, the French minister for war, who had at this time great influence in the cabinet, declared that France, having undertaken to give a head to the Germanic body, ought to hazard the last soldier, rather than suffer the grand duke to be elected emperor. Louis and his ministers accordingly offered the imperial crown to the king of Poland; but he, sensible that it was not in their gift, prudently refused it, unless it could be procured without violence; and renewed his engagements with the courts of London and Vienna. The French, however, persisted in their resolution of opposing the election of the grand duke, and of continuing the war with vigour in Germany and the Netherlands, to facilitate the operations of the combined forces of the house of Bourbon in Italy; where Elizabeth Farnese, who still directed all the measures of the court of Madrid, was determined, whatever might be the difficulty and hazard, to establish a sovereignty for her son Philip at the expense of Maria Theresa². And the success of the ensuing campaign seemed to justify her firmness and perseverance.

¹ Continuation of Rapin, vol. ix.

² See the *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires*, drawn from the papers of the duke of Noailles, by the abbé Millot. It is not a little remarkable, that the same abbé, in his *Elémens d'Hist. Gén.* ascribes the continuance of the war, after the death of Charles VII. to the hatred of the English against the French nation! He was not

The republic of Genoa, which had been long wavering, at last concluded a treaty with the house of Bourbon, that proved highly injurious to the interests of the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. The armies of the count de Gages and Philip, consisting of French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, having formed a junction in the territories of that republic, from which they received a considerable reinforcement, amounted nearly to eighty thousand men; while the Piedmontese and Austrians, under the king of Sardinia and count Schuylemberg, did not exceed forty-five thousand. There was no contending with effect against such a superiority of force.

Philip, and Maillebois, who acted under him on the recall of the prince of Conti from Italy, obliged his Sardinian majesty and Schuylemberg to retire beyond Tanaro. The count de Gages invested and took Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himself master of Parma and Placentia. The city of Pavia was taken by assault, and Milan itself was forced to surrender, though the citadel continued to hold out.

Pushing his advantages, Philip passed the Tanaro, and compelled the Austrian and Piedmontese armies to take shelter behind the Po. He reduced Valenza, Casal, Asti, and even Verua, only twenty miles north-east of Turin; and the king of Sardinia was so apprehensive of the bombardment of his capital, that he posted his army within cover of its cannon, and ordered the pavement of the streets to be taken up. But Philip, instead of undertaking such an arduous enterprise, closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan¹.

The house of Bourbon and its allies were no less successful in other quarters. Louis had two leading objects in view; to obstruct the election of the grand duke, and to complete the conquest of Flanders. He accordingly assembled two great armies: one marched to the Maine, under the prince of Conti, to prevent the queen of Hungary from employing a superior force against the king of Prussia, and to overawe the deliberations of the electors at Frankfort; the other, consisting of seventy-six thousand men, commanded by count Saxe, under whom the duke de Noailles condescended to serve as first aid-de-camp, invested Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands, and the most important in the Dutch barrier². The king

then favoured, it is to be presumed, with the duke's papers, which threw new light upon the subject.

¹ Voltaire.—Millot.

² The sovereignty of the barrier-towns belonged to the house of Austria; but they

and the dauphin appeared in the camp, and animated by their presence the operations of the besiegers. The allied army amounted only to fifty-three thousand men; yet with these it was resolved to attempt the relief of Tournay. The Hanoverian and British troops were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, a brave but inexperienced general. The Austrians were conducted by old count Königseg; and the Dutch by the prince of Waldeck, as inexperienced as the duke.

Maréchal Saxe, who to a natural genius for war joined a profound knowledge of the military art, was no sooner informed of the purpose of the confederates, than he made masterly dispositions for receiving them. The French army was posted on a rising ground, with the village of Antoine on its right, the wood of Barri on its left, and Fontenoy in front. In the wood, and at both the villages, were erected formidable batteries of heavy cannon; and the intermediate space was farther defended by strong redoubts. The confederates, however, who had but imperfectly reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, rashly persisted in their resolution of hazarding an attack. Nor were the French without their apprehensions of its consequences, from the known valour of the British troops. The bridge of Colonne, over which the king had passed the Scheldt, was accordingly fortified with entrenchments, and occupied by a stout body of reserve, in order to secure his retreat, if it should be necessary. And to this necessity he must have been driven, had the British troops been properly supported, and the orders of the duke of Cumberland duly executed.

The allies were in motion by two o'clock in the morning, and the cannonading began as soon as it was light. By nine, both armies were engaged, and the action lasted till three in April the afternoon. Never, perhaps, was a more desperate or 30. gallant attack than that which was made by the British infantry, commanded by the duke in person, assisted by sir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries was so heavy, that it swept off whole ranks at a single discharge, they continued to advance as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to stop their progress. Forming themselves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, and baffled every effort to put them into disorder. Antoine was evacuated; and Saxe,

were garrisoned with Dutch troops, for the support of which the states were permitted by the treaty of Utrecht, to tax the inhabitants.

concluding that all was lost, sent advice to the king to provide for his safety, by repassing the bridge of Colonne. But Louis, who did not want personal courage, sensible that such a step would give a decided victory to the allies, refused to quit his post. His firmness saved his army from ruin and disgrace¹.

Ashamed to desert their sovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumstances contributed to give a turn to the battle. The Dutch, having failed in an attack upon Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered successful, had shamefully left the field. An English and Hanoverian detachment, under brigadier Ingoldsby, had also miscarried, through mistake, in a practicable attempt to take possession of the redoubt at the corner of the wood of Barri, and immediately opposite Fontenoy; so that the British cavalry, by the cross fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented from coming up to the support of the infantry; who, now assailed on all sides, fatigued with incessant firing, and galled by some field-pieces unexpectedly planted in front, were at length obliged to retire, with the loss of ten thousand men, after having successively routed almost every regiment in the French army². The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was also very great, in proportion to their numbers, but that of the Dutch and Austrians proved inconsiderable.

The French had near ten thousand men killed or wounded, and among these were many persons of distinction; yet was their joy at their good fortune remarkably high. Their exultation in the hour of triumph seemed to bear a proportion to their recent danger of a defeat. The princes of the blood embraced each other on the field of battle, and dissolved in tears of mutual congratulation. They had, indeed, reason to be satisfied with their victory, which was followed by very important consequences. For, although the duke of Cumberland had led off his troops in good order, and without losing either colours or standards, the allies were unable, during the remainder of the campaign, to face

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* chap. xv.

² "All the regiments," says Voltaire, who is very circumstantial in his account of this battle, "presented themselves one after another; and the English column, facing them on all sides, repulsed every regiment that advanced." (*Siècle de Louis XV.* chap. xv.) "From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed," adds he, "there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Maréchal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English column; but their efforts were attended with little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid. If the Dutch," continues he, "had passed the redoubts that lay between Fontenoy and Antoine, and had given proper assistance to the English, no resource would have been left for the French; perhaps not even a retreat for the king and the dauphin."

the enemy ; but lay entrenched between Antwerp and Brussels ; while Saxe and Lowendahl reduced, by stratagem or force, Tournay, Oudenarde, Aeth, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, and several other considerable towns in the Netherlands.

But the king of France, though so highly favoured by fortune, was not able to prevent the queen of Hungary from obtaining the great object of her wishes, in the elevation of her husband to the imperial throne. The French army on the Maine not being able to cope with the Austrians under Bathiani, the electors assembled in perfect security at Frankfort, and raised to the head of the empire the grand-duke of Tuscany, under the name of Francis I. Meanwhile the king of Prussia gained two bloody victories over the prince of Lorrain ; one near Friedberg on the confines of Silesia, the other at Slandentz, in Bohemia. Not satisfied with these advantages, though he had entered into a pacific convention with his Britannic majesty at Hanover, he invaded Saxony, and made himself master of Dresden.

The king of Poland now found himself under the necessity of suing for peace ; and the Prussian hero condescended to grant it. A treaty was concluded at Dresden, in December ; by which the former prince, in his electoral capacity, agreed to pay to Frederic, for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions, one million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipsic. Another treaty, confirming that of Breslau, was adjusted between the Prussian monarch and the queen of Hungary. This agreement secured to the king the possession of Silesia, on condition of his acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election. The elector Palatine, who was included in the latter treaty, consented to make the same acknowledgment¹.

These treaties restored tranquillity to Germany. But war, as we shall have occasion to see, continued to rage for some years longer, between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. In the mean time, my dear Philip, we must attend to some transactions that more immediately concern our own island.

¹ Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix.—Smollett, vol. xi.

LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the Domestic History of Great Britain, including some Foreign Affairs intimately connected with it, from the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, to the Extinction of the Rebellion in Scotland, in 1746.

FROM the accession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, but more especially after the suppression of the rebellion in 1715, it had been the constant aim of the Tories, the natural friends of monarchy, and of some disappointed Whigs, who joined them and assumed the imposing name of patriots, to obstruct all the measures of government, under pretence of the public good; to represent the essential interests of the nation as sacrificed to a pusillanimous policy, which tamely courted peace, while the treasure of the kingdom was prodigally wasted in German subsidies, more than adequate to the support of a vigorous war, and its honour basely bartered for the precarious security of mercenary alliances, or treaties purchased by mean submissions. "And for what?" said the Jacobites, when they durst speak out, and most of the Tories were Jacobites:—"to maintain a foreign family upon the throne, in exclusion of the lineal heir?"—Such, and more contumelious, was the language of opposition in parliament, and of the pretended patriots in their private meetings during the whole administration of sir Robert Walpole¹, who understood and pursued the true interests of his country, but, perhaps, without sufficiently attending to its honour.

On the resignation of this able statesman, the pretended patriots were called into office; and the greatest reformation A.D. was expected in every department of government. Lord 1742. Carteret and his associates, however, not only rejected every popular motion, but went even farther, as we have already seen, than their predecessors, in flattering the predilection of their sovereign for the continental system. Large subsidies were at the same time paid to the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia; large bodies of foreign troops were taken into British pay; and a British army was

¹ See the *Parliamentary Debates* and publications of the time.

transported into Flanders, to fight battles from which Great Britain could derive no positive advantage. The war was continued from pride and passion, long after its political object, as far as it concerned this kingdom, was accomplished; namely, the prevention of the French from acquiring an ascendant in Germany, by dismembering the Austrian succession.

Naturally haughty, elate with success, and assured of the support of the British ministry, the queen of Hungary, in the hour of her intoxication, absolutely refused to restore to Charles VII. his hereditary dominions, though he offered, on that condition, to renounce all claim to any part of her inheritance¹. Not content with being enabled to defend her own territories, she projected conquests both in Italy and Germany. She was eagerly desirous of the recovery of Naples and Silesia, though both had been formally ceded by treaty; and the king of Great Britain, instead of withdrawing his assistance from her at this juncture, or insisting on her reconciliation with the emperor, was so ill advised as to acquiesce in her ambitious aims.

The dissatisfaction occasioned by these unpopular and impolitic measures encouraged the Jacobites to turn their eyes once more toward the pretender, and the court of France (as we have seen) to attempt an invasion in his favour. Had the French been able to land, under so consummate a general as count Saxe, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; but we may affirm with confidence, that, as the enterprise proved abortive, it was of great service to the reigning family, by uniting all the Whigs in the zealous support of government.

Loyal addresses were presented to the throne by both houses of parliament, and from the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, though disgusted with the court, tendered their service to his majesty, in any station he should think proper to name. They were immediately taken into favour; and the earl of Stair was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in South Britain. The duke of Argyle, who had long distinguished himself by his opposition in parliament, communicated to the privy council the

¹ A treaty to this purpose was negotiated at Hanau, in order to preserve appearances, soon after the battle of Dettingen, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty. But it was rendered abortive, by a *secret understanding*, or intrigue, between the courts of London and Vienna; in consequence of which the British ministry, or rather the regency appointed during the king's absence, refused to ratify the preliminaries to which their sovereign had seemingly given his assent.

letter which he had received from the chevalier de St. George, containing the most liberal promises, in case of his elevation to the throne. People of every condition, indeed, who had any regard for civil or religious liberty, seemed to unite in opposition to the cause of the pretender; and all former grievances were forgotten at such an alarming crisis.

Various causes of national discontent, however, still remained; all which were magnified, and industriously pointed out by the Jacobites, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and to induce the king of France to make a new effort for the re-establishment of the family of Stuart. The inglorious sea-fight off Toulon, and the infamous trial of Matthews and Lestock, excited the indignation of all sincere lovers of justice and of their country. And other circumstances contributed to revive the popular clamour against the measures of the court.

The king of Prussia, on renewing hostilities in consequence of the treaty of Frankfort, beside the manifesto which he published, accusing the queen of Hungary of ambition and obstinacy (in rejecting the reasonable offers of the emperor), and his Britannic majesty of fostering that haughty spirit, sent a rescript to his minister at the court of London, very artfully drawn up, and admirably suited to the temper of the times. "I hope," says he, "that no judicious Englishman, nor any Briton, zealous for the constitution of his country, can mistake the equity of my resolution, as he may at once convince himself of it, by merely transporting, to the theatre of England, what now passes on that of Germany. For, as every true English patriot would look with indignation upon all such intrigues as should be carried on in his country, in order to dethrone the reigning family, and place the crown upon the head of the pretender, and would oppose such practices to the utmost of his power; in like manner, there is no patriotic or powerful prince of the empire, that can see with indifference, and coolly suffer another member of the empire, such as the queen of Hungary, to attempt to despoil of his dignity and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in order to invest with the imperial ensigns a candidate destitute of the qualifications most essential to fill that august throne. In consequence of the same principle," adds he, "as no German prince has a right to meddle with the internal policy of Great Britain, or with the constitution of its government, I have some grounds to hope, that the English nation will not interfere with the domestic affairs of the empire; and I entertain those hopes

the more firmly, because England can have no inducement to take part in this quarrel from any *commercial* or *political considerations*¹."

Though this extraordinary address, to subjects instead of their sovereign, did not meet with such general approbation as its royal author expected, it was not without its effect: and the shameful languor of the campaign in Flanders made the English nation fully sensible of the folly of engaging in foreign quarrels. The credit of the ministry was at the lowest ebb: their conduct was arraigned by men of all parties; and they had little family influence. The king therefore resolved, in compliance with the sense of his people, as well as for his own ease, to choose a new administration, though not to change his political system: the indignation of the public being chiefly directed against those political apostates, who, after having hunted down sir Robert Walpole as an enemy to the constitution and a betrayer of the interests of his country, had themselves pursued more exceptionable measures, without taking one popular step.

At the head of the new ministry stood Mr. Henry Pelham—already first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer—and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, who had been for some years one of the principal secretaries of state. They possessed great parliamentary interest; and, in order to acquire popularity, as well as to increase their strength, they formed a coalition with the *real patriots*, or those leading members in both houses, who had continued to oppose the measures of the court during the late administration, on finding that they were not more judicious than those of the former, or because they thought their merit had been neglected in the disposal of offices, after the resignation of sir Robert Walpole. To that coalition was given the name of the BROAD BOTTOM, as comprehending honest and able men of all parties. Conformably to this idea, the earl of Harrington was appointed to succeed earl Granville (formerly lord Carteret), as secretary of state; the duke of Bedford was made first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Chesterfield, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. George Lyttelton, afterward lord Lyttelton, one of the commissioners of the treasury; Mr. Doddington, treasurer of the navy; and sir John Hinde Cotton, treasurer of the chamber.

The wide basis on which Mr. Pelham had founded his administration, left little room for parliamentary opposition; and

¹ *Annals of Europe.*

faction, though secretly plotting new changes, seemed for a season to be lulled asleep. Very liberal supplies were voted for prosecuting the war on the continent; vigorous measures were resolved upon, as the most likely means of bringing it to a

A.D. speedy conclusion; and the duke of Cumberland was appointed 1745. pointed commander-in-chief, in order to carry those measures into execution. The earl of Chesterfield was dispatched to the Hague, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, with a view of persuading the Dutch to become principals in the war, or at least to engage them to settle, and furnish with exactness, their quota of troops and subsidies. He succeeded in the latter point; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success.

But those hopes were blasted by the battle of Fontenoy. Fresh discontents arose; the machinations of the Jacobites were renewed; and the king of France, whose great object was the conquest of Flanders, in order to procure the recall of the British troops from that country, encouraged the young pretender, by flattering promises and delusive insinuations, to attempt a descent in the North of Scotland. False representations were made to him by some Irish and Scottish adventurers, who, having nothing to lose, were ready for any desperate enterprise, and probably bribed by the court of Versailles to cajole him into a compliance with its views. They affirmed that the whole British nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the body of the people, loaded with oppressive taxes, and longing for relief, would every where crowd to his standard as soon as it should be erected; that the regular troops in the kingdom were few; and that, being assured of a powerful support from France, he could not doubt of being able to recover the crown of his ancestors.

Charles, who was naturally warm and confident, encouraged by these intoxicating representations, embarked at Port Lazare, in Bretagne, on board an armed vessel, which his father had found interest to equip, attended by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and other friends, with nine hundred stand of arms. The Elizabeth, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with arms and ammunition, was appointed him as a convoy: but, falling in with the Lion, an English ship of fifty-eight guns, she was obliged, after an obstinate and bloody engagement,

July to return to Brest in a shattered condition. Charles, 16. however, pursued his voyage, and landed on the coast of Lochabar. He was there joined by Cameron of Lochiel, and

some other Highland chiefs, who, though they did not approve his rash and ill-concerted undertaking, thought themselves bound in honour to assert the rights of a prince whose cause was dear to them, and who had thrown himself upon their generosity¹.

The naked and defenceless condition of the pretender was too evident to escape the observation of the least intelligent of his partisans. But this objection was artfully set aside by the address of his followers. His deficiency in arms and ammunition, it was said, might be accounted for from the unforeseen misfortune that had befallen his convoy; and his coming without foreign force was adduced as a proof of his superior discernment, as well as of his confidence in the affection of his friends. It was ingeniously urged, that the inveterate animosity of the English against the French nation had been the chief cause of the failure of all the attempts of the latter to re-establish the family of Stuart on the throne of Great Britain; that a perpetual jealousy of the influence of this rival nation, always connected with the idea of popery and arbitrary power, could alone have induced a great and generous people so long to submit to the dominion of a foreign family, in exclusion of their hereditary princes; that those bugbears being chased away by the magnanimity and heroism of the youthful Charles, he had only to march southward at the head of his faithful clans, in order to be joined by multitudes of his father's loyal subjects, who longed for an opportunity of renewing their allegiance; and that, should any foreign power interpose in behalf of the house of Hanover, or the British troops be recalled from Flanders, a superior French army would be landed, to complete the glorious revolution.

These plausible arguments, recommended by a magnificent side-board of plate, and a large sum in ready money, which to the frugal Highlanders seemed a royal treasure, were so well received, that Charles soon found himself at the head of some thousands of hardy mountaineers, who, filled with hereditary attachment to his family, and warmly devoted to his person, in consequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as of his having assumed the ancient military dress of their country (which added new grace to his tall and handsome figure, at the same time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air), were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause.

But this ardour to rise in arms was confined to the heads of a

¹ *Contin. of Rapin.*

few clans; and these, namely, Lochiel, Glenco, Glengary, Keppock, Clanronald, and some other chiefs, though distinguished by their valour, were by no means the most considerable for their numbers. The heads of many of those clans which had formed the grand support of the pretender's claim in 1715, had been allured by political interest to the side of government, or convinced, by cool reflection, of the expediency of submission, although they were, from principle, still attached to the house of Stuart.

The eldest son of the attainted earl of Seaforth, the head of the Mackenzies, was a member of the house of commons, as was also the head of the Macleods. The chief of the Macdonalds, the most numerous of the Jacobite clans, had declared against an insurrection. The representative of the noble and powerful family of Gordon, whose retainers made a principal figure in the former rebellion, had now become a protestant, and was under great obligations to government; and lord Lovat, the head of the Frasers, besides his utter want of principle, was backward in declaring himself. Nor was this all. The duke of Argyle's Highlanders, the earl of Sutherland's men, the Monros, and several other protestant clans, seemed sincerely attached to the reigning family, as were all the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, a few catholic and non-juring families excepted¹. This point, perhaps, is not sufficiently understood.

The people of the low country of Scotland are chiefly presbyterians, and jealous of their civil and religious rights. That jealousy led them, as we have seen, to take arms against Charles I. before a sword was drawn in England. By neglecting to bargain for the free exercise of their religion at the Restoration, they were unfortunately exposed, under the sway of Charles II., to a renewal of persecution. But at the Revolution they took care to secure both their civil and religious liberties, which were farther secured by the Union. They have, therefore, on all occasions, firmly adhered to the protestant succession. At this crisis, they were terrified at the idea of the pretender and of the Highlanders, whose cruel depredations under the marquis of Montrose, the viscount Dundee, and the earl of Mar, were still

¹ *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. written, as already noticed, by the laborious and intelligent Guthrie, whose account of the rebellion in Scotland is very full, circumstantial, and accurate. The author of these Letters was then a boy, by no means incapable of memory; and he has since had occasion to converse with many persons deeply engaged in that rebellion, as well as with many employed in suppressing it. He therefore considers himself as a contemporary. This observation he means should extend to the whole subsequent part of his narration.

fresh in their memory. They were the most loyal subjects of the house of Hanover in Great Britain. But they had long been disused to arms; and were therefore filled with melancholy apprehensions at the threatening danger. The disasters in Flanders, the rapid progress of the French power, and the defenceless state of their own country, all pressed upon their minds.

The news of a fortunate event in America contributed in some degree to remove this despondency; namely, the conquest of Cape Breton.

That island, of which the French were shamefully left in possession at the treaty of Utrecht, through the negligence or corruption of the English ministry, when Great Britain had the power of giving law to her enemies, is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and is about ninety miles in length, and sixty at its greatest breadth. Newfoundland, which lies to the east, is but twenty leagues distant; and Nova Scotia, to the west, is separated from it only by a channel about fifteen miles broad. Thus placed between the territories of France, and those ceded to her rival, Cape Breton menaced the possessions of the one, while it protected those of the other. Louisbourg, situated on the south-eastern coast, was the chief town and port in the island. The harbour, naturally safe and capacious, was well fortified; the narrow entrance being guarded by two formidable batteries, whose cross-fire threatened instant destruction to any ship that should attempt to force a passage. The town was walled, and defended by all the works that are calculated to render a place impregnable. It was the key of communication between France and Canada, as well as the great bulwark of her fisheries. And it was considered by the English colonies as the Dunkirk of America, because it afforded protection to a swarm of French frigates and privateers, that ruined their trade, and pillaged them with impunity.

Influenced by these considerations, the British ministry were induced to listen to the proposals of the people of New England, who offered to undertake the reduction of Louisbourg. Commodore Warren, then stationed at Antigua, was ordered to proceed to the northward, with a stout squadron, in order to protect the transports, and co-operate with the colonial troops, who, under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataqua, landed without opposition within four miles of the place. The besiegers, though inexperienced, were brave; the officers of the marines directed their operations; and Warren, though foiled in every

attempt to enter the harbour, was able effectually to cut off all supplies. Seeing no prospect of relief, and threatened with a

June general assault, the governor, doubtful of the fidelity of
16. his garrison, agreed to surrender the town; and the whole island of Cape Breton, or (as the French pompously called it) *l'Isle Royale*, immediately submitted to the victors¹.

This conquest, the importance of which was highly exaggerated, contributed to confirm the zeal of the friends to the protestant succession in Scotland; and, if vigorous measures had been taken by government, the rebellion might have been crushed in its birth. But the king being then at Hanover, the regency slighted every information relative to the enterprise of the young pretender, until all North Britain was threatened with subjection. They could not believe that he would have the boldness to land without a powerful foreign force; so that even his weakness, under the veil of temerity, may be said to have advanced his progress. Descending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent, at the head of his hardy and intrepid Highlanders, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee; every where proclaiming his father, the chevalier de St. George, king of Great Britain, and seizing the public money for his use. At Perth he reviewed his forces, and found them amount to about three thousand men. Here he was joined by the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, by the young and sanguine duke of Perth², and several other persons of distinction. And the marquis of Tullibardine having taken possession of the estate of Athol, which his younger brother inherited, as well as the title, in consequence of *his* attainder, was able to bring some accession of strength to the cause which he had espoused.

Emboldened by these promising appearances, the young pretender proceeded to Dumblaine; and having crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, he advanced towards Edinburgh, after making a feint of marching to Glasgow. Meanwhile sir John Cope, commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland,

¹ *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.—Douglas's *Summary*, vol. ii.—Smollett, vol. xi.

² The head of this nobleman's family, which was strongly attached to the house of Stuart, having accompanied James II. into France, was there created a duke. He had been educated in that kingdom; and succeeding unexpectedly to the family estate, he had lately come over to Great Britain. On his arrival, he flew with ardour into all the gaieties of the age, and adapted himself to every mode of pleasure, which he pursued with the appearance of giddy dissipation, while forming the plan of an extensive rebellion. He was the soul of the Jacobite party.

afraid to face the rebels, marched northward as far as Inverness, under pretence of forming a junction with some loyal clans; leaving, by that movement, the capital and the whole low country at the mercy of the enemy.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh seemed at first determined on a bold resistance; but, on the nearer approach of the rebels, their resolution began to fail. They were apprehensive of a general pillage, and even of a massacre, if the place should be carried by assault, against which its ruinous and extensive walls were but a slender security. The magistrates, therefore, began to treat with Charles for the surrender of the town. But, before the terms were finally settled, a body of Highlanders being treacherously admitted at one of the gates in the night, took possession of the city guard-house; and opening the other gates to new associates, made themselves masters of that ancient capital by the morning. The castle, however, still held out. And thither had been carried, on the approach of the rebels, the treasure of the two Scottish banks, and the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.

To avoid the fire from the castle, which, being seated on a rock to the westward of the town, commands the whole neighbourhood, Charles made a circuit to the east, and took up his residence in Holyrood-house, the royal mansion of his ancestors. Here he kept a kind of court: and being attended by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who acted as officers of state, he issued an order with all the formality of lawful authority, for solemnly proclaiming his father at the cross of Edinburgh. The ceremony was accordingly performed: and, at the same time, three manifestos were read by the pursuivants. In the first manifesto, the old pretender asserted his right to the crown of Scotland, declaimed against the Union, lamented the hardships to which the Scots had been exposed in consequence of it, and complained bitterly of the injuries which his faithful Highlanders had suffered from the established government. He promised to call a free parliament, to abolish the malt duty, and all other grievous burthens imposed on them since the union; to restore the Scottish nation to its ancient liberty and independence; to protect, secure, and maintain all his protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and immunities. By the second manifesto, he constituted his son regent of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, during his absence. The third manifesto was in the name of the young pretender; and Charles, after enforcing all

that had been said in his father's first declaration, commanded obedience to himself as prince regent¹.

In the mean time general Cope, being joined by some well-affected Highlanders, had embarked his troops at Aberdeen and landed at Dunbar, where he was reinforced with two regiments of dragoons, that had retired from Edinburgh on the approach of the enemy. Confident of success, he began his march toward the capital, with a well-appointed army; and understanding that the rebels were advancing to give him battle, he pitched his camp near Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front and the sea in his rear. His troops, consisting of about

Sept. 21. three thousand men, lay all night on their arms; and, early in the morning, the young pretender advanced in hostile array, at the head of three thousand undisciplined and half-armed Highlanders, whose furious gestures and rapid movements, seen dimly through the retiring darkness, excited unusual emotions of terror in the hearts of the English soldiers. These emotions were not allowed to subside. Charles himself, standing in the first line, gave the word of command; and, drawing his sword, threw away the scabbard. The Highlanders rushed on to the attack like sturdy savages, regardless of the fire of the artillery. The dragoons instantly left the field, and could not be rallied; and a total rout of the king's troops quickly ensued. Five hundred of the infantry were killed, and a thousand were made prisoners. Among the former was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who fell covered with wounds. Never, in a word, was any victory more complete: the military chest, cannon, colours, camp-equipage, and the baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels².

Had the pretender marched into England immediately after this victory, before the British troops were recalled from Flanders, or any foreign succours could be procured, he would probably have accomplished the great object of his enterprise. But instead of taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by the defeat of the king's forces in Scotland, he returned to Holyrood-house, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty. Edinburgh proved the Capua of Charles. There, intoxicated with the flatteries of needy expectants, and seduced by the blandishments of the Jacobite ladies, longing for his princely benediction,

¹ *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. and the periodical publications of the times.

² *Id.* *ibid.*

he wantonly wasted his time, till the critical moment was past ; while his hungry followers blunted the edge of their ferocity in social indulgences, or broke the nerve of their courage in fruitless efforts to reduce the castle, and gain possession of the public treasure.

Being at length joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and by the lords Balmerino, Pitsligo, Elcho, and Ogilvie, Charles resolved to march into England. He now published a new manifesto, said to be composed by himself ; in which he promised, in his father's name, all manner of security to the protestant religion and the established church ; and declared that he would pass any law which the parliament should judge necessary for that purpose. " That the public debt has been contracted under an *unlawful government*, nobody," says he, " can disown, any more than that it is now a most *heavy load* upon the *nation* ; yet in regard it is due to those very subjects whom our Royal Father promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it ; in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions. Furthermore, we have in his name to declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the Revolution ; and so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them." He next declares, that his expedition was undertaken without assistance either from France, or Spain ; " but," adds he, " when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government, is it not high time for the king my father to accept also the assistance of those who are able and who have engaged to support him¹ ?"

This declaration had by no means the desired effect. It did not effectually remove the fears of the moneyed men, in regard to the security of the funds, while it filled the body of the people with apprehensions of a French invasion. Almost every one, from some motive or other, seemed attached to the established government. Loyal addresses, from all quarters, were presented to the king, on his return from his German dominions, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, and expressing detestation at the unnatural rebellion.

Nor were these addresses merely complimentary. Above a thousand of the most eminent merchants, tradesmen, and manu-

¹ *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

facturers in the kingdom, in order to support public credit, signed an agreement, that they would take the notes of the bank of England in payment of any sum due to them, and use their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same paper¹. This was a step of great importance, as it not only prevented the danger of a run upon the bank, but interested many in the defence of the house of Hanover, whose hearts were with the pretender, or whose minds were wavering.

Other measures conspired to fix the unsteady, and to warm timid or prudential loyalty into zeal. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended, and several persons were taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices. Six thousand Dutch auxiliaries were landed; and the flower of the British troops, recalled from Flanders, arrived in England with the duke of Cumberland at their head. Beside many new regiments, voluntarily raised by the nobility and gentry, the militia of every county were assembled; arms were liberally distributed to the people, and the whole southern part of the kingdom was put in a posture of defence.

Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, and the formidable force that was now collected, the young adventurer left Edinburgh, and entered England, by the western border, Nov. 6. with only six thousand men; the duke of Perth acting as commander-in-chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. They immediately invested Carlisle; and both the town and castle, though defended by the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, supported by the inhabitants and some companies of regular troops, surrendered within three days.

The whole kingdom was filled with consternation at the progress of the rebels; and the most alarming apprehensions were, at the same time, entertained of an invasion from France, as great preparations for a descent in favour of the pretender were carried on in some of the ports of that kingdom. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon, who was stationed with a fleet in the Channel, and effectually blocked up the hostile ports, prevented the projected invasion. The embarkation was to have been made at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, in large boats, and a landing attempted in the neighbourhood of Dover, under the cover of night. The troops were to have been commanded by the attainted earl mareschal of Scotland, who, regardless himself of danger, in what he esteemed so good a cause, threw up his commission in

¹ *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

disgust, on finding the French naval officers afraid to venture out¹.

Meanwhile the rebels, having left a small garrison in Carlisle, advanced to Penrith; and continuing their route through Lancaster and Preston, took possession of Manchester, where the pretender established his head quarters. Thinking himself now in the heart of his English interest, he promised himself a great accession of force; but although the inhabitants of Manchester received him with marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations, they showed little inclination to join him, and the people of the country still less. He was only able to raise about two hundred men, headed by Townley, a Catholic gentleman of some eminence in that neighbourhood, who had served in the French army.

Charles, who had been led to suppose that, as soon as he should enter Lancashire, the majority of the people would flock to his standard, was deeply chagrined at this backwardness in his reputed friends. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his disappointment; and his followers in general affected to be in good spirits, though they knew that general Wade, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men at Newcastle, was advancing through Yorkshire, and that the duke of Cumberland had taken post near Lichfield with thirteen thousand veterans. A council of war was called; and it was resolved to proceed by the way of Liverpool and Chester into Wales, where the pretender expected a number of adherents. But learning afterward that those two towns were secured, and that the bridges over the Mersey had been broken down, Charles took the route of Stockport; and passing through Macclesfield and Congleton, turned suddenly off by Leek and Ashbourne, and unexpectedly entered Derby. There his father was proclaimed with great solemnity.

Having gained, by this rapid movement, a day's march of the duke's army, the pretender, who was now within a hundred and twenty-five miles of London, might have made himself master of the capital, had he proceeded directly forward. And, in that event, the French would probably have been encouraged to attempt a descent in his favour; while many well-wishers, who still kept at a distance, would certainly have joined him, and public credit would have received a terrible shock. Yet we must not rashly suppose that Charles would have been finally

¹ *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

successful, had he even gained possession of the metropolis, as an army of thirty thousand men, firmly attached to the reigning family, could have been collected in the neighbourhood in a few days, in order to watch the motions of the rebels, and cut off the communication between the town and country; and a powerful fleet would have obstructed all supplies by sea.

The rebels must even have hazarded an engagement, before they could have entered the capital; for as soon as it was known that, having eluded the vigilance of the duke of Cumberland, they had it in their power to march southward, orders were given for forming a camp upon Finchley Common, where the king resolved to take the field in person: and all the regular troops in the neighbourhood of London, the new regiments, the volunteer companies, and the militia, were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for the same service. Little resistance, however, could have been made by men enervated by the sedentary arts, nursed in the bosom of a voluptuous city, and slightly acquainted with the use of arms; whose imagination was filled with the most frightful ideas of the savage ferocity, bodily strength, and irresistible valour of the Highlanders, while they were apprehensive, on the other hand, of being overwhelmed by a French invasion, or massacred by an insurrection of the Catholics. They must have been broken at the first encounter; and George II., though a gallant warrior, might have sunk beneath the arm of his youthful antagonist.

Happily things did not come to this extremity. The pretender had advanced into the heart of England, without receiving any considerable accession of force, or being joined by any person of distinction. It appeared as if all the Jacobites in the kingdom had been annihilated. The Welsh took no measures for exciting an insurrection in his favour, nor did the French attempt an invasion for his support. He lay, with a very small force, between two powerful armies, in the midst of winter, and in a country hostile to him. Having inconsiderately spent some time at Derby, he could not now enter the metropolis without hazarding a battle with one of these armies; and a defeat must have proved fatal to himself and all his adherents. It was therefore resolved in a council of war, by the majority of the Highland chiefs, to march back into Scotland, where his affairs had taken a fortunate turn; although he himself, the duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochiel, were for proceeding to London, be the event what it might. And they, perhaps, were in the right; especially as they were under the necessity of making a retreat

in the face of two superior armies; a retreat which, it was to be feared, beside the danger attending it, would utterly ruin their cause in England, and greatly dispirit their friends in Scotland. A retreat, however, was attempted; and it was conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition, and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men, under circumstances equally adverse¹. Dec. 6.

On the third day after the rebels left Derby, they arrived at Manchester, and thence proceeded to Preston, without the loss of a single man; though the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, the beacons lighted to alarm the country, and detachments of horse sent from both the royal armies to harass them on their march. They were overtaken, however, at Clifton, near Penrith, by the duke of Cumberland, at the head of his cavalry. Lord George Murray, who commanded their rear-guard, composed of the clan of the Macphersons, the most ferocious of the Highland tribes, threw himself into the village, in order to obstruct the pursuit; and perceiving that the royal army consisted only of cavalry, (for which, instead of their former terror, the Highlanders had acquired a contempt, since the battle of Preston-pans,) he sent an express after the main body of the rebels, entreating them to return, and hazard an engagement. No regard was paid to his message; yet he resolved to maintain his post. He accordingly put himself in a posture of defence; repelled a party of horse; combated for an hour a body of dismounted dragoons; and then, having succeeded in his object, prosecuted his *route* unmolested to the rendezvous of the pretender at Penrith.

On the arrival of lord George Murray, it was deliberated by the rebel chiefs, whether they should prosecute their march, or turn back and give battle to the duke of Cumberland, before he could be joined by his infantry. But, as it appeared upon inquiry, that such a junction might be soon formed, and without their knowledge, they continued their retreat to Carlisle. There they drew up their forces, and seemed determined to wait the approach of their pursuers. Understanding, however, that the duke's army had been reinforced by several battalions of foot and a squadron of horse from Wade's division, they changed their resolution; and having augmented the garrison of Carlisle, by throwing into the place the Manchester volunteers, they crossed the river Eden, and retired into Scotland, without losing

¹ *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.—Smollett, vol. xi.*

above fifty men, during the whole expedition, by sickness, fatigue, or the sword of the enemy, or leaving one straggler behind them¹.

After the action at Clifton, the duke found it necessary to halt, and give his troops, which had been roughly handled, some respite. He was there joined by his infantry; and his whole army advanced to Carlisle in three columns¹. The garrison, though ill supplied with engineers, made a show of resistance; but when the batteries were opened against the place, the rebels found themselves under the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were committed to close confinement; and the duke returned to London, where he was received with as much *éclat* as if he had gained a complete victory, the public being inclined to believe that the rebellion was extinguished.

This, however, was by no means the case. The pretender's force was yet unbroken; and if the failure of his expedition into England had discouraged some of his more sanguine followers, his rapid progress and gallant retreat had shed new lustre over his arms. The English Jacobites, whom fear alone had withheld from joining him, thinking every moment that his slender band would be crushed, now reproached themselves for their pusillanimity, in not abetting that cause which they loved, and to which their aid might have given the ascendant. In a word, had he been properly supplied with arms, money, and military stores from France, and with what he equally wanted, a few able engineers and experienced officers, the contest might still have been doubtful whether the family of Stuart or that of Hanover should sit on the throne of Great Britain.

But let us leave these political conjectures, and take a view of the state of Scotland, and of the daring adventurer in his course.

Soon after the rebels left Edinburgh, general Wade, who commanded in the north of England, sent a body of troops for the protection of that city. The inhabitants of Glasgow raised a regiment for their own defence: other towns followed their example; and all the Argyleshire Highlanders were in arms for the support of government. The people of the south and west of Scotland, animated by the harangues of the Presbyterian clergy, and stimulated by their intuitive or habitual horror against popery and arbitrary power, appeared only to increase in loyalty during

¹ *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

the most prosperous fortune of the pretender. Their zeal for the protestant succession became warmer in proportion to his success, and the danger to which the existing government seemed exposed ; for they paid no regard to his declarations in regard to religion, and very little to those of a civil nature. “ Kirk and king ! ” was the prevailing cry.

Very different was the state of affairs in the north of Scotland. The majority of the people beyond the river Tay, being chiefly papists, non-jurors, or lukewarm presbyterians, were disposed to favour the re-establishment of the house of Stuart. But many of the leading men were attached to the reigning family by motives of interest, ambition, inclination, gratitude ; and exerted themselves zealously for the support of government. Of these, one of the most distinguished was Duncan Forbes of Culloden, president of the Court of Session ; a man of extensive knowledge, great talents, engaging manners, and equally respected for his public and private virtues. To him the house of Hanover may almost be said to owe its continuance on the throne of Great Britain, and we the enjoyment of our happy constitution. He confirmed in their allegiance several chieftains who began to waver : some he induced by the force of his arguments, to renounce their former principles, and oppose that cause which they intended to abet ; others he persuaded to remain quiet, from prudential considerations. In these views he was warmly seconded by the earl of Loudon, who commanded the king's forces at Inverness ; where he was joined by twelve hundred men, under the earl of Sutherland ; by a considerable number under lord Rae ; and beside the Grants and Monros, by a body of hardy islanders from Skie, under sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod¹.

These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by the prevailing spirit of the people, and the activity of a few rebel leaders. At the head of those stood lord Lewis Gordon ; who, though his brother, the duke, was in the interest of government, had been remarkably successful in arming the retainers of the family, and engaging all disaffected persons in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. The earl of Cromartie had raised a body of men for the support of the pretender ; a considerable sum of money had been received, for his use, from Spain ; and lord John Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, had landed with a small

¹ *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.—*Smollett*, vol. xi.

reinforcement, and with liberal promises of farther aid from France.

Encouraged by these flattering appearances, and by the rapid progress of the pretender, lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters in ancient or modern times, who had long temporised, ordered his son to put himself at the head of his clan, and repair to the rendezvous of the rebels at Perth¹.—He even sent round his whole estate the *Fiery Cross*, or general denunciation of spoil, sword, and fire, made by the Highland chiefs against such of their vassals as should refuse to take arms at their command. Near a thousand Frasers were instantly levied,

¹ Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was born with insinuating talents, and exerted his whole force upon mankind through the channel of their vanity. Totally destitute of principle, and despising veracity as an useless quality, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate interest, and all his words to the deceitful purpose of drawing the credulous into his views. And although his natural address was homely, his personal appearance remarkably forbidding, and his flattery too obvious to escape the observation even of the weak and the vain, it was too strongly applied to be resisted entirely by men of the most moderate tempers, and of the soundest understanding. Though his projects were generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearless in the execution of them. In 1697, he entered with an armed band the house of a woman of quality, seized her person, and ordered the marriage ceremony to be performed, while he endeavoured with the sound of a bag-pipe, to drown her cries; and having stripped her, by cutting off her stays with his dirk or dagger, he forcibly consummated the pretended marriage amidst the noise and riots of his barbarous attendants.

Obliged to abandon the kingdom, and declared a rebel and an outlaw for this and other acts of violence, Fraser found means to obtain a pardon from king William. He also ingratiated himself with the court of St. Germain by becoming a Catholic; and was employed by the court of France in attempting to raise a rebellion in Scotland in 1703. For that purpose he was furnished with proper credentials by the pretender; but instead of making use of them for the restoration of the exiled family, he disclosed the plot to the English government, and returned to France to procure more full proofs of the guilt of the principal conspirators. His treachery being there discovered, he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained some months, and must have suffered the punishment due to his crimes, but for his consummate dissimulation. He had the address to make it believed, that all he had done was for the interest of the pretender; and on his return to Britain, his sufferings in France recommended him not only to the protection but the favour of government.

In 1715, he was highly serviceable to the house of Hanover, by assisting in the suppression of the rebellion; and becoming afterward a personal favourite of George I., he was nobly rewarded for his loyalty. He even formed the scheme of erecting himself into a kind of viceroy in the Highlands; pretending that if he had the distribution of twenty-five thousand pounds annually among the heads of clans, he could effectually prevent all their future insurrections, and draw them insensibly into the interest of the reigning family. Disappointed, however, in his ambitious hopes, and otherwise disgusted with the established government, he relapsed into Jacobitism; and concluding that the young pretender would be supported by a powerful foreign force, he was at no pains to conceal his principles. But when Charles landed without such force, Lovat refused to join him, though he had accepted the office of lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the Spey. Yet was he industrious in arming his clan; in order, as is supposed, to procure a pardon for his treasonable speeches and practices, by throwing his interest into the scale of government, if the unexpected success of the pretender had not induced him to take part in the rebellion. See the *Stuart Papers*, *Lockhart's Mem.* *Lovat's Trial*.

and the master of Lovat invested Fort Augustus. The earl of Loudon marched to the relief of the garrison, and accomplished his purpose. But this success was more than balanced by that of lord Lewis Gordon, who surprised and routed the laird of Macleod, and Monro of Culcairn at Inverary, and obliged them to repass the Spey; so that the rebels were now masters of the whole country, from that river to the frith of Forth, and every where imposed contributions on the inhabitants, and seized the royal revenue.

The pretender, on leaving England, understanding that Edinburgh was secured by a fresh army, had proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, and imposed a heavy contribution on that loyal city. After making a hasty but oppressive tour through the neighbouring country, he directed his march to Stirling, where he was joined by the French troops under lord John Drummond, by the Frasers under the master of Lovat, and by lord Lewis Gordon and his victorious followers. It was now resolved to invest that town and castle; the latter being of great importance, by commanding the bridge over the river Forth. The town surrendered as soon as a battery was opened against it; but the castle, defended by a good garrison, under the command of general Blakeney, baffled all the attempts of the rebels. A.D. 1746.

The taking of the town of Stirling was, in itself, an event of little moment. Yet, when connected with the miraculous escape of the pretender from two royal armies, and the increase of the number of his adherents during his bold expedition to the southern parts of the kingdom, it served to occasion fresh alarm in England; especially as it was deemed a prelude to the reduction of that fortress, which was the key of communication between the north and south of Scotland. The greatest exploits were now thought not impossible for Charles and his sturdy Highlanders, who seemed to be at once invulnerable, and proof against the rage of the elements.

General Hawley, an experienced officer, was ordered instantly to assemble an army, and proceed to the relief of Stirling castle. This commander, who was naturally brave, confident, and even presumptuous, having under him major-general Huske, the brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, and other officers of distinction, advanced to Falkirk at the head of nine thousand men, beside the Argyleshire Highlanders and Glasgow volunteers; and having a contemptible idea of the rebels, whom he

had boasted he would drive from one end of the kingdom to the other with two regiments of dragoons, he gave himself little trouble to inquire after their numbers or disposition.

The pretender's army consisted of eight thousand five hundred men, and lay concealed in Torwood. Hawley, being informed that his adversaries were preparing to take possession of some

Jan. rising grounds in the neighbourhood of his camp, com-

17. manded his cavalry to cut them in pieces. But the event proved very different from what he expected. The horse being quickly broken, recoiled upon the foot; and a total rout ensued. Abandoning their tents, with part of their artillery and baggage, the king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, after attempting in vain to make a stand at Falkirk. About three hundred of their number were killed or wounded, and two hundred were made prisoners¹.

If the victorious Charles, during the consternation occasioned by this second blow, had again boldly entered England, he might possibly have taken up his winter quarters in the capital; or, if he had marched with the main body of his army toward Inverness, he might have crushed the earl of Loudon, disarmed the loyal clans, doubled the number of his adherents, and made himself absolute master of all the north of Scotland. But his heart being set on the reduction of Stirling castle, he lost sight of every other object. He therefore returned to the siege of that fortress; and after having in vain attempted to carry it by assault, the mode of attack most agreeable to his followers, and for which they were best adapted, he obstinately persisted in erecting batteries, opening trenches, and making regular approaches, in the depth of winter, to the great dissatisfaction of the Highlanders, many of whom retired in disgust to their native mountains.

While he was wasting his time, and breaking the spirit of his adherents, in these fruitless, impolitic, and ill-conducted operations, the nation recovered from that panic into which it had been thrown by the rout at Falkirk. The royal army in Scotland was reinforced with a body of fresh troops. The duke of Cumberland was appointed to command it; and the affairs of government soon began to wear a new face. Though unsuccessful in Flanders, and considered by professional men as no great master in the military art, the duke was adored by the

¹ *Contin. of Rapin; and various publications of the times.*

soldiery. And the appearance of a prince of the blood, it was hoped, would at once intimidate the rebels, and encourage the king's troops.

Experience proved this conjecture to be well-founded. The duke, on his arrival at Edinburgh, was received with the warmest expressions of joy, and welcomed as a deliverer of the loyal party. The presbyterian preachers went yet farther; they represented him as a saviour sent by the Almighty to protect his chosen people, and take vengeance on their enemies. Firmness and confidence now took place of irresolution and despondency; and such of the Jacobites as had not yet taken arms, foreseeing the ruin of their prince's cause, remained quiet.

As soon as the royal commander had collected his army, amounting to about fourteen thousand horse and foot, he advanced toward the enemy. Charles at first seemed disposed to hazard a battle. But the Highlanders being much fatigued and disgusted with the siege of Stirling castle, upon which they could make no impression, and in the attacks of which they lost a number of men, the pretender resolved, by the advice of his most experienced officers, to abandon all his posts on this side of the Spey, and proceed northward, as a fugitive instead of a conqueror. He was able, however, to reduce Inverness, Fort George, and Fort Augustus, and to oblige the earl of Loudon to take refuge in the isle of Skie. In a word, his present success showed what might have been done, had he taken this route during his good fortune, when every heart was big with hope. The well-affected clans, as they were called, who now made but a feeble resistance, would then have joined him almost to a man: and many persons of distinction, who still wore the mask of loyalty, would have repaired to his standard. Although he had been impolitic, he was yet formidable; and only a more perfect knowledge of the advantages of his situation seemed necessary to have enabled him to withstand all the efforts of his enemies.

In the mean time, the duke, being joined by six thousand Hessians¹, left two battalions at Stirling, and four in Perth, and proceeded to Aberdeen with the main body of his army. During his stay in that neighbourhood, he was indefatigable in exercising his troops, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and in providing for the security of the country; and as soon as the

¹ These troops were sent over from Flanders to replace the Dutch auxiliaries, whose recall the French court had demanded, as they had formed a part of the garrison of Tournay, precluded by the articles of capitulation from serving against his most Christian majesty or his allies for eighteen months.

weather would permit, he began his march for Inverness, where the rebels had established their head quarters. Contrary to all expectation, he was permitted to pass the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition, though about three thousand Highlanders appeared on the northern side, and the banks were steep and difficult of ascent. It was not timidity, however, but the presumption of their leaders, that restrained them from disputing the passage of the royal army; a resolution having been taken in a council of war, in spite of sound arguments, to leave the fords of the Spey open, as the sanguine adherents of Charles entertained no doubt of being able to cut off all who should pass the river. The more, said they, we suffer to cross it, the fewer will escape.

Romantic, however, as this idea appears, and unwise the maxim on which it was founded, it might perhaps have been realized, had the pretender afterward followed the advice of the more cool and experienced Highland chieftains. Had he resolved to act only on the defensive, and continued to retire northward, disputing every defile with his pursuers, until he had led the royal army into mountains, where its cavalry could not subsist, and whither its artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage-waggons, could not be drawn, he might at least have obliged the duke to retire in his turn; especially as the Highlanders, from their knowledge of the country, the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, the number of live cattle, and their own spare diet, could there have found subsistence for a considerable time. And the glory connected with the retreat of the king's troops, independent of other advantages which might have resulted from such a line of conduct, would have been of great service to the pretender's cause.

But Charles, who had imbibed, from his hot-headed Irish adherents, false notions of military honour, thought it would be disgraceful to retire farther before his antagonist. He therefore determined to hazard an engagement; though the royal army was not only, in all respects, better appointed, but superior in number, by at least one third, to that of his undisciplined followers. And having failed in an attempt to surprise the enemy at Nairn during the night, he marched back to his camp on Cul-loden-moor; where, seemingly in a fit of desperation, it was resolved by the rebel chiefs, amidst the great fatigue of their men, to wait the approach of the king's forces, in order of battle¹.

¹ The followers of Charles had indeed much cause for chagrin. They had hoped

The duke left Nairn early in the morning, and came in sight of the rebels about noon. They were drawn up in thirteen divisions under their respective leaders, with four pieces of cannon before their centre, where the pretender was stationed, and the same number on each wing. The royal host formed three lines, disposed in excellent order for resisting the fierce attack of the rebels; several pieces of cannon being placed between the lines, and every second rank instructed to reserve its fire, so that when the Highlanders, having thrown away their musquets, according to custom, advanced with their broad swords, they were not only received upon the point of the bayonet, but galled by an unexpected fire of musquetry, and blown into the air by concealed artillery. The event was such as the duke had promised himself. The rebels, after an ineffectual struggle of thirty minutes, were totally routed. The king's troops, particularly the dragoons, irritated by their former disgraces, and the fatigue of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. About twelve hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, with a small loss on the part of the royalists¹.

The victory at Culloden was complete and decisive. All the pretender's hopes, and even his courage, seemed to abandon him with his good fortune. Having too soon left the field of battle, he was advised by lord Lovat to return and rally his forces: he promised, but declined compliance. And although two thousand of his faithful Highlanders resolutely assembled at Fort Augustus, and a body of the Lowlanders at Ruthven, in order to know his commands; though a ship arrived from France with forty thousand pounds in specie; and near a thousand men, who had not been at the battle of Culloden, were ready to join him; he desired them all to disperse, and wandered under various disguises, in woods and wilds, a wretched fugitive, destitute of the common necessities of life, and in constant danger of falling into the hands of his enemies. At length, after suffering an extraordinary series

to attack the king's troops while buried in sleep and security, after celebrating the duke's birth-day. Lord George Murray undertook to conduct the enterprise, and every thing seemed to promise success; when, after a march of seven miles, one of the three divisions, into which the rebel army was formed, lost its way, through the darkness of the night. The other divisions advanced within a mile of the royal army, where lord George suspecting, as is said, from the neighing of a horse, that they were discovered, ordered a retreat. On this, the pretender exclaimed, that he was betrayed; and the rebels returned to their camp, unperceived, by eight o'clock in the morning; mortified with their disappointment, and stung with the reproach of their prince, whose sanguine spirit would, on that occasion, have been a better guide than the timid caution, if not treachery, of his general.—*Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

¹ *London Gazette*, April 26, 1746.—*Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.—*Smollett*, vol. xi.

of hardships, during five months, in the Highlands and western isles of Scotland, whither he was chased by his blood-thirsty pursuers, a price of thirty thousand pounds being set on his head; after having entrusted the secret of his life to above fifty persons, many of whom were in low condition, and who knew, that by betraying him they should be enabled to live in affluence¹, he was taken on board a French privateer, and safely landed on the coast of Bretagne.

The heroic attachment of a gallant youth, whose name is said to have been Mackenzie, contributed greatly to the escape of the pretender. About the 20th of July, when Charles had fled for safety to the top of the mountain of Mamnyncallam in Lochaber, the king's troops surprised a party of his followers in a hut, on the side of the mountain, and obliged them to surrender, after an obstinate resistance. One young man, however, made his escape. The prisoners assured the commanding officer that this was the pretender. Animated by the prospect of an ample reward, the soldiers eagerly pursued, and at last overtook the fugitive. They desired him to submit, as resistance would be ineffectual; and intimated that they knew who he was. He seemed to acquiesce in their mistake, but refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed your prince!" Independently of these generous expressions, the person slain resembled so much, in all respects, the description of the pretender given to the army, that an end was immediately put to farther pursuit: and although the government pretended to discredit the report, a general belief of the death of Charles prevailed, and little search was thenceforth made after him².

The unfortunate adventurer was caressed for a time at the court of France, as there was yet a possibility of his being of farther use; but no sooner was the peace concluded, than he was consigned to extreme neglect, and condemned to sufferings

¹ One poor gentleman, who had no share in the rebellion, but whose humanity had led him to administer to the necessities of Charles, being apprehended and carried before a court of justice, was asked how he dared to assist the king's greatest enemy; and why, having always appeared to be a loyal subject, he did not deliver up the pretender, and claim the reward offered by government for his person. "I only gave him," replied the prisoner, "what nature seemed to require—a night's lodging, and a humble repast. And who among my judges, though poor as I am, would have sought to acquire riches, by violating the rights of hospitality, in order to earn the price of blood?" The court was filled with confusion and amazement at the simple eloquence of this untutored orator: the suit was dismissed, and the prisoner set at liberty.—So much stronger an impression will fellow feeling and the sense of natural equity make on the human breast, than the dictates of political law, though enforced by the greatest rewards or the severest punishments.

² *Contin. of Rabin*, vol. ix.

more severe than any he had yet experienced. On his refusing to quit the kingdom, he was seized by a party of the guards, pinioned, and conducted to the frontiers, in violation of the most solemn engagements¹; a perfidy for which the articles of peace could be no apology, as France had the power of dictating the stipulations of the treaty. He was ruined and betrayed, like many of his ancestors, by those in whom he confided; and with his fortunes perished the last hopes of the family of Stuart, and of their partisans in the British dominions.

The pretender's sufferings must have been much aggravated by those of his unhappy adherents, unless we suppose him devoid of all the feelings of humanity, and of all sentiments of generous sympathy. Immediately after the battle of Culloden, the royal army entered the rebel country, which was cruelly ravaged with fire and sword. All the cattle and provisions were carried off. The men, hunted down like wild beasts upon the mountains, were shot on the smallest resistance; and not a hut was left standing to shelter the miserable women and children from the inclemency of the weather. They were left to perish by hunger and cold on the barren heaths. In a few weeks, all appearance of rebellion, and almost of population, being exterminated in the Highlands, the duke of Cumberland returned to London as a conqueror: leaving his army, formed into twenty-seven divisions, or flying camps, to take vengeance on the surviving fugitives.

A new scene of horror was now exhibited. The asperity of justice threatened with destruction those whom the sword had spared, and who had not escaped to the continent. Courts being opened in different parts of England for the trial of the rebel prisoners, where they could have procured no evidence in their favour, had they been innocent, and where every accuser was admitted, small possibility remained to them of escaping punishment. Seventeen officers were accordingly condemned, and executed at Kennington-common, near London. Thirty-one of the captives suffered death in Cumberland, and twenty-two in Yorkshire. Most of these unfortunate men behaved with great firmness, and seemed to glory in dying for the cause they had espoused. A few received pardons, and many were transported to the plantations².

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lords Balmerino and Lovat, were tried by their peers, and found guilty.

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* chap. xxv.

² *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

Cromartie was pardoned at the intercession of his lady ; the other three were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, a nobleman of elegant accomplishments, but desperate fortune, and who had been educated in the principles of the Revolution, died with marks of penitence, either from sorrow at having acted against his conscience, or in hopes of a pardon ; it being observed, that he lifted his head from the block, and looked anxiously around before the fatal blow was struck. Balmerino, who had been bred a soldier, and who had obeyed the dictates of his heart, behaved in a more resolute manner. He seemed even to exult in his sufferings ; but checked his natural boldness, lest it should appear indecent on such an occasion. Lovat, after trying every expedient to save his life, avowed his Jacobitism, and died, not only with composure, but dignity ; feeling the axe, surveying the crowd, and exclaiming, in seeming triumph,

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori !

“ 'Tis great, 'tis noble, thrones usurp'd to shake :
And sweet to die for our dear country's sake¹.”

Thus was extinguished a rebellion, which, from small beginnings, rose to an alarming height, and, at one time, threatened a revolution in the state. In order more effectually to eradicate the seeds of disloyalty, and break the refractory spirit of the Highlanders, the heads of the clans were deprived of their exclusive hereditary jurisdiction, which they had abused : and persons of all ranks were prohibited, by act of parliament, from wearing the ancient dress of their country².

¹ A sentiment so sublime, from the mouth of a man who had lived in the habitual violation of every moral duty, and whose sole object was self-interest, forms a severe satire on the common pretensions to patriotism.

² This act has been since repealed, from a conviction of its inexpediency. And it is truly extraordinary it should ever have been supposed that men would become more loyal or submissive because they were compelled to wear breeches.

LETTER XXX.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Treaty of Dresden, in 1745, to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

THE treaty of Dresden, and the confirmation of that of Breslau, by finally detaching the king of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a great change in the state of the contending A.D. powers, but did not dispose them to peace. The king of 1745. France, encouraged by his past successes, and by the absence of the British troops, was eager to push his conquests in the Low Countries; and the king of Great Britain, enraged at the support given by Louis to a competitor for his throne, resolved upon vengeance, as soon as the rebellion in Scotland should be finally suppressed. Elate with the exaltation of her husband to the imperial throne, and having now no enemy to oppose in Germany, the queen of Hungary hoped to be able to give a favourable turn to the war in Italy. She even flattered herself, that the circles, or the Germanic body, might be induced to take arms against France; and that, by the co-operation of England and Holland, whatever she had lost in the Netherlands might be recovered, and the victorious house of Bourbon be yet completely humbled.

Of all the hostile powers, the king of France was first in readiness to carry his designs into execution. Maréchal Saxe, to the astonishment of Europe, and the terror of the confederates, took Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governors of the Austrian Netherlands, before the close of the winter. Louis joined his victorious army (consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men) in the month of April, and obliged A.D. the allies under Bathiani to retire first to Antwerp, and 1746. afterwards to Breda. Antwerp was invested, and reduced in a few days. Nothing could withstand the French artillery directed by Lowendahl, or the army conducted by Saxe. Mons, a town of remarkable strength, held out only a few weeks. St. Guislain and Charleroy were also obliged to submit; and, in July, Louis found himself absolute master of the provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Before this time, prince Charles of Lorraine had assumed the command of the confederate army; which being reinforced with ten thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, three British

regiments, and twenty-five thousand Hungarians under count Palfy, now amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Concluding that Namur would be the next object of attack, the prince of Lorraine marched toward that place, and occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood, within sight of the French army, which was encamped at Geblours. Saxe, who greatly surpassed in abilities all the generals of the allies, not judging it prudent to attack them in so strong a situation, attempted by other means to accomplish the views of his master. He accordingly reduced Dinant in the bishopric of Liege; while Lowendahl, by his direction, took Huy, and there seized a large magazine belonging to the confederates.

In consequence of the reduction of those towns, the French became masters of the navigation of the Maese; and by cutting off the communication of the allies with Maestricht, obliged prince Charles, from scarcity of provisions, to quit his post, and abandon Namur to its fate. The citadel of this place, built upon a steep rock, and twelve other forts, erected on the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, seemed to render it inaccessible to any attack. The garrison consisted of eight thousand Dutch and Austrians, who defended the works with equal skill and resolution: yet so powerful and well directed was the fire of the French artillery, that the town was forced to surrender in a few days, and the citadel in three weeks.

The allied army being reinforced by some Bavarian and British battalions under sir John Ligonier, prince Charles resolved to give battle to the main body of the enemy, while weakened by the employment of a considerable force in the siege of Namur. With this view he passed the Maese, and advanced toward the French camp: but found Saxe so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he deemed it expedient to retire. He was severely harassed in his retreat. The confederates, however, behaved with great spirit, and at last repelled their pursuers.

The enterprising Saxe, having soon after formed a junction with the troops that had reduced Namur, passed the Jaar to meet the allies, who, aware of his intention, took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, and made other

Oct. 1. preparations for receiving him. At break of day, the French army advanced in three columns; and about noon a terrible cannonading began. By two o'clock, the prince of Waldeck, who commanded on the left of the confederates, and against whom the enemy chiefly directed their force, was

compelled to give way. The three villages were attacked, at the same time, by fifty-five battalions in brigades. As soon as one brigade was repulsed, another advanced; so that the confederates, fatigued with continual fighting, and being, by an unaccountable neglect, in a great measure destitute of artillery, while the French played upon them with above eighty pieces of cannon, were at last obliged to abandon the villages, and retreat towards Maestricht. Five thousand of their number were killed, wounded, or captured; while nine thousand of the French lost their lives or were wounded. With this battle, in which the Austrians had little share, the operations of the campaign in the Low Countries ended. Both armies, dissatisfied with the issue of the action, and as if ashamed of such an idle waste of blood, went soon after into winter quarters.

Happily for the allies, the house of Bourbon was less successful this summer in Italy, though artful measures had been taken during the winter, to acquire an absolute superiority over the house of Austria in that country; where Philip and Maillebois, who had carried every thing before them in the preceding campaign, were still at the head of powerful armies. The French monarch was no sooner informed of the defection of the king of Prussia, than he made, without consulting the court of Madrid, advantageous proposals to the king of Sardinia; and these offers were accepted, and a cessation of hostilities signed¹. But Louis had soon reason to repent of his rashness. The king, or rather the queen of Spain, who was still at the head of the administration, enraged at any dismemberment of the possessions intended for Philip, reproached his most Christian majesty with a breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau; and although matters were afterwards adjusted between the two courts, and the treaty with the king of Sardinia, though so far advanced, broken off, their interests suffered severely by this misunderstanding, which pro-

¹ This treaty, which secured to Philip, besides Parma and Placentia, a share of the duchy of Milan and all the Cremonese, had for its chief object, on the part of the king of Sardinia, the independence of Italy. It therefore provided, that no Italian state should be united to the court of France, Spain, or the imperial crown. (*Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.) Such a policy was perfectly sound and consistent with the character and situation of the king of Sardinia as one of the Italian princes, but treacherous as one of the confederate and subsidiary powers. Yet has the fidelity of his Sardinian majesty been generally extolled, because this treaty, to which he positively acceded, and his other secret negotiations and intrigues, which were defeated by accidental circumstances, have hitherto remained in a great measure unknown. So precarious a thing is human virtue! and so little connexion often have the seemingly meritorious actions of men with the sentiments of honour, or the real motives that influence their conduct!

duced a temporary jealousy between the French and Spanish armies. An almost total inaction was the consequence; and that inaction gave rise to new jealousies, and mutual accusations, which led to great misfortunes.

Meanwhile the king of Sardinia, the most politic prince of his time, having in vain solicited the signing of the definitive treaty with France, made himself master of Asti, one of the strongest places in Italy, which had a French garrison of five thousand men. The pretext assigned for this breach of faith was, the danger of the reduction of the citadel of Milan by the Spaniards: but his true motive was, a desire of recovering the confidence of his old, or bringing matters to a crisis with his new, allies. The success of the measure exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The confederates were confirmed in their opinion of his good faith, and the king of France was still amused with assurances of friendship. Philip accused Maillebois of treachery for not attempting to recover Asti¹; and the Spaniards, having no reliance on their allies, immediately raised the siege of the citadel of Milan, and marched to Pavia; while the French general, afraid that his communication with Genoa and Provence might be cut off by the Austrians, whose strength in Italy was rapidly increasing, evacuated all the districts in the neighbourhood of the Tanaro and the Po, and retired to Novi.

The Austrian army, under prince Lichtenstein, now amounted to forty thousand men, and that of the king of Sardinia to thirty-six thousand. Having no formidable enemy to oppose them, by reason of the misunderstanding between the French and Spaniards, they recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses, ravaged the territory of Cremona, and took Lodi, Guastalla, Parma, and other places. Meantime, a reconciliation having been effected between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, Maillebois formed a junction with Philip at Placentia, and a resolution was taken to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro, before the arrival of the king of Sardinia. An attack was accordingly made, and supported with great intrepidity; but so masterly was the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, and so obstinate the courage of the Austrians, that the assailants were compelled to retire, after a bloody contest of nine hours, leaving five thousand men dead on the field, and about an equal number wounded.

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv. And he would have ordered that general to be arrested, had not his passion been moderated by the count de Gages.

Soon after this disaster, Philip and his associates received intelligence of an event which threw them into new perplexity ; namely, the death of Philip V. of Spain. Weak, July. but virtuous, he was governed successively by two ambitious women, who infused fresh spirit into the Spanish councils, and roused him, notwithstanding his natural indolence, to the most vigorous measures and most arduous enterprises. In the reign of this first prince of the house of Bourbon who sat upon the Spanish throne, the slumbering genius of the nation began to revive, and with it the splendour of the monarchy. He was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand VI., who at first embraced with ardour the principles of the union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and resolved steadily to pursue the objects for which that union had been formed by Elizabeth Farnese, the queen dowager.

Philip and Maillebois, however, being ignorant of the sentiments of the new king in regard to the Italian war, and pressed by the vigour of their adversaries, were desirous of securing a communication with France. A retreat was accordingly agreed upon. This was thought a desperate expedient, as the king of Sardinia had now joined the Austrian army, and assumed the chief command. But, without the assurance of immediate support, it was perhaps the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, as the French and Spaniards were in danger of being shut up between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia, by a vastly superior and victorious force.

The retreat was conducted with great ability by the count de Maillebois, son of the *maréchal* of that name. He led the van, and his father and the count de Gages brought up the rear ; yet they could not prevent the enemy from attacking them to advantage at Rotto Freddo, where they behaved with great gallantry, but sustained a severe loss. The surrender of Placentia, which was defended by four thousand men, under the *marquis* de Castello, was the consequence of this victory.

The Piedmontese and Austrians, conducted by the king of Sardinia, assisted by the generals Botta and Brown, now advanced to Tortona, which was surrendered to them, while the French and Spaniards took shelter under the cannon of Genoa. Here it was expected they would have made a stand, as that city by its situation is very capable of defence. But the *marquis* de las Minas, who had succeeded the count de Gages in the command under Philip, did not judge it prudent to hazard the loss of the remains of the army ; and, as Maillebois concurred in this opi-

nion, the Genoese, after repeated assurances of support, were abandoned to their fate. Philip retired toward Savoy, and Maillebois into Provence.

This retreat was immediately followed by the surrender of Genoa. That haughty republic was subjected to the most humiliating conditions, and the proud city loaded with arbitrary and oppressive contributions. The arrogance and rapacity of Botta, to whom the command of the place was committed, exceeded all description. And he was encouraged in his tyrannical proceedings by the court of Vienna; which, deaf to the supplications of a distressed people, seemed determined to reduce the Genoese to the lowest state of wretchedness. His most cruel exactions, and even those of Coteck, the commissary-general, who surpassed him in rapacity, were thought too mild and moderate.

The Austrian and Piedmontese troops having now no enemy to encounter, the commanders were employed, for a time, in deliberating towards what quarter they should turn their arms. Botta, who knew how much the heart of his mistress was set upon recovering Naples, proposed that the Genoese should be compelled to furnish transports for the invasion of that kingdom. And had this scheme been instantly undertaken, it could not have failed of success, as the king of Naples had few regular troops beside those in the army of Philip.

The consequences of such a conquest to Great Britain would have been of high importance. Spain, in that event, would have been under the necessity of deserting France, and concluding a separate peace. And she would have been obliged to purchase it with the sacrifice of her most valuable commercial interests, by giving up her exclusive right to the trade of her American dominions. The two great branches of the house of Bourbon would have been disunited; and England and Austria would have given law to France, after having obtained their own conditions from the catholic king¹.

But the king of Sardinia had other interests to manage. He by no means wished to see the house of Austria all powerful in Italy. He therefore persuaded the court of London, which held the purse, and consequently took the lead, in the course of a long and expensive war, that it would be more advantageous to the common cause to invade France; and that by the co-operation of the British fleet, not only Antibes, but Toulon and Mar-

¹ *Mém. de Noailles, tome iv.—Mémoires sur les Affaires d'Italie.*

seilles, might speedily be reduced. The consent of the court of Vienna being obtained, count Brown entered Provence at the head of fifty thousand men. Advancing as far as Draguignan, he laid the whole country under contribution; while baron Roth invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded by a British squadron under vice-admiral Medley. But the *maréchal de Belleisle*, a man fruitful in resources, and intimately acquainted with the whole science of war, so effectually cut off the provisions of the invaders, and otherwise harassed them, that the Austrian general, though able, active, and enterprising, found himself under the necessity of repassing the Var, particularly when he had received some unpleasing intelligence from Genoa; and the siege of Antibes was relinquished, after many efforts by sea and land, the place being gallantly defended by the *chevalier de Sade*.

The change of fortune in Italy was sudden and remarkable. The inhabitants of Genoa, driven to despair by the oppressions of the Austrians, had risen against their conquerors, and expelled them. Though degenerate even to a proverb, they seemed to be animated with all their ancient spirit of liberty, when they felt the galling fetters of slavery, and resolved to attempt the recovery of that freedom which they had wanted valour to defend. Secretly encouraged in this bold purpose by some of the senators, who also directed their measures, they flew to arms, determined to perish to a man, rather than live longer in such a cruel and ignominious servitude. And so firm was their perseverance in this resolution, and so vigorous the impulse by which they were actuated, that the *marquis de Botta*, after having sustained great loss in a variety of struggles, and being driven from every important post, was obliged to evacuate the city. Nor did the patriotic zeal of the Genoese stop here; they took the most effectual steps for their future security, conscious that they were still surrounded by their oppressors.

The naval incidents of the year were not very honourable to the British flag. Nothing of moment happened in the West Indies. In the East Indies, commodore Peyton, who commanded six stout ships, shamefully declined a second engagement with a French squadron of equal or inferior force; and *La Bourdonnais* the French commander, in consequence of Peyton's cowardice, reduced the English settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel. No event of importance happened on the coast of North America, though the campaign in that quarter seemed pregnant with great revolutions.

The British ministry, encouraged by the taking of Louisbourg, and the consequent reduction of the island of Cape Breton, had projected the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, or New France, situated on the river St. Lawrence, and accessible to ships of the greatest force. Intelligence to this purpose was sent to the governors of the English colonies in North America; and provincial troops were raised to assist in the enterprize. Six regiments were prepared for embarkation at Portsmouth, and every thing seemed to promise success. But the sailing of the fleet was postponed by unaccountable delays, till the season of action in those climates had elapsed. A new direction was therefore given to the enterprize, that the armament might not seem altogether useless to the nation. A descent was made on the coast of France, in hopes of surprising Port l'Orient, the repository of the stores belonging to the French India Company. But this project also failed; though not without alarming the enemy, and showing the possibility of hurting France in her very vitals, by means of such an armament, if well appointed and vigorously conducted. Lestock, who commanded the fleet, did not properly second the efforts of the army; and the troops indeed, being destitute of heavy cannon, could make no impression on the place¹.

The French miscarried in an enterprize of a similar nature, and of equal magnitude. A formidable armament was prepared at Brest for the recovery of Cape Breton, and the reduction of the English settlement of Annapolis. It consisted of near forty ships of war, eleven of which were of the line; two artillery ships, and fifty-six transports, laden with provisions and military stores, and carrying three thousand five hundred soldiers, and forty thousand stand of small arms, for the use of the Canadians and Indians in the French interest, who were expected to co-operate with the troops. The fleet sailed in June, but did not reach the coast of Nova Scotia till the beginning of September. A dreadful mortality prevailed in the transports; and the whole fleet was attacked by furious and repeated storms, and either wrecked or dispersed. D'Anville, the admiral, made his way with a few ships to Quebec; while M. de la Jonquiere, who commanded the land forces, and had boasted that he would subdue all the English settlements on the continent of America, finding his men reduced to a very small number, returned to France without attempting any thing².

The court of Versailles having discovered a seeming desire for

¹ *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.—*Smollett*, vol. xi.

² *Millot*.—*Voltaire*.

peace, a congress was opened at Breda, toward the close of the campaign ; but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increase of vigour and animosity. The states-general, who had hitherto acted a shamefully timid and disingenuous part, more injurious than beneficial to the cause they pretended to aid, now became seriously sensible of their danger, and of the necessity of forming a closer alliance with the courts of London and Vienna, or throwing themselves into the arms of France ; and they resolved to take effectual measures for opposing the designs of that powerful and ambitious neighbour. With this view they engaged to augment their quota of troops, in the Netherlands, to forty thousand ; the king of Great Britain agreed to furnish an equal number ; and the empress queen, supported by British money, promised to send sixty thousand Austrians to act in conjunction with them. Beside this grand army, intended to set bounds to the conquests of Louis, ninety thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under the king of Sardinia, another sovereign in British pay, were to enter Provence, while a smaller body should keep the king of Naples in awe.

The Bourbon princes were not unprepared for such a competition. The king of France had ordered an army of one hundred and forty thousand men to be assembled in the Netherlands ; and, to give greater firmness to this immense force, he renewed in the person of the count de Saxe the title of *Maréchal de Camp Général*, which had been conferred on the famous Turenne, and which gave him a superiority over all the *maréchals* of France, and even princes of the blood. The Spanish force in Savoy was considerably augmented ; and forty thousand French soldiers were assembled in Provence. A final trial of strength seemed to be the object of all parties.

The grand army of the confederates took the field, in three bodies, toward the end of March. The duke of Cumberland, with the British troops, Hanoverians and Hessians, fixed his A. D. head-quarters at Tilberg, in Dutch Brabant ; the prince 1747. of Waldeck, with the troops of the states-general, occupied the vicinity of Breda ; and Bathiani assembled the Austrians and Bavarians near Venlo. The whole army lay inactive for six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provisions ; while the count de Saxe, sensible that the first care of a general is the health of his soldiers, kept his troops warm within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and

Brussels, furnished with plenty of every thing, and under no necessity of encountering unavailing fatigues. The inactivity, which is said to have been occasioned by the negligence of the Dutch and Austrian commissaries, deprived the allies of all the advantages they had promised themselves from an early campaign, beside damping the ardour of the troops, and weakening them by sickness.

The count de Saxe, having settled with the French ministry the plan of operations, at length took the field, detaching Lowendahl to invade Dutch Flanders. At the same time, the French minister at the Hague declared, that his most Christian majesty, in thus entering the territories of the republic (a step to which he was driven by the necessity of war) had no wish to come to a rupture with the states-general. He meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England; and he had therefore ordered the commander of his troops to observe the strictest discipline, and on no account to offer any disturbance to the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. He also intimated, that he would consider the places and countries he should be obliged to seize for his own security merely as a pledge, which he promised to restore, as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer assist the enemies of his crown.

While the rulers of Holland were deliberating on this declaration, which was chiefly intended to amuse the populace, Lowendahl made himself master of Sluys, Sandberg, Hulst, and other fortified places of no small importance, the confederates not daring to oppose his progress. They were obliged by their position to cover Breda and Bois-le-duc; and all their motions were jealously watched by Saxe, who covered Antwerp and the other French conquests in the Low Countries, with a hundred and ten thousand men. Thus secure, Lowendahl pushed his conquests in the Dutch territories. Having taken possession of Axel and Terneuse, he was making preparations for a descent upon Zealand, when a British squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary¹.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themselves be-

¹ *Mém. de Saxe.*

trayed by their rulers, complained loudly of the conduct of affairs. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged the discontents of the people; they exaggerated the public danger; they reminded their countrymen of the year 1672, when the French were at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the election of a stadtholder. And they exhorted their fellow-citizens to turn their eyes on William Henry Friso, the lineal descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United Provinces; extolling his virtues and talents, his ability, generosity, justice, and unshaken love of his country.

Inflamed by such representations, and their apparently desperate situation, the people rose in many places, and compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder; a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William III. His popularity daily increased; and at last, after being elected by several particular provinces, he was appointed, in the grand assembly of the nation, stadtholder, captain-general, and chief admiral of the republic.

On that occasion, count Bentinck, who introduced the new stadtholder, addressed the states-general in the following words:—"The prince whom I have the honour to present to you will, I doubt not, tread in the steps of his glorious ancestors, will heartily concur with us in delivering from danger the republic now invaded, and preserve us from the yoke of a treacherous and deceitful neighbour, who makes a jest of good faith, honour, and the most solemn treaties¹."

The beneficial effects of this revolution to the common cause of the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures. The states immediately commanded, that no provisions or warlike stores should be exported out of their dominions, except for the use of the allied army; that a fleet should be equipped, and the militia regularly armed and disciplined. They sent agents to several German courts, to treat for the hire of thirty thousand men; a council of war was established, for inquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier-towns; and orders were issued for commencing hostilities against the subjects of France, both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

¹ *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

During all these transactions the duke of Cumberland remained inactive, over-awed by the superior generalship, rather than the superior force, of the French commander, who still continued to watch him. At length the king of France arrived at Brussels, and it was resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. With that view *maréchal Saxe*, having called in his detachments, advanced towards Louvain in May; and the confederates, perceiving his intent, endeavoured by forced marches to gain possession of the heights of Herdeeren, an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of the threatened town. But in this they were disappointed. The enemy had seized the post before their arrival, and were preparing to rush down upon them, in order to get between their main body and Maestricht, by turning their left wing. An engagement was now unavoidable. The duke, therefore, disposed his army in order of battle, and judiciously directed some regiments of British infantry, during the night, to take possession of the village of Val in the front of his left wing, which extended to Wirle, within a few miles of Maestricht, and was composed of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians. The Austrians, who lay at Bislen, composed the right wing; and the Dutch occupied the centre.

Affairs being thus arranged, both armies waited with impatience the approach of morning. As soon as it was N. S. light, the French cavalry made a great show upon the heights of Herdeeren, in order to conceal the motions of their infantry; which appeared soon after, coming down into the plain, through a valley between the hills near Rempert, formed in a vast column, of nine or ten battalions in front and as many deep, and bearing directly on Val. They suffered severely, in their approach, from the artillery of the confederates; and the British musquetry saluted them with so warm a fire that the front of the column was broken and dispersed. Not discouraged by this repulse, fresh battalions advanced to the attack with alacrity and perseverance; so that the British troops in Val, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were at last obliged to give way. Being, however, opportunely supported by three fresh regiments, they recovered their footing in the village, and drove out the enemy with great slaughter. The battle now wore so favourable an aspect, that the duke of Cumberland ordered the action to be made general, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when some unforeseen circumstances disappointed their hopes.

The motions of the Austrians under Bathiani were so slow as scarcely to deserve the name of action¹; so that Saxe, apprehending no danger from that quarter, was able to turn almost the whole weight of the French army against Val, and not only to regain possession of it, after it had been three times lost and won, but to break entirely the left wing of the confederates, in spite of all the efforts of the duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with great courage, and no inconsiderable share of conduct. The Dutch, instead of supporting the broken wing, fell back in disorder, and overthrew in their flight five Austrian battalions that were advancing slowly to the charge. The French followed their blow, and, having routed the centre, divided the right wing of the allied army from the left. At this dangerous crisis, when Saxe hoped to cut off the retreat of the confederates, and even to make the duke of Cumberland his captive, sir John Ligonier rushed, at the head of three British regiments of dragoons and some squadrons of Austrian cavalry, upon the victorious enemy. He bore down every thing before him; and although he was himself taken prisoner, from pursuing too far, he procured time for the duke to collect his scattered forces, and to retire without molestation to Maestricht. About ten thousand of the French, and five thousand of their adversaries, were killed or wounded².

Such was the obstinate and bloody, but partial, battle of Val, or Laffeldt, in which the British troops distinguished themselves greatly, and, if properly supported, would have obtained a complete victory. Hence the *bon mot* of Louis XV., that "the English not only paid all, but fought all!"—The action was productive of no important consequences. The duke of Cumberland, having reinforced the garrison of Maestricht, passed the Maese, and stationed his troops in the duchy of Limburg. The French army remained at Tongres, near the field of battle; and Saxe, after amusing the confederates for a while with various marches and movements, detached count Lowendahl, with thirty thousand men, to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the famous Cohorn.

¹ This inaction of the Austrian General is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstance. On the eve of the battle, when a French detachment only was supposed to have occupied the heights of Herdeeren, Bathiani asked permission of the duke of Cumberland to attack the enemy before they were reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise. The duke, instead of acceding to the proposal, asked him, by way of reply, where he might be found, if he should be wanted. "I shall always be found," said Bathiani, "at the head of my troops!" and retired in disgust.

² *Contin. of Rapin, ubi sup.*—London Gazette, July 12, 1747.

This place had never been taken, and was generally deemed impregnable; as, besides its great natural and artificial strength, it could at all times be supplied with ammunition and provisions, in spite of the besiegers, by means of two canals, called the Old and New Harbour, communicating with the Scheldt, and navigable every tide. It was defended by a garrison of three thousand men, under the prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, when Lowendahl sat down before it; and the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons, took possession of the lines belonging to the fortification, from which the garrison could be easily reinforced. As soon as the trenches were opened, old baron Cronstrom, governor of Dutch Brabant, assumed the command in the town, and preparations were made for the most vigorous defence. Lowendahl conducted his operations with great judgment and spirit; and although he lost a number of men in his approaches, by the warm and unremitting fire of the garrison, he was so effectually and speedily reinforced, that he began very early to have hopes of success. He was even attempting to storm two of the out forts, when lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders, by a desperate sally, beat off the assailants, and burned some of their principal batteries. Other sallies were made with effect; mines were sprung on both sides, and every instrument of destruction employed for the space of eight weeks. Nothing was to be seen but fire and smoke, nothing heard but the perpetual roar of bombs and cannon; the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage!—And the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, seemed still doubtful, as the works were yet in a great measure entire, when Lowendahl boldly carried it by assault.

That experienced general, and great master in the art of reducing fortified places, having observed a ravelin and two bastions somewhat damaged, resolved to storm all three at once. As the breaches were not such as could be deemed practicable, the governor had taken no precaution against an assault: and that very circumstance induced Lowendahl, presuming on such negligence, to hazard the attempt. He accordingly assembled his troops in the dead of night; when only the ordinary sentinels were on duty, and the greater part of the garrison seemed to be buried in security and repose. The assault was made at four in

Sept. 16, the morning, by the French grenadiers, who threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and rushed into the place. The Highlanders, assem-

bling in the market-place, fought like furies, till two-thirds of them were cut in pieces. But that was the only opposition the assailants met with. The troops in the lines quickly disappeared; all the forts in the neighbourhood surrendered; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt¹.

The intelligence of this event occasioned great surprise at London, and threw the United Provinces into the utmost consternation. The joy of the French was proportionally great. As soon as Louis was informed of this success, he promoted Lowendahl to the rank of a *maréchal* of France; and, having appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, he returned in triumph to Versailles. "The peace," said the penetrating and victorious governor, "lies in Maestricht²!"—But the siege of that important place being reserved for the next campaign, both the French and the allies went into winter quarters without engaging in any new enterprise.

Fortunately for the confederates, the French were not equally successful on the frontiers of Italy, during this campaign; although the *maréchal* de Belleisle, early in the season, saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence, which threatened to carry every thing before it. He passed the Var in April, and took possession of Nice. He reduced Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia, almost without resistance, and obliged the Austrians, under count Brown, to retire toward Final and Savona. Nor were these the most important consequences of his expedition.

The court of Vienna, enraged at the revolt of the Genoese, resolved to reduce them again to subjection, and severely to chastise the capital of the republic. Count Schuylemberg was accordingly ordered to invest Genoa with a great army of Austrians and Piedmontese. Meanwhile the king of France, sensible of the importance of that city to the cause of the house of Bourbon, had remitted large sums to put it in a posture of defence; and, beside engineers and officers, to discipline the troops of the republic, he sent thither four thousand five hundred men, under the duke de Boufflers, for the greater security of the place, and to animate the Genoese to a bold resistance. The design took effect. The citizens of Genoa resolved to perish rather than again submit to the Austrians. But the force sent against them made their fate very doubtful.

Schuylemberg, having forced the passage of the Bochetta, en-

¹ Voltaire.—Millot.—Smollett.

² *Mém. de Saxe.*

tered the territories of Genoa, and appeared before the capital at the head of forty thousand men. As the inhabitants obstinately refused to lay down their arms, and even treated with derision the proposal of submitting to the clemency of the court of Vienna, the place was regularly invested; and although the Genoese and the French behaved with great spirit in several sallies, the Austrian general conducted his operations with so much skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he must at last have accomplished his enterprise, had not his attention been diverted to another quarter. Alarmed at the progress of Belleisle, the king of Sardinia and count Brown represented to Schuylemberg the necessity of raising the siege of Genoa, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy. He therefore drew off his army, and joined his Sardinian majesty, to the great joy of the Genoese; who, in revenge of the injuries they had suffered, ravaged the duchies of Parma and Placentia¹.

The apprehensions of the king of Sardinia for his hereditary dominions were by no means groundless. While the *maréchal de Belleisle* lay at *Ventimiglia*, his brother, the *chevalier*, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont, by the way of *Dauphiné*, at the head of thirty thousand French and Spaniards, emulous of glory under so gallant a leader. When he arrived at the pass of *Exilles*, a strong post on the north side of the *Doria*, he found fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians waiting for him, behind ramparts of wood and stone, lined with artillery: and all the passes of the Alps were secured by detachments of the same troops. Not discouraged by these obstacles, the *chevalier* attacked the Piedmontese entrenchments with great intrepidity. But he was repulsed with loss in three successive assaults; and being determined to perish rather than survive a miscarriage, he seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through an incessant fire, planted them with his own hand on the enemy's battlements². At that instant he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet and two musquet-balls in his body. Some other officers of distinction were killed, and the survivors, discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, retired with precipitation, leaving behind them above four thousand slain.

The *maréchal de Belleisle* was no sooner informed of his

¹ *Mém. de Noailles*, tome iv.—*Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

² Voltaire represents him as attempting to pull up the palisades with his teeth, after being wounded in both arms. This is a perfectly ludicrous image, and, even if we admit the assumed fact to be true, utterly inconsistent with the dignity of history. But it is by no means uncommon, even with the best French writers, to excite laughter, when they attempt the sublime.

brother's fate, that he retreated toward the Var to join the unfortunate army from Exilles. About the same time, the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion. But excessive rains prevented the execution of the enterprise; and the campaign was closed without any other memorable event.

The naval transactions of this year were more favourable to Great Britain than those of any other during the war. Her success was great almost beyond example, but more advantageous than glorious, as she had a manifest superiority of force in every engagement. The English fleet under the admirals Anson and Warren, consisting of eleven sail of the line, three ships of fifty, and one of forty guns, fell in with a French fleet of six sail of the line, in the beginning of May, off Cape Finisterre. The French fleet was commanded by M. de la Jonquiere and St. George, who had under their convoy thirty ships laden with stores and merchandise, bound for America and the East Indies. The battle began about four in the afternoon; and although the French seamen and commanders behaved with extraordinary courage, and discovered no want of conduct, six ships of war and four armed Indiamen were taken. About seven weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, commodore Fox fell in with a fleet from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island; and forty-six vessels became prizes to the English.

Admiral Hawke was no less successful. He sailed from Plymouth in the summer, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantmen bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time off the coast of Bretagne; and at last the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Letendear. On the 14th of October, the two squadrons came within sight of each other, about seven in the morning, in the latitude of Belleisle. By noon both were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when six French ships of the line had struck to the British flag¹. The rest escaped under cover of the darkness; having all maintained, with great obstinacy, a gallant but unequal fight.

These naval victories, and the sailing of admiral Boscawen, with a strong squadron and a considerable body of land forces, for the East Indies, where it was conjectured he would not only

¹ *London Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1747.

recover Madras, but reduce Pondicherry, disposed Louis seriously to think of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, notwithstanding the great superiority of his arms in the Low Countries. Other causes conspired to the same effect. His finances were almost exhausted; the French trade was alarmingly injured; and he could no longer depend upon supplies from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the present low state of the French and Spanish navy. The success of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectation; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, was become an expensive ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany, by the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands: but the election of stadtholder, by uniting the force of the states-general against him, left little hope of future conquests in that quarter; especially as the British parliament, whose resources were yet copious, and whose liberality seemed to know no bounds, had enabled their sovereign to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the empress of Russia, who engaged to hold in readiness an army of thirty thousand men, and forty galleys, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition.

Influenced by these considerations, the king of France made advances toward an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and, as all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, were heartily tired of the war, it was agreed to open a new congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries should receive their instructions.

A.D. 1748. In the mean time, vigorous preparations for war were made in every quarter; but the preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a cessation of arms took place, before any enterprise of consequence was undertaken, except the siege of Maestricht. Saxe, having invested that important place in the spring, concerted his measures with so much judgment, that Lowendhal was enabled to carry on his operations without interruption, though the army of the confederates under the duke of Cumberland, to the number of a hundred and ten thousand men, lay in the neighbourhood. The town was defended by twenty-four battalions of Dutch and Austrian troops, commanded by baron D'Aylva, who opposed the besiegers with great skill and resolution. They prosecuted their approaches, however, with extreme ardour; and effected, at last, a lodgment in the covered way, after an obstinate dis-

pute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops. But they were dislodged, on the following day, by the spirit of the garrison, which acquired fresh courage from this success.

Such was the doubtful, and even unfavourable state of the siege of Maestricht, when intelligence arrived of the signing of the preliminaries, and orders for a cessation of arms. Yet was it agreed by the plenipotentiaries, that, "for the glory of the arms of his most Christian majesty," the place should be immediately surrendered to his general, but restored on the conclusion of the peace, with all its magazines and artillery. Saxe accordingly took possession of Maestricht, while the garrison marched out with the customary honours of war.

But although the negotiation was thus far advanced in the beginning of summer, so many were the difficulties started by the ministers of the different powers, that it was the month of October before matters could be finally settled. Meanwhile hostilities were carried on both in the East and West Indies; but no memorable event took place. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attempt to reduce the French settlement of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel; as did also admiral Knowles, in an attack upon St. Jago de Cuba. Knowles, however, took port Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, and demolished the fortifications. He also defeated, off the Havanna, a Spanish squadron of equal force with his own, and took one ship of the line. At length the definitive treaty was signed, and hostilities ceased in all quarters¹. Oct. 7.

This treaty had for its basis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties from that of Westphalia downward, and, for its immediate object, a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. The principal stipulations provided, that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded as a sovereignty to Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but it was also stipulated that if he or his descendants should succeed to the crown of Spain or that of the Two Sicilies, or die without male issue, those territories should return to the present possessors, the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their descendants;) that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should enjoy the *Assiento*, with the privilege of the annual ship, during the reversionary term of four years, which had been suspended by

¹ *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

the war; (but no mention was made of the right of English ships to navigate the American seas without being subject to search, though the indignation occasioned by the violation of that contested right had solely given rise to the war between Great Britain and Spain;) that all the contracting powers should guarantee to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; and that the Pragmatic Sanction should be solemnly confirmed, with the exception of the cessions made by this and former treaties.

Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which has been so generally, and so unjustly, censured by English writers, who ought rather to have censured the wanton war, and the wasteful and unskilful manner of conducting it. The peace was as good as the confederates had any right to expect. They had been, upon the whole, exceedingly unfortunate. They had never hazarded a battle, in the Netherlands, without sustaining a defeat; and there was no prospect of their being more successful, had they even been reinforced with the thirty thousand Russians hired, while the same generals commanded on both sides. But matters were so ill managed, that the Russians could not have joined them till the season of action would have been nearly over; and had they been ready more early, it is believed that the king of Prussia would have interposed, from a jealousy of the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, on whose embarrassments he depended for the quiet possession of his conquests. The resources of France were indeed nearly exhausted:—and Louis made sacrifices proportioned to his necessities. But great as his necessities were, he could have continued the war another year; and the progress of his arms, during one campaign, it was feared, might awe the Dutch into submission. A confederacy, always ill combined, would have been broken to pieces; and the hostile powers, left separately at the mercy of the house of Bourbon, must have acceded to worse conditions; or England must have hired new armies of mercenaries, to continue a ruinous continental war, in which she had properly no interest.

But although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all circumstances considered, cannot be deemed unfavourable to the confederates, or by any means an ill-timed measure, it must be lamented, that it was the necessary consequence of such a long and fruitless war—of a war, singular in the annals of mankind: by which, after a prodigious destruction of the human species, and a variety of turns of fortune, all parties (the king of Prussia excepted,

whose selfish and temporising policy it is impossible to justify) may be said to have been losers¹.

This reflection more particularly strikes us, in contemplating the infatuation of France and Great Britain; of the former, in lavishing such a quantity of blood and treasure, with a view of giving an emperor to Germany; and of the latter, in neglecting her most essential interests, in withdrawing her attention from Spanish America, and loading her subjects with an immense public debt, in order to preserve entire the succession of the house of Austria! but more especially the folly of both, in continuing the war, for several years, after the object of it was lost on one side, and attained on the other. Nor can we, as Englishmen, in taking such a survey, avoid looking back, with peculiar regret, to the peaceful administration of sir Robert Walpole; when the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain flourished in so high a degree, that the balance of trade in her favour amounted annually, on an average, to four millions sterling².

Let us not, however, my dear Philip, dwell wholly on the dark side of the picture. So great an influx of wealth, without any extraordinary expenditure, or call to bold enterprise, must soon have produced a total dissolution of manners; and the British nation, overwhelmed with luxury and effeminacy, might have sunk into an early decline. The martial spirit which seemed to languish for want of exercise, was revived by the war. The English navy, which had been suffered to go to decay, was restored, and that of France in a great measure ruined. This last advantage was, in itself, worth many millions of treasure; and it was eventually productive of a multitude of beneficial consequences. A desire of re-establishing their marine was one of the chief motives that induced the French ministry to grant favourable conditions to the confederates at Aix-la-Chapelle, as they had already formed the design of extending their settlements both in America and the East Indies.

¹ The settlement procured for Philip in Italy, might have been obtained on the death of the emperor Charles VI., if the house of Bourbon had confined its views merely to that object; and, even if it could not, it was by no means an equivalent for the expenses and losses of the two branches of that house, by land and by sea, during the course of the war. The king of Sardinia, after all his subsidies and some cessions made to him, was a loser; and the queen of Hungary could have dictated better conditions in 1742, when the French were driven out of Bohemia, than those to which she at last acceded. Even the king of Prussia obtained no more than was ceded to him by the treaty of Breslau, concluded in the same year.

² Chalmers's *Estimate*, p. 37.

LETTER XXXI.

History of France, Spain, and Great Britain, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Renewal of Hostilities in 1755, with a general View of the Disputes in the East Indies, and a particular Account of the Rise of the War in America.

THE few years of peace, that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, appear to have been the most prosperous and happy that Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; society was highly polished; and the intercourse of mankind, of nations, and of ranks, was rendered more facile and general than in any former period, by means of new roads, new vehicles, and new amusements. This was more especially the case in France and England, and between the people of the two rival kingdoms; who, forgetting past animosities, seemed only to contend for pre-eminence in gaiety, refinement, and mutual civilities.

That harmony, however, was disturbed for a time, by alarming tumults in England, and by a violent dispute between the clergy and the parliaments of France, which threatened a rebellion in the two kingdoms. But both subsided without any important or lasting consequence. The first were the effects of the wantonness of the common people of England, rioting in opulence and plenty, and not sufficiently restrained by a regular police: the second, the indication of a rising spirit of liberty among the more enlightened part of the French laity; as I shall have occasion to show, in treating of the progress of society¹. In the mean time, the two governments turned on each other a watchful eye; and a long season of tranquillity was expected from the awe with which one half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

The French ministry had formed the plan of dispossessing the English of their principal settlements both in America and the East Indies, or at least of considerably extending their own, when they concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In these ambitious projects they were encouraged by two able and enterprising men—La Galissoniere, governor of Canada, and Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. But in order to ensure success in

¹ See Letter XXXVI.

such distant expeditions, it was necessary for France to restore her marine, and even to raise it, if possible, to a superiority over that of Great Britain. With this view, prodigious efforts were made; naval stores were imported from all the northern kingdoms; a great number of ships were built at Brest and Toulon, and contracts were adjusted with different companies in Sweden, for building eighteen sail of the line.

But nothing is attended with so much expense as the raising or restoring a navy. The French finances, though recruiting fast, were not equal to the extraordinary drain. Repeated attempts were therefore made by the leading men of France, to engage the court of Spain, whose American treasures were now out of danger of being seized, to enter into their ambitious views; and proposals for a family compact, such as has since A. D. been formed, were exhibited to the Spanish ministry by 1753. the duke de Duras, the French ambassador at the court of Madrid, under the direction of the duke de Noailles.

When the duke de Duras insisted on the importance of an union between the two crowns, he was told that such an union was already established by the treaty of Fontainebleau. The duke was unacquainted with the particulars of that agreement; and Saint Contest, the French minister for foreign affairs, seemed inclined to keep him in the dark; but the duke de Noailles furnished him with a copy of it, accompanied with observations, which may be considered as the basis of the formidable family-compact afterwards concluded. He maintained, that the treaty of Fontainebleau—almost all the articles of which referred to the late war, and the execution of which, in various points (such as the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar for Spain), had been rendered impracticable by circumstances—was in a manner annulled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; that a true family compact—such as it was equally the interest of France and Spain to contract for their mutual advantage, which should have for its objects the securing the two branches of the house of Bourbon on the two thrones, the preservation of their dominions, the glory and greatness of both kingdoms—ought not only to be irrevocable, but independent of time and circumstances, and unaffected either by peace or war¹.

These intrigues, however, were defeated by the penetration, vigilance, and address of Mr. Keene, the British minister at

¹ *Mém. Politiq. et Militaires, composés sur les Pièces Originales (recueillies par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles), par M. l'Abbé Millot, tome iv.*

Madrid, supported by the credit of the judicious and intelligent Mr. Wall, a gentleman of Irish extraction, who had long been ambassador from the court of Spain to that of Great Britain; and by the still more powerful influence of Farinelli, the Italian singer, who entirely governed the queen, a princess of Portugal, whose ascendant over her husband was absolute and uncontrollable.

The naturally pacific Ferdinand, though well affected toward the elder branch of his family, was thus induced to disregard all the splendid allurements of the court of Versailles, and all insinuations to the disadvantage of that of Great Britain, as insidious

A.D. attempts to draw him into a new war. In answer to a 1754. memorial presented by the French ambassador, on the subject of the family compact, and accompanied with a letter, in which Louis mentioned the extraordinary patience with which he had suffered the unjust proceedings of England for four years, the Catholic king declared, that he was sensible of the importance of the harmony between the two crowns, and between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; but having always an eye to the general tranquillity of Europe, and the jealousy which a formal compact would excite, he thought it the interest of the two monarchies to avoid such a measure, and that the differences with England would be better composed, through the mediation of the allied powers, than by a threatening league¹.

Withdrawing his heart wholly from ambition, the Spanish monarch therefore placed all his glory in reviving commerce, and encouraging arts and manufactures, too long neglected among his subjects. He disgraced his prime minister Ensenada, for having endeavoured, in concert with the queen-dowager, to alter his measures; and Wall being placed at the head of the administration, the same wise and pacific measures were pursued during the subsequent part of the reign of Ferdinand.

The disgrace of Ensenada baffled the ambitious schemes of the court of Versailles; but the French ministry had already gone too far to be tamely forgiven by Great Britain. They were sensible of it; and as their navy was not yet in full force, they attempted, though too late, to disarm resentment, and conciliate favour by an hypocritical appearance of moderation. Their views were obvious to all Europe. And when they found they could no longer deceive or soothe George II., they hoped to

¹ *Mém. de Noailles, ubi supra.*

intimidate him, by threatening his German dominions, imagining that the apprehensions of this danger would occasion his winking at their encroachments in America, until they were in a condition to avow their purpose. But, before we enter upon that subject, some other topics must be discussed. A view must be taken of the state of the settlements of the rival powers in both extremities of the globe.

Though Madras was restored to the English India Company, and Louisbourg to the French monarchy, agreeably to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, hostilities between the subjects of France and England could not properly be said to have ceased, either in North America or the East Indies. The taking of those two settlements, and the ineffectual attempts to recover them, had irritated the spirit of the two nations. And plans were formed by each, as we have seen, during the latter years of the war, for the conquest of the principal settlements belonging to the other, both in the East Indies and in North America. But those plans proved abortive. And all such ambitious projects seem to have been relinquished on the part of Great Britain, at the peace; for although she unwillingly gave up Louisbourg, her reluctance to its restitution proceeded less from any purpose of extending her possessions in North America, than from an apprehension of the injuries and inconveniences to which it would again expose her colonies, in case of a new war. The views of France were very different, when she, with no less reluctance, restored Madras.

M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, having gallantly defended that place against the British armament under Boscawen, in 1748, immediately conceived the great idea of acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia, and even of reducing, by degrees, the whole peninsula of India Proper. On the two sides of that vast country, which projects into the sea to the extent of a thousand miles, and occupies the space between the widely separated mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, the European companies have established many factories. The west side is called the Malabar, and the east the Coromandel coast. The greater part of this valuable territory was long ruled by the descendants of Timour; but the successors of the Mogul Aurengzeb had sunk into a state of indolence and effeminacy; and, since the irruption of the famous Kouli Khan in 1738, had possessed so little authority, that all the great officers of the crown had become in a manner independent princes. The *soubahdars*, or Mohammedan viceroys of the *soubahs* or provinces;

the *nabobs*, or governors of inferior districts; and even the *rajahs*, or tributary Hindoo princes, now began to consider themselves as absolute sovereigns; paying to the Mogul emperors only such homage as they thought proper, and frequently making war on one another.

The better to carry his grand scheme into execution, Dupleix formed the project of making soubahdars and nabobs, and even of becoming a nabob himself. In this project he was encouraged by his own situation and the circumstances of the times. The late war had brought a number of French troops to Pondicherry, and the state of affairs in India seemed highly propitious to his views.

The soubahdary of the Deccan having become vacant in 1748, and being claimed by different competitors, Dupleix and his associates, after a series of bold enterprises, and remarkable events, in which the intrepidity of the French, the abject condition of the natives, and the weakness and corruption of the court of Delhi, were equally conspicuous, procured that dignity, in 1750, for Muzafa Jung, by the assassination of Nazir Jung. The usurper, early in the following year, was defeated and slain by the nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore, and was succeeded by Salabat Jung.

Before this transfer of the soubahdary, Dupleix had strenuously laboured to procure the nabobship of the Carnatic, in which Pondicherry is situated, for a man whose attachment and submission might be depended upon. The person singled out for that purpose was Chunda Saheb, son-in-law to a former nabob, whom he had hoped to succeed. But the court of Delhi disappointed his ambition, by bestowing the nabobship upon Anver-ud-din Khan, an aged prince, whose fortune had undergone a variety of revolutions. Through the intrigues of Dupleix, however, and the assistance of French troops, Chunda Saheb vanquished his rival (who fell in battle), and obtained a grant of the disputed government from Muzafa Jung.

The new nabob vigorously supported the French in their usurpations. They became masters of a very extensive territory on the coast of Coromandel; and Dupleix had even the address to get himself appointed nabob of the Carnatic during the life of Chunda Saheb. And he and his associates in the East, encouraged in their ambitious views by the court of Versailles, (though afterward timidly abandoned by it,) proposed to obtain from the great Mogul, or from the soubahdar of the Deccan, a

cession of the capital of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Malabar, and to seize the whole country that lies in a triangular form, between Masulipatam, Goa, and Cape Comorin¹.

In the mean time, Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob of Arcot, having taken shelter in Trichinopoly, implored the assistance of the English, with whom his father had lived in friendship, and to induce them to espouse his cause, he represented that his and their interests were intimately connected; that their danger was common, as the French, if suffered to proceed in their conquests, would soon make themselves masters of all the Carnatic. He was accordingly favoured with a reinforcement under Laurence, a brave and experienced officer; and he afterwards entered into a close alliance with the English East India Company, to which he gave up some commercial points, of no small moment, that had been long disputed. In consideration of this alliance, he received a reinforcement under captain Cope; and several actions took place, with great diversity of fortune. At length, in the campaign of 1751, a great military character appeared on that theatre where he was destined to make so distinguished a figure.

This was the famous Clive, who had gone to India as a *writer* or accomptant to the Company, and was at that time commissary of the army. He proposed to divide the French force, by attacking Arcot, the capital of the province. Being furnished with one hundred and thirty European soldiers, he repaired to Madras: and when he had been reinforced, he happily accomplished his enterprise. Arcot was taken. But before the victor had leisure to secure his conquest, or to provide for a retreat, he was besieged in the place by a considerable army under the son of Chunda Saheb.

The ruin of captain Clive and his brave associates seemed now inevitable; and the more timid began to represent it (as posterity certainly would if it had taken place) as the natural consequence, and just punishment, of his presumptuous rashness. By his courage and conduct, however, he repelled all the efforts of the assailants, who were constrained to relinquish their enterprise, after a vigorous siege of fifty days². This defence is memorable in the annals of war. It was maintained with wonderful intre-

¹ These ambitious projects are owned by Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors. And Mr. Orme, one of the most judicious English writers on the affairs of India, imputes to Dupleix yet more extensive plans of dominion.

² Orme's *Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, book iii.

pidity and perseverance against greatly superior numbers, provided with skilful engineers, by a handful of men, under a young commander, who was in a great measure ignorant of the military science, but whose genius suggested such resources as would have been employed by the greatest masters in the art of defending fortified places.

Reinforced by captain Kirkpatrick, Clive pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of Arni, gained a complete victory; but this success did not put an end to the war; for the French and Chunda Saheb quickly assembled a new army, while the English, who persevered in supporting Mohammed Ali, were joined by the rajah of Tanjore and other princes. Major Laurence assumed the chief command of the Company's troops; and Clive, who shared his confidence, acted under him, and continued to give fresh proofs of his military genius. The whole peninsula of India rang with the din of arms, and some of its finest provinces were laid waste. At length, after a variety of efforts, the French and their associates were effectually humbled; and Chunda Saheb being made prisoner by the rajah of Tanjore, that prince, with cruel policy, commanded his head to be struck off, in order to prevent future disputes.

In consequence of this success, the French were stripped of many of their late acquisitions. Mohammed Ali remained undisputed nabob of Arcot; and the ambitious and enterprising Dupleix being recalled in 1754, a cessation of arms took place between the hostile powers, as a prelude to a treaty of peace. A conditional treaty was accordingly negotiated, by which the French and English companies agreed to renounce all oriental government and dignity; never to interfere in any disputes that might arise between the princes of the country; and to deliver up all places, except such as were particularly stipulated to remain in the possession of each company, to the government of Hindostan¹. These stipulations it is unnecessary to enumerate, as they were never fulfilled. Before this treaty had received the sanction of the two companies in Europe, a new war between the two nations broke out in another quarter of the globe.

The province of Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain, as we have seen, at the peace of Utrecht. But the soil being reputed barren, and the climate intensely cold, only a few English families settled in that much contested country, notwithstanding its advantageous situation for the fishing trade, and its abounding

¹ Orme's *Hist.* book iii.

in naval stores; so that the French inhabitants, having taken the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, continued to enjoy their possessions, their civil and religious privileges, under the British government, which exacted from them neither rent nor taxes. As they were exempted from the obligation of carrying arms against the subjects of his most Christian majesty, they assumed to themselves the appellation of *neutrals*. This peaceful character, which they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to maintain, they shamefully violated in 1746, when France attempted to regain possession of the country. Their conduct on that occasion, though not altogether hostile, was inconsistent with their political situation, and sufficiently showed the necessity of peopling Nova Scotia with British subjects; as well to secure its dependence as a colony, as to render it beneficial to the mother-country; the neutrals being clandestinely supplied with French commodities from Canada and Cape Breton¹.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left a number of men, belonging to the sea and land-service, without employment, was highly favourable to such a project. The British ministry accordingly offered great encouragement to all soldiers, sailors, artificers, and reduced officers, who were willing to settle in Nova Scotia. Beside the grant of land, government engaged to pay the charge of their passage, to build houses for them, furnish them with all the necessary utensils for husbandry and the fishery, and defray the expense of subsistence for the first year. In consequence of this liberality, about three thousand families, including many German Protestants, embarked for Nova Scotia. The town of Halifax, intended as a naval and military station, was built, and the harbour fortified.

Now it was that the disputes between France and England, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, (which had not hitherto been distinctly settled, by reason of its neglected condition,) began to be warmly agitated by the commissaries of the two crowns. And new disputes, still more important, arose with regard to the boundaries of the British provinces to the southward, on which the French had attempted systematically to encroach. Their plan was to unite Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts, and to circumscribe the English colonies within that tract of country which lies between the Alleghany or Apalachian

¹ *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

mountains and the sea. The matter will require some elucidation.

Though the British colonists had made few settlements beyond those mountains, the inhabitants of Virginia always considered the extent of their country towards the west to be in a manner unlimited, as it had been settled before the French had even discovered Louisiana. Nor did the people of the two Carolinas ever doubt that they might extend their plantations to the banks of the Mississippi, without encroaching on the property of any European nation. Their only care was to quiet the jealousy of the Indians, who were apt to take alarm at any settlement in the back country, as an invasion of that portion of their native soil which the ambition of the Europeans had still left to them, and which they seemed determined to preserve with the last drop of their blood, in a state of savage nature, for the purposes of the chase, their favourite amusement, and, beside war, their sole occupation. Toward the north, the boundaries of the British colonies, those of Nova Scotia excepted, were better understood, as the province of Canada, on which they bordered, had been longer settled than Louisiana; yet on our northern colonies the French had made encroachments with impunity.

In consequence of these encroachments, and others which seemed necessary to complete her ambitious plan, France would have enjoyed, in time of peace, the whole Indian trade; and the English colonies, in time of war, must have had a frontier of twelve hundred miles to defend against blood-thirsty savages, conducted by French officers, and supported by disciplined troops. It was in effect to attempt the extinction of the British settlements. And yet, without such interior communication as was projected between Canada and Louisiana, the French settlements on the Mississippi and St. Laurence could never, it was said, attain any high degree of consequence or security; the navigation of one of those rivers being at all seasons difficult, and that of the other blocked up with ice, during the winter months, so as to preclude exterior support or relief.

This scheme of usurpation, which is supposed to have long occupied the deliberations of the court of Versailles, was ardently embraced by M. de la Jonquiere, now commander-in-chief of the French forces in North America, and by la Galissoniere, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, who had been appointed governor of New France, in 1747. By their joint efforts, in addition to those of their predecessors, forts were erected along the Great

Lakes, which communicate with the river St. Lawrence, and also on the Ohio and the Mississippi. The vast chain was almost completed, from Quebec to New Orléans, when the court of England, roused by repeated injuries, broke off the conferences relative to the limits of Nova Scotia.

These discussions had been artfully protracted and perplexed by the commissaries of the court of France. They aimed at confining the province of Nova Scotia to that peninsula which is formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the English commissaries made it extend to Pentagoet on the west, and to the banks of the river St. Lawrence on the north, and proved, by incontrovertible arguments, that these were its real limits—boundaries which the French themselves had marked out, when it was restored to them by treaty, under the name of L'Acadie¹.

During those unavailing disputes, the French were carrying on their encroachments in America with great boldness, in different quarters. The rising settlement of Halifax, which they foresaw was intended as a bridle upon them, particularly excited their jealousy; and the active and vigilant governor of Canada, beside erecting several forts within the disputed limits of Nova Scotia, had instigated, first the Indians, and afterward the French neutrals, to take up arms against the British government. Hostilities were likewise commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French surprised a fortified post of some importance, called Logs-town, which the Virginians had established for the convenience of the Indian trade; and, after pillaging its warehouses of skins and European goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of New France, which comprehended in its jurisdiction both Canada and Louisiana, they murdered all the English inhabitants except two, who fortunately escaped to relate the melancholy tale. About the same time, M. de Dontrecœur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, embarked at Venango, a French fort on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced another British post, erected by the Virginians on the forks of the Monaugahela.

Intelligence of these hostilities having reached England, orders were sent to the governors of her colonies to drive the French from their usurpations in Nova Scotia, and repress all their encroachments. But experience soon made the British ministry sensible of the great superiority of the military strength of their

¹ *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.—*Smollett's Hist. of Eng.* vol. xii.

enemies in North America; a superiority arising from the original constitution of the colonies of the two rival kingdoms, and other concurring circumstances. The government of New France, being moved by one spring, was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful but separate governments belonging to Great Britain. The interests of the English colonies were often contradictory; they had frequent disputes with each other, concerning their boundaries; and the inhabitants (little habituated to arms, and divided by religious feuds,) were almost continually quarrelling with their governors, and disputing, on urgent as well as trivial occasions, the prerogatives of the crown, or the rights of the proprietary, as their governments happened to be constituted; in one colony verging toward monarchy, in another bordering on democracy. This want of concert, which had often rendered our more wealthy and populous colonies inadequate to their own defence against a naturally inferior enemy, had long been lamented by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, and was well understood by the French¹. To remedy so palpable a political defect, two measures seemed necessary; namely, a confederacy among all the British governments on the continent of North America, and an alliance with the most considerable Indian nations in their neighbourhood.

As a preliminary step toward such a league, the governor of New York, accompanied by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or *the Indians of the Five Nations*, at Albany. But only a few of their chiefs attended; and it was evident that even those were much cooled in their affection to the English government. This change was occasioned by the powerful but secret influence of the French agents, who had lately employed the most artful means to corrupt the savages. To counteract their intrigues with the five Nations, valuable presents were made, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to such of the Indian chiefs as had thought proper to attend, and liberal promises to the whole. They refused, however, "to take up the hatchet,"—their phrase for going to war. They could only be induced to declare that they were willing to renew their treaties with the king of England, and hoped he would assist them in driving the French from the places they had usurped in the back country.

¹ It was on this principle, and the military spirit of the French colonists, that the old and experienced duke de Noailles encouraged, by memorials, the court of Versailles in its ambitious projects on North America, though under colour of providing for the security of its own settlements. *Mém. tome iv.*

Encouraged even by so slight an indication of friendship, and by the ardour of the people of the different colonies for war, a resolution was adopted by the general assembly at Albany, to support the British claims in every quarter of North America. In consequence of this resolution, major Washington, a provincial officer, was dispatched from Virginia, with four hundred men, to watch the motions of the French, and recover, if opportunity should offer, the places they had taken upon the Ohio. Washington encamped on the banks of that river, where he threw up some works for his security, and hoped to be able at least to defend himself until he should receive a reinforcement, which was speedily expected from New York.

In the mean time, De Villier, the French commandant on the Monaungahela, having in vain summoned Washington to abandon his post, marched up to his entrenchments, at the head of eight hundred men, and attempted to carry the works by assault. But Washington defended himself with so much intrepidity, as to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive: and he obtained honourable terms for himself and his detachment. It was agreed that both parties should retire; the English toward Will's Creek, and the French toward the Monaungahela. But scarcely were the articles signed, when a fresh body of French and Indians appeared; and although De Villier pretended to adhere to his engagements, he very patiently suffered the Indians to harass the English in their retreat, and even to plunder their baggage¹.

When the courts of London and Versailles obtained intelligence of these violent proceedings, both were sensible that a rupture had become inevitable. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of money and stores, to Canada, for the prosecution of her ambitious projects; and orders were sent by Great Britain to her colonial governors to arm the militia, and use their utmost endeavours to repel the hostile attempts of the enemy, until troops could be sent from England. But, while they thus prepared to cut with the sword the Gordian knot of a long and intricate negotiation, the ministers of the two kingdoms breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged, in the name of their masters, reciprocal professions of good will. At length, however, undoubted information having been received in England, A. D. that a powerful armament, destined for America, was 1755.

¹ *Mod. Univ. Hist.*

ready to sail from Brest and Rochefort, an end was put to dissimulation.

Roused at this information, the British government sent out admiral Boscawen, who having taken on board two regiments of soldiers, sailed from Plymouth with eleven ships of the line and one frigate. He directed his course to the banks of Newfoundland: and, in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest, under the command of M. de la Mothe, came to the same latitude, in its passage to Quebec. But the thick fogs, which prevail on those banks, especially in the spring season, prevented the hostile fleets from seeing each other; so that a part of the French fleet made its way immediately by the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Quebec, whilst the other division passed through the dangerous strait of Belleisle, and also reached the place of its destination. Two French ships of the line, however, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, being separated in the fog from both divisions of the fleet, were taken off Cape Race, the most southerly point of Newfoundland, by two vessels of the English squadron.

Although the capture of these two ships, with which the war with France may be said to have commenced, fell greatly short of the expectations formed from the English armament, it served nevertheless to animate the nation. The people now saw that the government was determined to temporise no longer, but to repel with vigour the future encroachments of the French upon the British settlements, and also to chastise them for their past violences. Nor did the Americans fail to exert a proper spirit. The governor and assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the chief of the New England provinces, had passed an act, prohibiting all intercourse with the French at Louisbourg; and they now sent a body of troops to the assistance of Mr. Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan he had formed for driving the French from the posts they had usurped in that province. The enemy had foreseen this attempt, and made preparations to resist it, though without effect. A detachment of regulars and provincials, under lieutenant-colonel Monckton, quickly reduced all the French forts, and restored tranquillity to Nova Scotia.

The British arms were less successful in other parts. While Monckton was employed in Nova Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia for attacking the French posts upon the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general

Braddock, who had been sent from England for that purpose early in the season, with two regiments of foot. After a mortifying delay of some months, occasioned by the negligence of the contractors, he passed the Alleghany mountains at the head of two thousand two hundred men, and rapidly advanced toward Fort du Quesne, the chief object of his enterprise. Being informed, during his march, that the garrison of that fort, which had been lately built on the Ohio near its conflux with the Monaugahela, expected a reinforcement of regular troops, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up his heavy baggage, and proceeded with the main body, for the sake of greater expedition. But unfortunately, through his haste, he did not take sufficient care to reconnoitre the savage country, with which he was as little acquainted as with the nature of an American war, where the danger of surprise is perpetual in the woods, defiles, and morasses. And he was too proud to ask the advice of the provincial officers, for whom he entertained a sovereign contempt, although Hyde Park had hitherto been the only theatre of his own military experience, and the evolutions of a regiment of guards, at a review, his chief essay in arms.

In consequence of these unpropitious circumstances, partly arising from the haughty and obstinate character of the general, partly from his ignorance of the scene of war, and of the nature of the hostilities in which he was engaged, Braddock's enterprise terminated in awful misfortune. As he was advancing with careless confidence, and had arrived within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, he fell into an ambuscade of French and July 9. Indians so artfully planted in a defile, that they could take an unerring aim from behind trees and bushes, without being exposed to any danger. About noon a concealed fire began upon the front and left flank of the English army, which was by that time in the middle of the defile. The vanguard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the British troops being seized with a panic, from the unusual appearance and horrid shrieks of the savages, who now showed themselves, a total rout ensued. Braddock himself, however, seemed insensible to fear. Equally imprudent and intrepid, he resolutely maintained his station, instead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon to scour the thickets with grape-shot; and gave orders to the few gallant officers and soldiers, who remained about his person, to form and advance against the almost invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution. His obstinacy seemed only to increase with the danger by which he was pressed. At length, after having five

horses killed under him, he was mortally wounded in the breast by a musquet-ball. Sir Peter Halket, and other brave officers, with about five hundred private men, were slain on this melancholy occasion¹.

It is worthy of remark, that, in this action, the Virginians (commanded by George Washington) and other provincial troops, whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, were so little affected with the panic that disordered the regulars, that they offered to advance against the enemy, till the fugitives could be brought back to the charge. But that was found impracticable; the terror of the two front regiments being so great, that they did not desist from their flight before they met the rear-division, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions of the principal division, under Braddock, fell into the hands of the victors, with his own cabinet, containing his official letters and instructions, of which the French afterward made great use in their printed memorials and manifestos.

Although no enemy pursued, the whole English army retreated to Fort Cumberland, near Will's Creek; and there it was expected to continue during the latter part of the summer: but the chief command having devolved on general Shirley, in consequence of the death of Braddock, he ordered all the troops fit for service to march to Albany, in the province of New York. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were therefore left, during the remainder of the year, exposed to the barbarous incursions of the French and their scalping Indians.

These colonies were able to have provided effectually for their own defence, had they been unanimous in their measures. But the usual disputes, between their governors and assemblies, defeated every salutary plan proposed for that purpose. The other colonies were less divided in their councils, and more active in their preparations for war. New York and New Jersey, following the example of New England, had prohibited all intercourse with the French settlements in North America, at the same time that their assemblies voted very considerable supplies: and two expeditions were resolved upon; one against Crown Point, the other against the fort of Niagara, both supposed to be built upon the British territories.

The expedition against Crown Point was committed to the care of a gentleman since known by the name of sir William

¹ *Mod. Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.—*Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New York; where he had obtained a considerable estate, and was not only popular among the English inhabitants, but was also esteemed by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had acquired, and whose affections he had won by his humanity and affability. The expedition against Niagara was to be conducted by Shirley in person.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous of the forces for both expeditions; and most of the troops arrived there before the end of June. But, in consequence of various delays, general Johnson could not set out before the end of August. Shirley was sooner ready, though not before the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat had reached Albany. The influence of that intelligence on the spirit of the troops was astonishing. A general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itself from rank to rank, and many soldiers deserted; so that when Shirley arrived at Oswego, he had scarcely the appearance of an army, instead of a force sufficient not only to secure the British settlements in those parts, but to reduce the strong fortress of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the great key of communication between Canada and Louisiana. The attempt was therefore laid aside as impracticable; and Shirley, having marked out the foundations of two new forts in the neighbourhood of Oswego, which stands on the south-east side of lake Ontario, and augmented the garrison of that place to the number of seven hundred men, returned ingloriously to Albany with the wretched remnant of his army¹.

In the mean time general Johnson, having advanced as far as lake George, on which he intended to embark, was unexpectedly attacked in his camp by the baron Dieskau, commander-in-chief of the French forces in Canada, at the head of two thousand men. And although the camp was both naturally and artificially strong, there is reason to believe that the French general might have forced it, if he had not ordered his troops to halt at the distance of about a hundred and fifty yards, whence they began their attack with platoon-firing, which could do little or no execution upon troops defended by a strong breastwork. The English, on the other hand, plied their great guns and musquetry so warmly, that the central body of the enemy, composed of the French

¹ *Mod. Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.—*Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

regulars, began to flag in their fire ; and the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of their army, squatted below bushes, or skulked behind trees. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the English and their Indian allies leaped over the breastwork, and completed the discomfiture of the assailants. Dieskau himself, an old and experienced officer, was mortally wounded ; and above six hundred of his men fell in this attack, and in an engagement with colonel Williams¹. Johnson did not think it prudent to pursue his victory, and it was found too late in the season to proceed to the attack of Crown Point.

Such was the termination of the American campaign, which, all things considered, notwithstanding the defeat of Dieskau, and the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, was estimated to the disadvantage of Great Britain. But that disadvantage was counterbalanced, in the opinion of the nation, by the great number of mercantile ships that had been captured during the summer. No sooner was intelligence brought of the taking of the Alcide and Lys, which, it was thought, would be considered by the court of Versailles as an indirect declaration of war, than an order was issued by the British ministry, to make prize of all French ships on the high seas, wherever they might be found. In consequence of that order, above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France (many of which were very valuable), and about eight thousand seamen, were brought into the ports of England before the end of the year².

Contrary to all political conjecture, the French made no reprisals. As this inaction could not be imputed to moderation, it was justly ascribed to a consciousness of their inferiority at sea, and a desire of interesting in their cause the other European powers. Stunned by the unexpected blow, that impaired their naval strength, and distressed the trading part of the kingdom, they were at a loss how to proceed ; having always flattered themselves, that the anxiety of George for the safety of his German dominions, which they had for some time threatened, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous measures, notwithstanding their encroachments in America. But discovering at length their mistake, by the capture of their ships, and seeing no hopes of restitution, the court of Madrid having declined the dangerous office of mediator, they now resolved to put their threat in

¹ Lond. Gazette, Oct. 30, 1755.

² Smollett, vol. xii.—*Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.

execution; and the greatness of their military preparations, with their vicinity to the country which was to be invaded, seemed to promise brilliant success.

While the flames of war were thus breaking out between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itself. A violent earthquake, which shook Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmost Nov. 1. consternation, and laid the greater part of the city of Lisbon in ruins. About ten thousand persons lost their lives; and many of the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute of the means of subsistence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British parliament, though pressed with new demands, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the sufferers in Portugal. And this noble instance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately dispatched for Lisbon; where they arrived so opportunely as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger or cold.

LETTER XXXII.

A Survey of the State of Europe in 1756, with an Account of the Operations of the general War, till the Conquest of Hanover by the French in 1757.

No sooner did France resolve to invade the electorate of Hanover, and the king of Great Britain to defend it, than both became sensible of the necessity of new alliances. Spain A. D. and Portugal seemed determined to remain neutral, and 1755. the States-general of the United Provinces prudently pursued the same line of conduct. The German powers were less quietly disposed.

The court of Vienna, ever since the treaty of Breslau, but more especially since that of Aix-la-Chapelle, had viewed the rising greatness of the king of Prussia with envious eyes. The empress-queen had never been reconciled to the loss of Silesia, one of the most fertile countries in Europe, and which yielded a

clear annual revenue of four millions of dollars, to a rival whom she personally hated. She therefore entered secretly into a league with the empress of Russia for the recovery of that fine province, and even for stripping the king of Prussia of his hereditary dominions. But this league, into which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was also drawn, did not escape the vigilance of the penetrating Frederic; and time and circumstances enabled him to break its force, before the schemes of his enemies were ripe for execution.

As soon as George saw his German dominions seriously threatened by the French, who had already formed magazines in Westphalia, with the consent of the elector of Cologne, he applied to the court of Vienna for the troops which it was bound to furnish by treaty. But the empress-queen excused herself from fulfilling her engagements, under pretence that the war, having originated in America, did not come within the terms of her treaty with the court of London. Thus disappointed by the imperial court, as well as in his application to the states-general, his Britannic

Sept. majesty concluded a subsidiary treaty with the court of
30. Petersburg; in consequence of which the empress of Russia engaged to hold in readiness for his support an army of fifty-five thousand men, and to put them in motion on the first notice.

The treaty was perfectly agreeable to the court of Vienna, whose secret views it was calculated to promote; as it afforded the Russians a decent pretext for entering Germany, and even encouraged them to such a measure by a liberal subsidy. The two empresses, therefore, flattered themselves, that they should not only be able to accomplish their ambitious project, but to make Great Britain bear the expense of its execution. The ruin of the king of Prussia seemed, to the powers who hoped to divide his dominions, inevitable. His sagacity, however, saved him from the machinations of his enemies, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. Though assured of the friendship of France, and acquainted with her views, he boldly declared, that he would oppose the entrance of all foreign troops within the boundaries of the empire, and consider as enemies those who should attempt to introduce them.

The king of Great Britain, alarmed at this declaration, yet pleased with its professed object, the exclusion of foreign troops,
Jan. 16, concluded at Westminster, on that principle, a treaty
1756. with the king of Prussia; not doubting that he should still be able to preserve a good understanding with the courts of

Vienna and Petersburg. The house of Austria, however, forgetting its jealousy of the family of Bourbon, in its animosity against the Prussian monarch, not only joined Russia and Sweden in a league with France, but partly gave up its barrier in the Netherlands, acquired by torrents of British blood, and millions of British treasure, in order to cement more closely the unnatural confederacy. These extraordinary alliances, signed at Versailles, necessarily drew tighter the bands of union between George and Frederic.

Meanwhile the people of Great Britain, having no confidence in their ministry, were seized with a shameful panic, notwithstanding their naval superiority, at the rumour of a French invasion. That panic was in some measure dissipated, by the arrival of Hanoverian and Hessian forces for the protection of the kingdom. But new jealousies and fears arose, as soon as the alarm of the invasion subsided; the foreign troops being represented, by the dissatisfied part of the nation, as the most dangerous enemies of the state. The attention of the public was, however, called off from that object, for a time, by the news of the invasion of the island of Minorca by a French armament under the duke de Richelieu. This measure was immediately followed, on the part of Great Britain, by a declaration of war against France, which was answered by a similar denunciation from the court of Versailles.

The English populace, who in all great political contests may be said to direct the resolutions of the throne, were pleased at this indication of spirit in the government, as well as at the treaty with the king of Prussia; which was also approved by the parliament, and studiously represented by the court as essential to the support of the Protestant interest in Germany. But some unfortunate events revived the clamour against the ministry, and increased the national despondence, for which there was too much cause: the martial spirit of the people being almost extinct, and the councils of the sovereign divided. These matters will require some explanation.

Various causes had contributed to the decline of the martial spirit in Great Britain. The long peace that succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, the establishment of a standing army, and the consequent neglect of the militia, tended to estrange the people of England from the use of arms. The citizen, having delivered his sword into the hands of the hireling soldier, cheerfully contributed to the expenses of government, and looked up for safety

to a band of mercenaries, whom he considered as dangerous to public liberty.

That disinclination to arms, increased by a lucrative commerce, was encouraged by the court; which, during the whole reign of the first, and great part of that of the second George, was under continued alarm on account of the intrigues of the adherents of the house of Stuart. The war between Great Britain and Spain, which began in the year 1739, revived, in some degree, a martial spirit in the British army and navy. But the body of the people of England, as appeared on the irruption of the Highlanders in 1745, had relinquished all confidence in themselves. Being accustomed to pay for protection, though jealous of their very protectors, they trembled before a small body of desperate mountaineers.

Many motions were made in parliament that the militia might be put on a respectable footing, for the general security of the kingdom. But the jealousy of government long prevented any effectual step from being taken for that purpose; while the peace that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by relaxing still farther the manners of the nation, had rendered the people yet less warlike. And as the small standing army, dispersed over the extensive dominions of the empire, was evidently insufficient for its protection, the unarmed and undisciplined inhabitants of Great Britain were justly filled with terror and apprehension at the prospect of a French invasion.

In this extremity a new militia-bill was framed by Mr. Charles Townshend, and passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the peers. Thus deprived of the only constitutional means of defence by a government that owed its existence to the suffrage of the people, and a family which reigned but by their voice, England submitted to the indignity of calling in foreign mercenaries, for her defence against an enemy, who had often trembled at the shaking of her spear, and whose inferiority, particularly in naval resources, and in pecuniary supplies, seemed to be more remarkable than in any former period.

That indignity was keenly felt by all orders of men in the state; and only the national despondence, and the orderly behaviour of the foreign troops, could have prevented a popular insurrection. The principal servants of the crown, on whom the public indignation chiefly fell, were severely blamed for exposing the kingdom to such an indelible disgrace. The ministry, indeed, had never been properly settled since the death of Mr. Pelham,

in 1754. That statesman, though sufficiently disposed to gratify the passion of his sovereign for German alliances and continental politics, was believed to be, in his heart, a sincere friend to his country, and to the liberties of the people. His brother the duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as first commissioner of the treasury, and who was no less compliant to the court, possessed neither his virtues nor his talents; and Mr. Fox, (who, in 1755, was appointed secretary of state, and was considered as the ostensible minister,) though a man of abilities, was supposed to be destitute of principle. He was besides very unpopular, as he had made the motion in the house of commons for bringing over the Hanoverians, and Hessians, instead of adopting any vigorous measures of internal defence.

The British ministry, however, were blamed for events which it was not altogether in their power to govern, distracted as they were by the national panic. To increase that panic, as well as to conceal the intention of attacking Minorca, the French court had sent large bodies of troops to the maritime provinces, opposite to the coast of England. Nor were its naval preparations less formidable. Beside a great number of frigates and flat-bottomed boats, which might be employed as transports, they had near forty ships of the line at Brest and other ports on the ocean. It was therefore judged prudent to keep a superior English fleet in the Channel; and as it was conjectured that the French could not have a large force at Toulon, only ten English sail of the line, two vessels of forty-eight guns, and three frigates, were sent into the Mediterranean.

The command of this squadron was given to admiral Byng, son of the celebrated naval officer of that name, who had triumphed over the Spaniards in 1718. When Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where his squadron was augmented by one ship of the line, he learned that about fifteen thousand French had landed in Minorca, and were besieging the castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and port of Mahon. Having on board a reinforcement for the garrison of that fortress, he immediately sailed for the place of his destination, after receiving a detachment from the garrison of Gibraltar. He was joined on his way by a frigate, and was particularly informed by her captain of the strength of the enemy's fleet. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and five frigates, under the marquis de la Galissoniere.

On the approach of the English admiral to the harbour of Mahon, he had the satisfaction to see the British colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. But, notwithstanding this

animating circumstance, his attempts for its relief were feeble and ineffectual. In a word, Byng seems to have been utterly discouraged, from the moment he learned the strength of the French fleet, though it was scarcely superior to his own, and to have given up Minorca for lost as soon as he heard that it was invaded. This fully appears, both from his subsequent conduct, and from his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, written before he arrived at Mahon. In that letter, (which forms a kind of prelude to the account of his miscarriage,) after lamenting that he did not reach Minorca before the landing of the French, he expressed himself thus:—"I am firmly of opinion, that throwing men into the castle will only enable it to hold out a little longer, and add to the numbers that must fall into the enemy's hands; for the garrison, in time, will be obliged to surrender, unless a sufficient number of men could be landed to raise the siege. I am determined, however, to sail up to Minorca with the squadron, where I shall be a better judge of the situation of affairs, and will give general Blakeney all the assistance he shall require. But I am afraid all communication will be cut off between us; for if the enemy have erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour (an advantage scarce to be supposed they have neglected) it will render it impossible for our boats to have a passage to the sally-port of the garrison¹."

The admiral's behaviour was conformable to these desponding
 May ideas. When M. de la Galissoniere advanced, Byng dis-
 20. posed his fleet in order of battle; but kept at such a distance, under pretence of preserving the line unbroken, that *his* division did very little damage to the enemy, and his own noble ship of ninety guns was never properly in the engagement. The division under rear-admiral West, however, drove five of the French ships out of the line, and, if supported, would have gained a complete victory. As an apology for not bearing down upon the enemy, Byng is said to have told his captain, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who incurred the censure of a court-martial by his wrong-headed temerity, in rashly violating the laws of naval discipline!

The consequences of this indecisive action were such as had been foreseen by those who were acquainted with the sentiments of the English commander. Byng, though in some measure victorious, as the French admiral bore away to support that

¹ Byng's *Letter* from the bay of Gibraltar, May 5, 1757. "If I should fail in the relief of Port Mahon," adds he, "I shall look upon the security and protection of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down *here* with the squadron."

part of his line which had been broken by West, and although the English fleet had lost only about fifty men, immediately retired to Gibraltar, as if he had sustained a defeat. The reasons assigned for this retreat, in which a council of war concurred, were, his inferiority to the enemy in number of men and guns, his apprehensions for the safety of Gibraltar, and the impossibility of relieving Minorca; though it appeared on the fullest evidence, that no attempt to afford such relief was made, and that the landing of troops, at the sally-port of the castle, was very practicable¹.

The French fleet, on the retreat of Byng, resumed its station off the harbour of Mahon. And the garrison of fort St. Philip being thus deprived of all hope of relief, general Blakeney surrendered the place, and with it the island of Minorca, after a siege of above seven weeks. The defence was not so vigorous as might have been expected from the strength of the works, from the advantageous situation of the castle or citadel, and the rocky nature of the soil, which rendered it almost impracticable to open trenches. But the garrison was too small by one third, not exceeding three thousand men: the besiegers, who were numerous at first, were repeatedly reinforced after the retreat of the English fleet; and their train of artillery was awfully formidable, consisting of near one hundred pieces of battering cannon, beside mortars and howitzers. The duke de Richelieu pushed his approaches with ardour, and led on his troops to several fierce assaults. Therefore, although only two of the outworks were taken when the capitulation was signed, and but one hundred of the garrison slain, while the French had lost about four thousand men, the conduct of Blakeney, when contrasted with that of Byng, appeared to such advantage, that he became extremely popular on his arrival in England, notwithstanding his want of success, and was raised by his sovereign to the peerage.

The fortune of admiral Byng was very different. The public cry was loud against him; and he was odious to the ministry, on whom he had endeavoured to throw the blame of his miscarriage. He was superseded by sir Edward Hawke in the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, and brought home under arrest to be tried for his life.

The news of the reduction of Minorca transported the French

¹ See the *Examination of Lord Blakeney and Mr. Boyd in the printed Trial of Admiral John Byng*.

populace, and even the court, with the most extravagant joy and exultation. Nothing was to be seen in France but triumphs and processions; nor any thing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical compliments to the victor. The people of England were depressed in an equal degree, when informed of the loss of so important an island; but, instead of ascribing it to the number and valour of the French soldiers and sailors, or to the skill of their commanders, the great body of the nation imputed it to the cowardice of Byng and the improvidence of the ministry.

While an inquiry into the affair was clamorously demanded, a general hope prevailed, that misfortune would not extend to every scene of action. And very sanguine expectations were entertained of success in North America, where the war had originated, and where our most essential interests were supposed to be at stake. Orders had been issued for raising, in the English colonies, four battalions of regulars, which were soon completed, and disciplined by experienced officers; fresh troops were sent from the mother-country; and the government resolved to take upon itself the whole weight and conduct of the war in America, on account of the divisions in the provincial assemblies.

The plan of operation for the campaign was great, yet promising and flattering. It was proposed to reduce the fortress of Niagara, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new posts upon the Ohio; to besiege Fort du Quesne, the principal of those posts; to take Ticonderago and Crown Point, that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of invasion, and Great Britain acquire the command of Lake Champlain, over which forces might be transported for the facilitation of any attempt upon Quebec. The rendezvous was fixed at Albany; and Abercrombie, arriving at that station in June, assumed the command of the forces there assembled. They consisted of about four thousand regulars, including the American battalions; four independent companies belonging to the colony of New York; a regiment of militia from New Jersey; a formidable body of men raised in New England, and four companies levied in North Carolina.

The English colonies toward the south, especially Virginia and Maryland, had suffered so severely from the ravages of the French and Indians, to which they were still exposed, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves.

The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of whom Quakers form the most considerable body, though exposed to similar barbarities, could hardly be prevailed upon to make any provision for their own security; but, instead of sending troops to the general rendezvous, when smitten on one side of the head, they presented the other to the savage assailant. And the number of negro slaves, in South Carolina, above the due proportion of white inhabitants, was so great, that the assembly judged it inconsistent with the safety of the province to spare any part of their domestic force for distant enterprises.

The army assembled at Albany, however, though perhaps too small to complete the extensive plan of operations, was of sufficient strength to have performed essential service, if it had entered immediately upon action. But as Abercrombie delayed the execution of every part of that plan until the arrival of the earl of Loudon, (which proved too late in the season for any thing of consequence to be afterwards effected, or even undertaken with a probability of success,) another campaign was lost to Great Britain, through neglect and procrastination; while time was afforded to the French, not only to take precautions at their leisure against any future attempt on their back settlements, but to proceed unmolested in their scheme of encroaching on the British colonies, and reducing all our fortifications in the neighbourhood of the Lakes. The marquis de Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau in the command of the forces in Canada, and who possessed a bold military genius, accordingly invested Oswego, and reduced it in a few days. About sixteen hundred men, who formed the garrison, were made prisoners of war: and beside seven armed vessels, and two hundred *bateaux*, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the enemy¹.

So unfortunate for Great Britain was the issue of this campaign in North America! Nor did our affairs wear a more pleasing aspect in the East Indies. Admiral Watson, who commanded the British fleet in those latitudes, had indeed, in the beginning of the year, reduced Gheriah, the principal fortress of Tulagee Angria, a piratical prince, whose ancestors had established themselves on the coast of Malabar, and who had become rich and powerful by pillaging European vessels. And the English factories at Madras and Fort St. David were also able to maintain their ground against the French and their Indian

¹ *Gazette de Paris*, Oct. 30, 1756.

allies. But mischief and havoc unexpectedly fell upon a place that was thought to be in the most perfect security.

The great commerce of England to the East Indies, since the middle of the eighteenth century, and her valuable territorial acquisitions in Bengal, where this blow was struck, provoke me to attempt a description of that rich country, whose memorable revolutions I shall have occasion to relate.

Bengal, the most easterly province of Hither India, lies between the twenty-first and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, and extends from east to west about six hundred miles. As Egypt owes its fertility to the Nile, Bengal is indebted for its opulence to the Ganges. This magnificent body of water, after having received in its course (winding from the mountains of Thibet to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude) seven large rivers and many inferior tributary streams, enters the province of Bengal near the mountain of Tacriagully, whose foot it washes, and whence it runs in a south-east direction to the sea.

About a hundred miles below Tacriagully, the Ganges stretches towards the south an arm, which is called the river Cossimbuzar, and fifty miles lower, another arm, called the Jelingheer, which, after flowing about forty miles to the south-west, unites with the Cossimbuzar at Nuddeah. The river, formed by the junction of the Cossimbuzar and Jelingheer, is sometimes called the *Little Ganges*, but more commonly the Ougli; which, after flowing one hundred miles in a southern direction, enters the sea at the island of Sagor.

The principal stream, which, for the sake of distinction, is called the *Great Ganges*, continues to receive, from the Cossimbuzar to the middle of the twenty-second degree of latitude, a multitude of small rivers. There its flood is joined by the Burampooter, a yet greater river, which rises on the eastern side of those vast mountains, that send forth the Ganges to the west. The conflux is tumultuous, and has formed several large islands between the point of junction and the open sea, which the united waters reach about thirty-five miles lower.

Tacriagully is the termination of a stupendous range of mountains, accompanying the course of the Ganges from the west. And about fifty miles beyond Tacriagully, where these mountains begin to form a boundary of Bengal on the western side of the Ganges, another mountainous range strikes from the south, but in a curve swelling westward, which terminates within sight of the sea, about thirty miles from Balasore. To the north, those mountains divide Bengal from the southern division of

Bahar; and, to the south, they seem the natural separation of Bengal from Orissa. Eastward, the province extends as far as Rangamatty, in the kingdom of Assem.

The sea coast of Bengal, between the mouth of the Ougli and that of the Great Ganges, extends from east to west, one hundred and eighty miles; and the whole is a dreary inhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible to ships of considerable burden. For many miles within land, the country is intersected by numerous channels, through which both rivers disembogue themselves by many mouths, into the ocean; and the islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied chiefly by beasts of prey. But the country higher up is very differently inhabited, and is so desirable that it has been called the *Paradise of India*.

The triangle formed by the Cossimbuzar and Ougli rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea coast to the south—and also a large tract, on each hand, to the north of this Delta—are as level as the Lower Egypt, and do not exhibit a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould, lying on a deep sand; which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of that extensive plain as are not watered by the Ganges or its branches, are fertilized by many other streams from the mountains: and for the space of three months, from May to August, when the sun is mostly vertical, heavy rains fall every day¹.

In consequence of these advantages of soil and climate, the inhabitants of Bengal are enabled to subsist by less labour than the people of most other countries. Rice, which forms the basis of their food, is produced in such plenty, that it is sold at a price remarkably low. Many other grains, and a vast variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices that enter into their diet, are raised with equal ease, and in the greatest abundance. Salt is found in the islands near the sea, and the sugar-cane thrives every where. Fish swarm in all the streams and ponds; and the cattle, though small, are incredibly numerous. Hence the province is extremely populous; and the labours of agriculture being few and light, many hands are left for the fine fabrics of the loom, the principal branch of oriental industry. More pieces of cotton and silk are accordingly manufactured in Bengal, notwithstanding the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants,

¹ Orme, book vi.

who are utterly destitute of all vigour of mind¹, than in any other country of Hindostan of much greater extent; and as these manufactures are chiefly intended for exportation, and are sold at a lower rate than in other territories, the trade of Bengal has ever excited the avidity of the Europeans, since navigation opened them a passage thither by the Cape of Good Hope.

As early as the year 1640, the agents of the English India company obtained leave to build a factory at the town of Ougli, then the principal port in the province of Bengal. But the officers of the Mogul government superintended the progress of the buildings, and objected to every thing which resembled, or might be converted into a station of defence; the court of Delhi at that time disdaining to allow, in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any sovereignty but its own, or the erection of a single bastion by any European power². Nor does this contradict what has been formerly said of the first European settlements on the sea coast of Hindostan; the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, having either been purchased or wrested from princes who had not submitted to the Great Mogul.

The same jealous policy that prohibited the English from erecting fortifications, also forbade the introduction of military force. An ensign and thirty men, to do honour to the principal agents, were all the troops allowed to be kept by them at Ougli. In this naked condition, and under the pressure of frequent fines and exactions, the factory continued until the year 1686; when, as a remedy against such arbitrary impositions, an attempt was made by the company to establish a defensive post by force of arms. The enterprise failed; yet the English agents were permitted to settle a factory at Soota-nutty, on the same river, in 1689; and, in the following year, they received a *phirmaun*, or patent, from Aurungzebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, on condition of paying annually a stipulated sum.

These indulgences were granted to the English from an apprehension of their utter abandonment of the trade of Bengal, as they had removed to Madras after the miscarriage of their armament. And other causes contributed to fix them more firmly in that province. In 1696, the rajahs on the western side of the Ougli took up arms; and the principal part of the nabob's forces

¹ This languor may be ascribed partly to the climate, and partly to the vegetable diet of the inhabitants, whose religion precludes them from the use of animal food.

² Orme, ubi sup.

being then with the court at Dacca, the rebels, headed by the rajah of Burdwan, made great progress before a body of troops, sufficient to cope with them, could be assembled. They took Ougli, plundered Mourshed-abad, and thence proceeded to Rajmahal.

On the rise of this rebellion, all the European factories in the province of Bengal augmented their soldiery, and declared for the nabob; earnestly requesting, at the same time, his permission to put their several settlements in a posture of defence against the common enemy. The nabob, in general terms, desired them to provide for their safety. An apology for such a measure was what they had long sought. Happy, therefore, in being furnished with an order so conformable to their views, the Dutch raised walls with bastions round their factory near Ougli. The French with equal diligence and greater skill, fortified their settlements at Chandernagore; and the English, as their bulwark, erected Fort William at Calcutta, a small town where they had formed their principal magazines, not far from Soota-nutty¹. Such was the origin of the three European fortifications in the province of Bengal.

From the time that the English established themselves at Calcutta, which they were soon after permitted to purchase, with its territory, from the zemindar or Indian proprietor, the trade of the company continued to flourish in spite of many discouragements from home; and the town increased wonderfully in population, notwithstanding the jealousy of the soubahdar. The company's agents had even the address to obtain from the Great Mogul, in 1717, the privilege of passports or *dustucks*; which being recognized throughout the province of Bengal, their goods were thenceforth exempted from customs, and no longer liable to be stopped by the officers of the revenue.

This was an extraordinary indulgence, and contributed greatly to facilitate and augment the trade of the English; more especially as the other European companies were not entitled to the same indulgence, nor any of the natives, except two or three principal merchants, who purchased it from the soubahdar at an exorbitant price². But the envy and jealousy occasioned by those advantages, excited against the English the odium both of the European and country powers; and that jealous hate in the latter brought on the catastrophe, which makes this digression necessary.

¹ Orme, book vi.

² Id. *ibid*.

On the death of the soubahdar Aliverdi, who had governed with great ability for many years the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the supreme authority devolved, in 1756, upon his grandson, Souraj-ud-dowlah, a weak and tyrannical prince. Equally timid, suspicious, and cruel, the new viceroy determined to take vengeance on all whom he feared, and to owe his security to the inability of any power within his jurisdiction to hurt him. The English had particularly awakened his apprehensions by the taking of Gheriah, by their increasing strength in the Carnatic, and by the growth of their settlement at Calcutta.

Other circumstances conspired to point the resentment of the soubahdar immediately against the English factory at Calcutta. He was informed, and not altogether without foundation, that the agents of the company had abused their privilege of *dustucks*, by making them subservient not only to the importation of European, and the exportation of Indian goods, but to the importation of commodities from other parts of Hindostan, and even of the same province, to the great diminution of the public revenue, and in direct contradiction to the purpose for which they had been granted, the encouragement of foreign commerce. He therefore resolved to procure from the court of Delhi a revocation of those passports, or to deny their validity, and also punish the abuse. And the refusal of the governor and council of Calcutta to deliver up to him a noble refugee, who had taken shelter with all his treasures within their presidency, confirmed him in his hostile resolution.

Enraged at this incomppliance, though seemingly occasioned by misapprehension, Souraj-ud-dowlah, who had assembled an army of fifty thousand men with an intention of striking a blow in a distant quarter, ordered it to march without delay toward Calcutta; where the English, he was informed, were erecting new fortifications. He himself headed his troops; and advanced with such rapidity, that many of them died of fatigue. Sufficient force, however, remained for the accomplishment of his enterprise. After attempting in vain to oppose the enemy in the streets and avenues, the English inhabitants took refuge in Fort William; a place in itself by no means strong, and defended only by a small garrison. Conscious of his inability to hold out, Mr. Drake, the governor, called, at two in the morning, a council of war, to which all except the common soldiers were admitted; and after debating long, whether they should immediately escape to the company's ships in the river, or defer their retreat until the following night, the council broke up, without coming to any positive de-

termination. But as the first proposal was not carried into execution, the second was generally understood to have been embraced.

Meanwhile the besiegers vigorously pushed their attacks, and hoped every moment to carry the fort by storm. Filled with terror, and unacquainted with military service, many of the company's servants, and even some members of the council, went off to the ships. A party of militia (it was observed) that had conducted the women on board the preceding night, did not return. They who remained in the fort looked at each other with wild affright. The governor, who had not hitherto seemed destitute of courage, now panic-struck at the thought of falling into the hands of Souraj-ud-dowlah, who had threatened to put him to death, hurried into a boat that lay at the wharf, without apprising the garrison of his intention. The military commandant, and several other persons of distinction, pusillanimously followed his example, and accompanied him to one of the ships.

The astonishment of the garrison at this desertion could only be equalled by their indignation. Nothing was heard, for a time, but execrations against the fugitives. At length, however, the tumultuous concourse proceeded to deliberation: and Mr. Pearkes (the oldest member of the council left in the fort) having resigned his right of seniority to Mr. Holwell, that gentleman was unanimously invested with the chief command. The number of militia and soldiery now remaining did not exceed two hundred. The new commander, therefore, having seen some boats return to the wharf, locked the gate leading to the river, in order to prevent future desertions.

The same promptitude and spirit distinguished Mr. Holwell's whole conduct. But all his gallant efforts were found insufficient to preserve the fort. Soon convinced of their weakness, and conscious of their danger, the garrison threw out signals for the ships or boats to repair to the wharf. That rational hope of escape, however, failed them. One ship, having struck on a sand-bank, no vessel offered afterward to yield them a retreat. As a last resource, Mr. Holwell threw a letter from the June ramparts, intimating a desire of capitulation; many of 20. the garrison having been killed since the departure of the governor, and more of the survivors thrown into a state of despondency. Encouraged by this indication of weakness, the besiegers made a fierce but ineffectual assault; after which one of their officers appeared with a flag of truce. It was answered by another from the fort. A parley ensued; but before any

articles of capitulation could be settled, the troops of the soubahdar forced open one of the gates, and took possession of the place¹.

After this success, Souraj-ud-dowlah entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by most of the great officers of his army. Having given directions for securing the company's treasure, he seated himself, with all the state of an Asiatic conqueror, in the principal apartment of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. On the first appearance of that gentleman, the tyrant expressed violent resentment at the presumption of the English, in daring to resist his power, and chagrin at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury. Softened, however, in the course of three conferences, he dismissed the English chief, as he thought proper to call him, with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Notwithstanding these assurances, Mr. Holwell and his unfortunate companions (whom he found, on his return, surrounded by a strong guard) were forced into the common dungeon of the fort, usually called the *Black Hole*, about eight o'clock in the evening; and in that dungeon, only eighteen feet square, were they condemned to pass the night in one of the hottest climates of the earth, and in the hottest season of that climate. They could receive no air but through two small grated windows, almost totally blocked up by a neighbouring building, which deprived them of the common benefit even of the sultry atmosphere. Their distress was inexpressible, in consequence of the heat and the pressure of their bodies, as soon as the door was shut. They attempted to force it open, but without effect. Rage succeeded disappointment. The keenest invectives were uttered, in order to provoke the guard to put an end to their wretched lives, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some, in the agonies and torment of despair, were blaspheming their Creator with frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from Heaven in wild and incoherent prayers.

Mr. Holwell, who had taken his station at one of the windows, exhorted his fellow-sufferers to composure, as the only means of surviving till morning. In the mean time he addressed himself to an old Jemetdar or serjeant, who seemed to have some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising him a thousand rupees, if he would separate them into different apartments. He retired to procure an order for that purpose; but returned in a few

¹ Orme, ubi sup.

minutes, with a sorrowful face, and said it was *impossible*! Misapprehending his meaning, Mr. Holwell proffered him a larger sum. He retired a second time, and soon returned with the same woe-foreboding look: while the prisoners rent the air with their cries to the guard to open the dungeon, and, to relieve their thirst, even drank the liquid that exuded from their pores.

"Unhappy men!" said the Jemetdar, "submit to necessity. The soubahdar is asleep!—and what slave dares to disturb his repose?" A stronger picture of despotism was never drawn, or a deeper sense of human misery exhibited.

All sentiments of friendship, compassion, or respect, were henceforth extinguished in the breasts of the devoted prisoners. No one would give way for the relief of another; but every one employed his utmost strength to obtain a place near the windows, or to maintain that station. The feeble sunk, never more to rise, and were trampled upon by their stronger companions. The havoc of death and the struggle for air continued until morning appeared; when, the door being opened, of one hundred and forty-six persons thrust into the Black Hole, only twenty-three were alive. And Mr. Holwell, and three others who survived, were condemned to farther sufferings. They were sent prisoners to Mourshed-abad, the capital of the province, in hopes of extorting from them, by cruel usage, a confession respecting the factory's hidden treasures. Calcutta was pillaged, and Fort William secured by a garrison of three thousand men; and the affairs of the company seemed to be finally ruined in Bengal¹.

The accumulated misfortunes of Great Britain did not, however, discourage the king of Prussia, her brave ally, from taking vigorous measures in order to defeat the designs of his numerous enemies, or to acquire that ascendant in Germany which he had long been ambitious of attaining, and which had now become in some degree necessary for his own preservation, as well as to enable him to fulfil his political engagements with his Britannic majesty. Nor did George fail to act with proper dignity. He ordered his electoral minister to deliver a memorial to the diet at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise at finding his late treaty with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and terror; and stating that, as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and the empress-queen, notwithstanding her obligations to Great

¹ Holwell's *Narrative*.—Orme, book vii.

² Id. *ibid*.

Britain, had denied him the stipulated succours, he had negotiated that alliance merely for the security of his own dominions, and the preservation of the tranquillity of the empire, neglected by its head¹.

The behaviour of his Prussian majesty was still more stately. Having ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand proper assurances concerning the hostile preparations on the frontiers of Silesia, and receiving only evasive answers, he resolved to anticipate the designs of his enemies, by carrying the war into their dominions, instead of coolly waiting its approach in his own. And he called heaven and earth to witness that the empress-queen alone would be chargeable with all the innocent blood that might be spilled, and the melancholy consequences that must attend the prosecution of hostilities, by refusing the declaration which he had required; namely, "that she had no intention of attacking him either this year or the next." He had constituted her, he said, arbitress of peace or war; and her military preparations and mysterious replies left him no room to doubt which part of the alternative she had chosen, though she declined a liberal and open decision of the momentous question.

In order to invade Bohemia with success, it was not only convenient for him, but almost necessary, to take possession of Saxony. Having projected the invasion of that kingdom, and hoping to be able to reduce it to obedience before the empress-queen could assemble her troops, or the other confederates should be in a condition to attack him, he therefore resolved to occupy the electorate; a measure in which he thought himself justified, as he knew that Augustus had concurred in all the schemes formed by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg for the ruin of the house of Brandenburg, and waited only for an opportunity of co-operating also in the execution of them. He entered Saxony with seventy battalions and eighty squadrons, divided into three bodies, which pursued different routes, and assembled, by concert, in the neighbourhood of Dresden.

Unable to resist so powerful a force, the elector abandoned his capital, and joined his small army of fourteen thousand men, encamped at Pirna. This camp, which was deemed impregnable, he had not chosen merely on account of its strength, but also because he thought its position secured him a communication with Bohemia, whence only he could expect succour, and whither

¹ Printed *Memorial*.

he might retire in case of necessity. Relying on these advantages, on the attachment of his subjects, and his intimate connection with the court of Vienna, he scornfully rejected the reasonable requisition of Frederic, that as a proof of the sincerity of his professions of neutrality, he should withdraw his army from the strong post which it occupied, and order the troops to return to their former quarters, in different parts of the electorate.

This refusal induced the king of Prussia to alter his plan of operations. As he had no magazines in Bohemia, he did not think it safe to penetrate into that kingdom, while the Saxons were masters of the Elbe behind him. He therefore resolved to surround their camp, and (as he could not hope to force it) compel them to surrender, by cutting off their supplies, before he proceeded in his expedition. With this view, he encamped at Zedlitz, in the neighbourhood of Pirna, and soon reduced the Saxon army to the greatest distress. Meanwhile he sent two large detachments, one under Keith, the other under Schwerin, to the frontiers of Bohemia, to overawe the Austrians, and deprive them of the power of making any vigorous efforts for the relief of the Saxons, by obliging them to divide their forces. Keith took post at Jornsдорff, and Schwerin at Aujest, opposite Konigingratz.

This was a cautious rather than a great line of conduct. Had Frederic hastened into Bohemia with the main body of his army (as soon as Augustus had rejected his propositions of neutrality), leaving twenty thousand men to block up the Saxon camp at Pirna, he might have made himself master of the whole kingdom, before the Austrians could have been in a condition to oppose him. Olmutz in Moravia, and even the Bohemian capital, must soon have fallen into his hands, both being yet unprovided against a siege¹; whereas, by the plan which he pursued, the empress-queen had leisure to assemble two considerable armies in the threatened realm, and to put its principal towns in a state of

¹ *Hist. of the late War in Germany*, by major-general Lloyd, who served several campaigns in the Austrian army, and afterward in that of prince Ferdinand. "The conquest of these two places," adds this intelligent author, "would have enabled his Prussian majesty to begin the next campaign in Moravia, at least, and perhaps on the Danube, with the siege or blockade of Vienna; whence he might, without any risk, have sent a considerable corps to the frontiers of Hungary, and the army destined to guard Saxony into the empire, between the sources of the Maine and the Upper Danube. The first would have hindered the empress-queen from receiving any succours from these countries; and the last would have effectually prevented those princes, who were the king of Prussia's enemies, from uniting against him."

defence. One of these armies, commanded by Piccolomini, took post at Koniggratz, in order to oppose Schwerin; the other, under count Brown, remained for a time at Kolin, with orders to march to the relief of the Saxon army, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made for that purpose.

These preparations being completed, the count quitted his camp at Kolin, and advanced to Budin on the Egra, to concert measures with the Saxons for accomplishing their rescue. Frederic, now seemingly sensible of his mistake in not having entered Bohemia, left a body of troops to continue the blockade of Pirna, joined Keith's division, and resolved to give battle to the Austrian army under Brown. The desired opportunity he soon found.

The Austrians having passed the Egra, and encamped at Lowositz, his Prussian majesty thought it necessary to pass the mountains of Bascopal and Kletchen, to put the defiles behind him; and occupied the avenues leading to the plain before Brown's camp, that he might without difficulty attack him, if he should judge it convenient. He accordingly left Tirmitz, to which he had advanced from Jorndorff, and soon arrived at Wilmina. Fearing that the enemy, decamping in the night, might occupy the mountains of Radostitz and Lobosch, and, by such a movement, not only render it impossible for him to attack them, but even oblige him to fall back to Ausig, he resumed his march, and pre-occupied those mountains.

Oct. The Prussian army, consisting of sixty-five squadrons

1. and twenty-six battalions, with one hundred and two pieces of cannon, appeared at day-break in order of battle; the infantry in two lines, and the cavalry in three behind. The right wing of the infantry was posted in the village of Radostitz, at the foot of the hill of the same name. Before that hill rises another, called the Homolkaberg; which, although considerably lower than the former, is yet so high as to command all the plain below, as far as Sulowitz. To this hill the king afterwards extended his right wing, and placed a battery of heavy cannon upon it. His centre occupied the valley formed by the Homolkaberg and the Loboschberg; and on the latter his left wing was stationed.

The Loboschberg is a remarkably high and steep mountain, and extends into the plain almost to Lowositz. That side of it is covered with vineyards, which are separated by stone walls. In these count Brown had posted a large body of Croats, who were sustained by several battalions of Hungarian infantry.

Parallel to those mountains, and at the distance of some hundred yards from the foot of them, runs a marshy rivulet, which in many places spreads itself in the plain, and forms a kind of lake. Between this rivulet and the hills, on which the Prussian army was formed, strikes a very deep ravine, excavated by land floods, from Sulowitz to Lowositz. The only passes over that ravine and rivulet are at these two villages, and by a narrow stone bridge between them. On a rising ground behind the rivulet appeared the Austrian army, consisting of seventy-two squadrons and fifty-two battalions, with ninety-eight pieces of cannon. It was formed in two lines; the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, as usual, on the wings. A little before the commencement of the action, however, the cavalry of the right wing marched forward, and occupied the plain to the left of Lowositz. That village the count had ordered to be fortified, and had placed some of his best infantry in it, with a great quantity of artillery. He had likewise raised a strong battery, and some redoubts, on the plain before it. By these means he thought he had rendered his right inaccessible, as his centre and left, covered by the marshy rivulet and the ravine, certainly were. He therefore resolved to wait battle in that position.

The action began about seven in the morning, between the left wing of the Prussians and the troops which Brown had posted on the Loboschberg. But in consequence of a thick fog, through which nothing could be seen at the distance of a hundred yards, no considerable advantage was gained on either side till near noon, when the fog began to clear up. It was soon entirely dissipated; and the hostile armies stood in full view of each other, agitated with anxious hopes and fears. The king, having examined the Austrian army for some time, judged its right to be the weakest, for many reasons, but chiefly because it was commanded from the Loboschberg. He therefore ordered his second line to enter into the first, with the cavalry in the centre, that he might occupy the Homolkaberg and Loboschberg in force. This being readily executed, the whole army was put in motion, inclining always to the left, whence the projected attack was to be made; and the left wing being reinforced, and protected by the fire of a numerous and well-served artillery, marched down the Loboschberg toward Lowositz, and drove the Croats out of the vineyards into the plain.

Count Brown, believing that the fortune of the day depended on his being able to keep possession of Lowositz, threw almost his whole right wing into it. The action, therefore, was on this

spot obstinate. At length, however, it was determined in favour of the Prussians. Seeing his right wing forced to give way, the Austrian general ordered his left to advance through Sulowitz, and attack the enemy's right. This it endeavoured to execute, but in vain. Only a small number of the infantry could pass the village; and these were so galled by the fire of a powerful artillery, that, being unable to form on the other side, they fell back in confusion. Brown was now under the necessity of attempting a retreat; which he conducted in a manner so masterly that no effort was made to annoy him.

The Austrians, however, though thus compelled to quit the field, were not totally defeated. The count took a new position, the strength of which obliged Frederic to remain content with the advantage he had gained, and to keep his line behind Lowositz. While the enemy continued in that position, his Prussian majesty had not effected his design, for it was still possible for the Austrians to attempt the relief of the Saxons.

From his embarrassing situation the king's superior talents happily extricated him. He sent the prince of Bevern with a large body of horse and foot to Tischiskovitz, as if he had proposed to turn the enemy's left flank, and to hem them in between the Elbe and the Egra. This manœuvre had the desired effect. Afraid of the consequence which might naturally be expected from such a motion, Brown hastened to repossess the Egra, and occupied his old camp at Budin¹.

Thus ended the battle of Lowositz, which continued about eight hours. The loss on each side was nearly equal; and both parties claimed the victory: but, if we judge by effects, the only means of settling such doubtful questions, the Prussians had a preferable right to the honour of the day. The Austrians certainly intended to disengage the Saxons, and with that view advanced to Lowositz. The king could have no other object immediately in view, than that of baffling this scheme. He accomplished his aim by the battle of Lowositz, and by the subsequent movement, which drove the Austrians behind the Egra. Had the Prussians been more fully victorious, or had their sovereign pursued a bolder line of conduct, they would have been enabled to take up their winter-quarters in Bohemia.

Unable to relieve the Saxons on the left of the Elbe, Brown resolved to try his fortune on the right. He accordingly passed that river, and advanced to Lichtenhayn. The Saxons also

¹ Lloyd, ubi supra.

passed the Elbe, near Ebenhert, at the foot of the mountain of Lilienstein, where they found themselves encompassed by inextricable difficulties. The Prussians had taken possession of all the defiles before them; the bridge over the Elbe was broken down behind them; and the Austrian general gave notice that he could not march to their assistance. They had no choice left, but to perish or become prisoners of war. They embraced the latter part of the alternative; and Augustus, who had taken refuge in the castle of Konigstein, was constrained to abandon his hereditary dominions, and retire into Poland.

The king of Prussia having thus executed one part of his military plan, commanded his army to quit Bohemia, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony. Now it was that the victorious monarch, in order to justify his rigour toward the unhappy Saxons, on whom he levied heavy contributions, at the same time that he seized the public revenues, made himself master of the archives of Dresden; and even ordered the secret cabinet, in which the papers relative to foreign transactions were kept, to be forcibly opened, although the queen of Poland placed herself against the door.

This violence has been generally reprobated, but, in my opinion, unjustly. Though perfectly acquainted with the laws of politeness, and sufficiently disposed to observe them, Frederic did not allow them to interfere with the rigid maxims and more important laws of policy. He rightly considered, that the passionate obstinacy of the queen of Poland, in personally opposing the command of the conqueror, deprived her of all the respect that was due to her sacred person; as a princess of her years and experience could not fail to know, that his desire of possessing the papers in question must increase in proportion to her zeal to protect them. She drew the insult upon herself; and, even if we admit that her death, which happened soon after, was A.D. the consequence of such insult, the king of Prussia was 1757. not chargeable with it. Her part was submission.

In the papers seized, the enlightened potentate, whose sensibility of heart perhaps did not always equal his liberality of mind, found abundant proofs of the conspiracy formed against him by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and of the share which the court of Dresden had taken in that conspiracy. From those papers, which the king of Prussia published in his own vindication, it appeared, that although Augustus did not choose to insert *at first*, in his accession to the confederacy, the words *reciprocal engagement of assisting one another with all their*

forces, he was willing to come to an understanding, for the partition of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, by private and confidential declarations, and just conditions and advantages¹; that it was resolved, in the grand council of Moscow, to attack the king of Prussia without any ulterior discussion, not only in case of his attacking any of the allies of the empress of Russia, but also, if he should be attacked by any of her allies²; that it had been concerted between Elizabeth and Maria-Theresa, that the latter, the better to mask the true reasons of arming, should do it under the pretext of keeping herself in a condition to fulfil her engagements with England, in case of need; and, when all the preparations were finished, should fall suddenly upon the king of Prussia³.

Though this prince was not so successful as might have been expected from his superior military talents, the number and discipline of his troops, and the unprepared state of his enemies, who did not propose to begin their operations before the year 1757⁴, the progress of his arms gave great joy to the British court, while it filled the people with shame and confusion, by being contrasted with their disasters, the supposed misconduct of the ministry, the losses in America, and the miscarriage of the unhappy Byng, whom the public voice had already devoted to destruction for his pusillanimity. Willing to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of dissatisfaction, his Britannic majesty changed his ministers; and, in a noble speech from the throne, expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people, would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of England.

At the head of the new administration was placed William Pitt, the most popular man in the kingdom, who accepted the office of secretary of state for the foreign department, in the room of Mr. Fox. Mr. Legge, another popular commoner, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Devonshire succeeded the duke of Newcastle at the head of the treasury.

The first measures of the patriotic minister reflected equal honour on his head and heart. He procured an order for sending

¹ Letter from the count de Bruhl, the Saxon minister, to count Fleming, the Imperial minister, dated Dresden, March 8, 1753.

² Letter from the Sieur Funck, the Russian minister, to the count de Bruhl, dated Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1755.

³ Letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, June 9, 1756.

⁴ Letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, July 28, 1756.

home the foreign troops: he encouraged the framing of a bill, which immediately passed into a law, for establishing a national militia, nearly upon the footing on which it now stands, as our only constitutional defence; and he complied with the wishes of the people in bringing admiral Byng to trial, and promoting an inquiry into the conduct of the former ministry.

Byng was accordingly tried, by a court-martial, on board the St. George, in Portsmouth harbour, and sentenced to be shot; having, in the opinion of his judges, fallen under that part of the twelfth article of war, which prescribes death to any commander “who shall not, during the time of action, do his *utmost*, from whatever motive or cause, negligence, cowardice, or disaffection, to *distress* the *enemy*.” And they were farther unanimously of opinion, that beside failing in his duty, by keeping back during the engagement between the English and French fleets, and consequently not using his utmost endeavours “to take, seize, and destroy, the ships of the French king,” “he did not *exert* his *utmost* power for the *relief* of *St. Philip’s castle*.” But they recommended him to mercy, as the article of war on which they decided made no allowance for an error in judgment. His majesty laid the sentence before the twelve judges, who confirmed it. Jan. 28.

Meanwhile a violent clamour, on account of this judgment, was raised by Byng’s friends, who severely arraigned the proceedings against him, and ascribed his miscarriage solely to the ignorance and improvidence of the late corrupt administration. The people, though enraged at the admiral for his dastardly behaviour, joined in the cry against the discarded ministers. And addresses were presented from all parts of the kingdom, requesting that a strict inquiry might be made into their conduct, from the time they received the first intelligence of the purpose of the French to invade Minorca, to the day of the engagement between Byng and Gallissoniere. Such an inquiry was accordingly instituted in the house of commons, and openly conducted by a committee of the whole house, who were furnished from the public Feb. 17. offices with all the papers that could throw light upon the subject; but, after a full investigation, they adopted such resolutions as were highly favourable to the execrated administration, instead of making any discovery to their disadvantage.

The first and last of these resolutions deserve particular notice. By the former the committee declared it appeared to them, “that his majesty, from the 27th day of August 1755, to the 20th day of April in the following year, received such repeated and con-

current intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French king intended to invade Great Britain or Ireland." And in the latter they gave it as their opinion, " that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng, nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment (equal to a battalion) which was ordered from Gibraltar to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions, and the interest of his subjects."

Though thus foiled in their attempt to criminate the ministry, the friends of admiral Byng did not yet abandon him to his fate. Another effort was made to save him. A member of the court that had condemned him made application to the house of commons, in behalf of himself and some other individuals of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed upon courts-martial, that they might make known the grounds on which the late sentence of death had passed, and disclose such circumstances as might perhaps show the decision to be improper.

Little attention was paid by the commons to this application, till the king sent a message to the house, importing, that
Feb. 26. although he was determined to suffer the law to take its course against admiral Byng, unless it should appear from new evidence that he had been unjustly condemned, he had thought proper to respite the execution of the sentence of the court-martial, that the scruples of some members might be fully explained and weighed. In consequence of this message, a bill was immediately brought in, and passed the house of commons, for releasing the members of the court-martial from their obligation of secrecy. But it was rejected almost unanimously by the lords, after they had examined such members of that court as were members of the house of commons; sufficient reason not appearing to them for obstructing the course of justice, by giving way to such unmeaning or pretended scruples, in support of which no forcible arguments were produced, nor any latent circumstances, in favour of the person whom they regarded, brought to light.

Perceiving that all hope of life was now cut off, the admiral collected a degree of courage that would have done him honour, and which would have been better exerted, in the day of battle.

Mar. 14. He was shot in the *Monarque*, and behaved on that awful occasion with composure and dignity. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the marshal of the admiralty,

in which he asserted that he had *faithfully discharged his duty*, according to *the best of his judgment*. And perhaps he was sincere ; but men under such circumstances are very apt to be partial to themselves. “ Persuaded I am,” adds he, (after congratulating himself that a few moments would deliver him from the virulent persecution of his enemies,) “ that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter. The manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered as a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects.”

No ! my dear Philip : let us rather consider his blood as a libation due to the offended Genius of England, and indispensably necessary to wash out the stain which had been thrown upon her naval glory. An admiral who had acted as Byng did, on such an occasion, and with such a force (all temporary circumstances being put out of the question), could only atone for his misconduct with the sacrifice of his life, as an awful warning to future commanders¹.

While the English ministry, in compliance with the wish of the people, were thus bringing to punishment a commander-in-chief, whom they considered as the cause of their greatest disgrace, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire (for which they have been unjustly ridiculed, and represented as barbarians, by their giddy and volatile neighbours), the French were enjoying the tortures of a maniac, who had attempted to kill their king. On this fanatical wretch, named Robert Francis Damien, whose gloomy mind had always bordered upon madness, and whose understanding was now evidently disordered by the disputes between the king and the parliaments

¹ Even Dr. Smollett, his warm advocate, after saying “ he was rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations,” has the candour to admit, that “ the character of admiral Byng, in point of *personal courage*, will, with many people, remain problematical : they will still be of opinion, that if the *spirit* of a British admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca saved. A man’s opinion of danger,” continues he, “ varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits : he is often actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. And after an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own JUSTIFICATION, assembles, with surprising industry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality ; until it becomes not only satisfied, but enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doting mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring.” (*Continuat. Hist. England*, vol. i.) These ingenious reflections, and others of a like kind, which do honour to the discernment of Smollett, and distinguish his character as an historian, will long be remembered, after the malice of his enemies, and his own political prejudices, his generous but self-deluding personal attachments, and his violent resentments, are forgotten.

relative to religion (which I shall afterward have occasion to explain), was practised, without effect, every refinement in cruelty that human invention could suggest, in order to extort a confession of the reasons that induced him to make an attempt on the life of his sovereign¹. He maintained a sullen silence in the midst of the most acute torments, or expressed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, wearied by his obstinacy, at last thought proper to terminate his sufferings, by a death shocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themselves in civility and refinement, might fill the hearts of

Mar. 28. savages with horror. He was conducted to the common place of execution, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One hand of the miserable delinquent was then burned in liquid flaming sulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers. Boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and to complete the awful catastrophe, his limbs being confined by tight ligatures, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses².

The attempt against the king's life had no influence upon the French councils, as it was soon discovered that his wound was not mortal. The court of Versailles, therefore, in conformity with its engagements and its views, assembled a great army; the main body of which, consisting of eighty thousand men, commanded by M. d'Estrées, and other officers of high reputation, passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by the way of Westphalia, in order to invade the territories of the king of Prussia, as was pretended, but in reality to reduce the electorate of Hanover; and by that bold measure to oblige the king of Great Britain to submit to the encroachments of the French in America, or to the loss of what he valued as the apple of his eye or the cords of his heart, his German dominions. The smaller division, composed of twenty-five thousand men, under the prince de Soubise, received orders to march toward the Maine, to strengthen the Imperial Army of Execution.—Some explication will here be necessary, that the nature of this army may be fully understood.

No sooner did the king of Prussia enter Saxony, in the preceding campaign, than a process was commenced against him in the aulic council, and also before the diet of the empire. By

¹ He stabbed the king with a penknife, between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was stepping into his coach.

² *Trial and Execution of R. F. Damien.*

the influence of the court of Vienna, and the terror of the powerful confederacy which it had formed, he was condemned for contumacy; and it was intimated to him, that he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged to have fallen from all the dignities and possessions which he held in it. The circles of the empire were accordingly commanded to furnish their contingents of men and money, for the execution of this sentence. But the contingents were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and probably the army of the empire would not have been able to act, had it not been seconded by French forces under the prince de Soubise. This general, before he passed the Rhine, reduced Cleves and Meurs; while a detachment from the army of M. D'Estrées seized Embden, and other towns belonging to his Prussian majesty in East Friesland.

Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George seemed disposed to enter deeply into the continental quarrel, and even to send over a body of British troops for the protection of Hanover. In these views, however, he was thwarted by Pitt and Legge; who, adhering to the patriotic principles in which they had been bred, and in the diffusion of which they had grown up to popularity, and raised themselves to power, considered Hanover as an useless and expensive appendage to the crown of Great Britain, and all continental connexions as inconsistent with our insular situation.

The popular ministers were deprived of their employments, for daring to oppose the will of their sovereign in council. April 5. And although it was too late to adopt new measures for the campaign with any probability of success, the duke of Cumberland was sent over to command an army of *observation* (as it was called), intended for the defence of Hanover. This army, which consisted of forty thousand men, chiefly Hanoverians and Hessians, attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of the French. The duke, after some unsuccessful skirmishes, was obliged to retire behind the Weser; and the enemy passed that river without opposition.

If the duke's situation now seemed desperate, that of the king of Prussia, after making every allowance for his own superior talents, and the valour and discipline of his troops, did not wear a more favourable aspect at the opening of the campaign. Above eighty thousand Russians were on the borders of Lithuania, and in full march to invade the kingdom of Prussia. The Swedes were ready to enter Pomerania, in hopes of recovering their former possessions in that country. The empress-queen, having

made vast preparations during the winter, had augmented her army to one hundred and eighty thousand men¹; yet did she resolve to act only on the defensive, until her allies could take the field. Then she flattered herself that the king of Prussia would be obliged to divide his forces into so many bodies, as to be unable, in any part, to make a vigorous resistance.

Conformably to this defensive system, the Austrian army was broken into four divisions; the first of which, commanded by the duke D'Aremberg, was posted at Egra; the second, under Brown, at Budin; the third, under Königseg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under Daun, in Moravia. By these dispositions, count Brown, who commanded in chief, thought he could effectually cover Bohemia, which was understood to be the first object of the enemy, and stop their progress, if they should attempt to advance.

Having resolved to penetrate into that kingdom, Frederic was not diverted from his purpose by this formidable force, or the strong position it had taken. He ordered his army to assemble in four divisions: one under prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, at Chemnitz; another, under himself and Keith, at Lockwitz; the third, under the prince of Bevern, at Zittau; and the fourth in Silesia, under Schwerin. As each division was strong, he thought he might safely order a separate invasion of Bohemia, instructing the four bodies, however, to unite as soon after as possible, for mutual support, and form a complete junction in the neighbourhood of Prague.

The Prussian plan of operations being thus concerted, prince Maurice quitted his station in the beginning of April, and marched by Zwickau and Plawen toward Egra, as if he intended to attack the place, or at least to penetrate that way into Bohemia. And, with a view of confirming D'Aremberg in this opinion, he commanded his light troops to make a feint upon the duke's quarters at Wildstein. The Austrian general, taking the alarm, threw himself into Egra; while Maurice returned to Averbach, and marched with great celerity to Linay, where he joined the king of Prussia.

Not thinking it practicable to force the camp at Budin, which was very strong, his Prussian majesty passed the river Egra higher up, near Koschitz. Here his light troops and van-guard met those of the duke D'Aremberg, who was on his march to join count Brown. On seeing the Prussians, however, they fell back upon Welwarn; and Brown, finding that the enemy had

¹ Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

passed the Egra, and were encamped on its left flank, judged it necessary to retire to Prague. Thither he was followed by Frederic, who took his station on the hill called Weissenberg, to the left of the Moldau¹.

While these things were passing on the side of Saxony, where his Prussian majesty had spent the winter, and whence he still drew supplies, the prince of Bevern marched with his division to Reichenberg. He there found count Konigseg, with twenty thousand men, encamped in a valley. Through the middle of that valley ran the Neiss, reinforced by many torrents from the neighbouring mountains, the sides of which were covered with thick woods that were almost impassable. The Austrian general, therefore, occupied only the intermediate valley, extending his wings no farther than the foot of the mountains.

The prince of Bevern, who, by pursuing this route, had put himself under the necessity of fighting, in order to join maréchal Schwerin, had now no choice left but the mode of giving battle. Taking advantage of the disposition of the enemy (after April 21. an unsuccessful attack upon their cavalry, who, forming the centre, were strongly supported by the infantry and artillery on the two wings), he ordered several battalions to ascend the mountain on his right, and fall on the flank and rear of the Austrians posted in a wood at its foot. His commands were punctually executed, and attended with full effect. The Austrians abandoned the wood; their cavalry, unable to repel a fresh assault, were forced to give way. The whole right wing of the Prussians now occupied the ground which the Austrians had quitted, and obliged count Konigseg to retire toward Liebenau. The prince marched to that place, but found the Austrians so advantageously posted that he did not think it prudent to attack them; more especially as he concluded that the advance of the army under Schwerin would force them to retire. It so happened. Having received intelligence of Schwerin's approach, Konigseg quitted his camp the next day, and marched with precipitation to Prague.

Meanwhile Schwerin, informed of the action at Reichenberg, and the retreat of the Austrians, changed his route, and hoped still to be able to cut off Konigseg, before he could reach Prague. Although he failed in that attempt, he was so fortunate as to seize a copious magazine, which the enemy had formed at Jungbuntzlau. Being afterward joined by the division of the prince

¹ Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

of Bevern, he proceeded to Brandeiss, passed the Elbe, and waited in his camp for instructions from his sovereign¹.

His Prussian majesty, who had thrown a bridge over the Moldau near Podbaba, passed that river in the night. The

May next morning he formed a junction with Schwerin; and

6. having reconnoitred the enemy, from one of the highest hills on the other side of Brositz, he resolved to engage without delay.

The Austrians, amounting to about eighty thousand men, were encamped with their left wing toward Prague, on the hill of Ziska, their right extending beyond Conraditz. The mountains before their camp were so steep and craggy, that no cavalry or artillery could ascend them, and the deep valley at their foot was wholly occupied by hussars and Hungarian infantry. Yet the king, regardless of these difficulties, was inclined to attack the enemy in front. But, through the persuasion of Schwerin, he changed his opinion, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right, where the ground falls gradually, and where the infantry could pass over some meadows, and the cavalry and heavy artillery over dams².

The action began about eleven o'clock; when the Prussian cavalry having passed the dams, the Austrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank, and ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. These squadrons came with great celerity, and formed themselves with those on the right, in three lines. This movement was made with so much promptitude, that the prince of Schonaich, the Prussian lieutenant-general of horse (who had only sixty-five squadrons, against one hundred), afraid of being out-flanked, judged it necessary to attack the enemy instantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The charge was vigorous; but the Prussians were twice repulsed. In the third attack, however, the Austrians were harassed by the bravery of twenty squadrons of hussars, led by general Zeithen, and pushed with such violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confusion.

During this shock of the cavalry, the Prussian grenadiers of the left wing, having passed the meadows, were obliged to advance through a very narrow road, in order to join the rest of the line. As soon as they appeared on the other side of the

¹ Lloyd, *ubi sup.*

² Letter from count Schwerin, general-adjutant to the maréchal of that name, who was present at the consultations.

defile, they were saluted by a battery of twelve-pounders, charged with cartridges, and forced to retire in the greatest disorder. They were followed by two whole regiments; and Schwerin's second battalion began to give way, when the *maréchal* himself took the colours of his regiment in his own hand, collected the broken troops, and boldly advanced against the enemy, exhorting the soldiers to follow him. He received a bullet in his breast, and instantly fell from his horse, without the least sign of life. But his death did not pass unrevenged.

The king, observing that the Austrian right wing, in the ardour of pursuit, had advanced so far as to leave an opening between it and the left, gladly seized the opportunity of occupying that vacant space. And while he thus separated the enemy's wings, he, by an additional stroke of generalship, ordered a body of troops to possess the ground where his own left had stood: so that when the Austrian right was forced back by the courage of Schwerin, and the exertions of the officer who succeeded him in the command, that body found itself surrounded, and fled in confusion toward Maleschitz, while the left, furiously attacked by the infantry under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The centre also was broken, after an obstinate dispute, and chased into the same city¹.

Such was the famous battle of Prague, in which the valour and military skill of the Austrians and Prussians were fully tried, and which proved fatal to two of the greatest generals in Europe. For the gallant Brown received a wound, which his chagrin rendered mortal: though his pride is supposed to have been more hurt by being obliged to command under prince Charles of Lorrain than by the event of the day. On both sides the loss was very considerable. About three thousand Prussians were killed, and six thousand wounded, beside three hundred and ninety-seven officers, many of whom were of high rank. The loss of the Austrians, in killed, wounded, and taken, cannot reasonably be computed at less than twelve thousand, although their accounts considerably diminish that number.

But these were all the immediate consequences of the victory. The main body of the Austrian army, still very numerous, found shelter in Prague, under the prince of Lorrain; and a strong corps, chiefly consisting of cavalry, joined *maréchal* Daun, who had recently arrived from Moravia, and encamped at Bohmisch-Brod, on hearing of the disaster of the Austrians. The

¹ Lloyd, vol. i.

intrepid Frederic, however, elate with his good fortune, and thinking that every thing must submit to his victorious arms, invested Prague, with an army little superior to that confined within the walls!

It was certainly very extraordinary, that so great a general as the king of Prussia should think it possible to reduce an army of fifty thousand men, in so extensive a town as Prague, with one scarcely more than equal in point of number. Hence arose the memorable remark of the duke de Belleisle, who had defended the same town, as we have seen, in 1742, with fifteen thousand men against the whole power of the house of Austria, and retired with honour and glory, when he found his provisions fail: "I know Prague; and if I were there with one half of the troops under the prince of Lorrain, I would destroy the Prussian army."

But the supineness of the Austrians in some measure justified the king's temerity. They suffered themselves to be shut up in Prague for six weeks, without making one vigorous effort for their enlargement; although the Prussian army, beside forming a chain of posts extending many miles, was separated by the river Moldau into two parts, either of which might have been cut off. Fifty thousand men, provided with arms and artillery, submitted to this inglorious restraint, and continued inactive till they began to feel the pressure of famine; and the prince of Lorrain seemed, at one time, disposed to capitulate. When count Brown, who was then confined to his bed, was consulted on that subject, he made the following spirited reply: "Tell prince Charles, my advice is, that he should instantly march out, and attack *maréchal Keith*¹."

The prince, however, did not choose to proceed to that extremity, so long as any hope of relief remained; and Frederic, by a new and more extraordinary instance of self-confidence than any he had yet exhibited, saved the Austrian army from the necessity of such a desperate effort, or the indelible disgrace of a surrender. Contemning the strength of the garrison, he had sent out several detachments to raise contributions, and to seize or destroy the magazines which the Austrians had formed in different parts of Bohemia. Elate with the success of these detachments, and fearing that Daun, whose army nearly amounted to forty thousand men, might not only disturb his operations, but give prince Charles, by some manœuvre, an opportunity of escape,

¹ Lloyd, ubi sup.

he dispatched the prince of Bevern, with twenty-five thousand men, to drive him farther back.

As the Prussians advanced, Daun prudently retired, successively to Kolin, Kuttenberg, and Haber. But no sooner had he received all the reinforcements he expected, than he attempted to bring the prince of Bevern to action; and even by rapid marches to cut off his communication with the army before Prague. Informed of the enemy's motions, the king quitted his camp, with ten battalions and twenty squadrons, and, marching toward Kolin, formed a junction with the prince. He found the Austrian army drawn up in two lines; the infantry, contrary to the common disposition, on the wings, and the cavalry in the centre. The right wing was posted on a hill, extending toward Kuttenberg and Kolin; the left on a more lofty hill, situate toward Zasmuck. At the bottom of these two hills, and in the intervening space, which was covered by a chain of fish-ponds and morasses, Daun had extended two lines of horse, and kept a third in reserve; for, as he knew that the Prussians were stronger in cavalry than in infantry, the king having with him ninety squadrons, and only twenty-eight battalions, he supposed they would make their greatest effort against the centre of the Austrian army, with a view of dividing it. But when he perceived the king's intention of assaulting the right flank, he ordered his body of reserve to march to the right wing, and cover the flank. And he afterward directed his second line to march also thither, close up to the reserve.

His Prussian majesty, having reconnoitred the position of the Austrians, resolved to attack them, notwithstanding the strength of their post and their superiority in point of number. The grand attack, conducted by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and supported by a powerful artillery, was pushed with extraordinary fury upon the Austrians' right wing, which was at first thrown into disorder, but quickly recovered itself, and afterward behaved with great firmness and gallantry. This conflict lasted about an hour and a half. Then the fire of the Prussian infantry began to slacken; and they were obliged to retire, that they might draw breath. They soon renewed the combat; but were again compelled to yield to superior strength. Seven times did they return to the charge, from two till half-past six o'clock. About that time, the last and most violent effort was made by the king in person, at the head of his cavalry. It was continued till after seven: when the Prussians, sinking under numbers and the disadvantage of ground, in which their cavalry

could not properly act, were constrained to relinquish the contest. But they remained on the field till nine, and retired without being pursued. On both sides the slaughter was great, and nearly equal; about sixteen thousand men were killed or wounded. In consequence of the loss of this memorable battle¹, the king was obliged to raise the siege of Prague, and even to evacuate Bohemia.

General Lloyd's reflections on that siege, and on the battle of Kolin, are too interesting to be here omitted. He observes, that the siege of Prague, with so great an army in it, was an imprudent and dangerous measure, more especially as the king of Prussia was then in circumstances which required some decisive stroke, and that as soon as possible; that Prague covered no essential pass into the country which he wished to reduce, and contained no considerable magazine, neither was it necessary for the king to form one there, because the country itself furnished abundantly all kinds of subsistence; that if, instead of besieging this town, he had sent twenty thousand men, the morning after his victory, in pursuit of the Austrian right wing, which had fled to Beneschau, and marched with the main body of his army to Bohmisch-Brod against the forces of Daun, it is more than probable he might have destroyed both; that they certainly could not have retired without losing their artillery and baggage, and must have fallen back with the utmost expedition on the Danube; that prince Charles of Lorraine must likewise have marched to the Danube, to join the remainder of the Austrian army, being unable, situated as he then was, to undertake any thing of himself; that this would have given the king all the time necessary to reduce Olmutz, and even Prague itself, which must have been left to a common garrison; but that, allured by the uncertain and vain, though flattering, hope of making fifty thousand men prisoners, he lost sight of Daun and the Austrian right wing, and missed an opportunity of giving some decisive blow; that when, informed of the enemy's approach, he had still time to repair the fault which he had committed,—“he might and ought to have raised the siege of Prague, and have marched with his whole force

¹ For the particulars of the battle of Kolin, and most of the other great actions between the Austrians and Prussians, the author is indebted to the late major-general Lloyd, whose excellent, but unfinished *Campaigns*, must make his death sincerely lamented by all military men. Where this prime authority fails, recourse has been had to the accounts of the different actions, published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna, as well as to those transmitted to the court of Versailles by French officers in the Austrian service, which seem in general more accurate and impartial, and form a kind of standard for judging of the two former.

against Daun;" and, if he had succeeded, it is highly probable that he might also have routed prince Charles, before he could have reached the Danube¹.

In regard to the battle of Kolin itself, this ingenious author judiciously remarks, that as his Prussian majesty was in proportion much stronger in cavalry than infantry, he ought to have chosen the most convenient ground on the enemy's front for that species of troops; and that, as he had given them an opportunity, by making his dispositions in open day, to reinforce their right and its flank, whither they had brought two-thirds of their army, he ought to have reduced both his wings, and have made an effort with his cavalry, sustained by his infantry and artillery, on the enemy's centre, where they had only cavalry, and therefore most probably would have been forced to give way: whereas, by persisting to attack their right, he could bring only his infantry into action, the ground being very improper for cavalry, as well on account of the ravines and woods, as of the villages before the enemy's front; that, having resolved to attack the Austrian right wing, the king should have brought thither all his infantry, leaving only a line of horse on his right, which would have been sufficient, as the enemy's left could not quit its advantageous position, and descend into the plain; that this would have enabled him to sustain properly his van-guard, which was left exposed; to have taken the enemy in flank, and to have gained the battle. In a word, it appears from these reflections, that the king erred, in forming an attack where he could not conveniently combine the different species of arms; whereas the enemy had both infantry and cavalry, with a great artillery, to sustain the points attacked; in letting his van-guard advance so far, that it could not be supported by the line; and attacking with too small a number of infantry, considering the nature of the ground. To these errors the loss of the battle may be attributed.

Nor were the arms of his Prussian majesty, or those of his allies, more fortunate in other quarters. No sooner did the Russians, who had hovered long on the frontiers, enter the kingdom of Prussia, than general Lehwald was ordered to oppose the intruders. He accordingly assembled about thirty thousand men, and took post at Insterburgh, to observe the motions of the enemy. Meanwhile general Fermor, with one division of the Russian army, assisted by a fleet from Revel, carrying nine thousand soldiers, invested Memel; and after a short siege, reduced

¹ Lloyd, vol. i.

that town, which was of great consequence to the Russians, as they could make it a military station, and a magazine of provisions and stores, that might be constantly supplied by means of their navy.

The whole Russian army, consisting of sixty-two thousand foot and nineteen thousand horse, beside Tartars, Calmucks, and Cossacks, now advanced toward the Pregel, under the command of Apraxin. Lehwald, on the approach of the enemy, retired to Wehlau, where he continued until he received positive orders to hazard a battle. Having reconnoitred the position of the Russians, who were encamped at Gros-Jagersdorff, near Norkitten, he attacked them with great fury. Though
Aug. in a manner surprised, they received the shock with
30. firmness; and, after a warm conflict of three hours, he was forced to retreat, though his loss was not very great.

Unacquainted with the valour and discipline of the Russian infantry, since found to be the best in Europe, Lehwald deprived himself of the power of making a vigorous or successful effort in any one point, by extending his little army in a line opposed to that of the enemy, which he in vain endeavoured to break, as they had every where, through this mistaken disposition, a much greater number of men in action than he could present. In vain did he attempt to divide their army, and take them in flank, by penetrating through some openings. They received the Prussians on the point of the bayonet, and forced them to give way. He drew off his troops, however, in good order, and re-occupied his former camp at Wehlau¹.

While the Russians, now victorious, were ravaging Frederic's dominions on one side of Germany, the French were stripping him of his possessions on the other, and laying the electorate of Hanover under contribution. After the duke of Cumberland had passed the Weser, he continued to retreat before *maréchal d'Estrées*, until he reached the village of Hastenbeck. Having chosen an advantageous post, he there attempted to make a stand, on the 26th of July; but being worsted, after a spirited resistance, he was obliged to quit his station. Instead, however, of marching immediately after the action, as prudence seemed to dictate, toward Wolfenbittel, Halberstadt, or Magdeburg, where he might have formed a junction with the Prussian forces, he retired to Hoya, under pretence of covering Bremen and Verden, though in reality, in order to keep up a communication with

¹ Lloyd, vol. i. p. 145.

Stade, whither had been removed the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover.

In the mean time that electorate, abandoned to the enemy, was laid under contribution. And the duke de Richelieu, the celebrated conqueror of Minorca, having succeeded to the chief command of the French army, soon saw himself master of Bremen and Verden, and obliged the duke of Cumberland to take refuge under the cannon of Stade. There, encamped between the Weser and the Elbe, it was supposed that his royal highness would be able to maintain his ground till the close of the campaign, as the season was already far in the decline. But the enemy having taken effectual measures for cutting off his communication with the Elbe, he was under the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-seven; by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other Ger-
Sept. 8.
mans, were distributed into different quarters of cantonment without being disarmed¹, or considered as prisoners of war. The French were left, "till the *definitive reconciliation* of the two sovereigns²," in full possession of the countries they had

¹ The court of France afterward insisted on the *disarming* of the troops, though the convention had observed a profound silence on that head. It only stipulated that, on the cessation of hostilities, the auxiliary troops should be sent home, and that such part of the Hanoverian army as the duke of Cumberland could not place in the city of Stade should take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe, and not be recruited. (See the *Articles of the Convention* itself and the *Vindication of the King of England's conduct as Elector of Hanover*, published by authority.) Notwithstanding the notoriety of this fact, two contemporary authors have affirmed, that, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven, "thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms!" *Contin. Hist. Eng.* vol. ii.—*Annual Reg.* 1758.

² This indefinite mode of expression gave rise to one of the most intricate disputes that ever employed the pens of political writers; and, as self-interest dictated the arguments on both sides of the question, much ingenuity and force of reasoning were displayed. The French with great plausibility maintained, that no other meaning could reasonably be affixed to the words of the convention (which however they attempted to mend by certain Jesuitical explications) than that which was natural and obvious; that the suspension of arms was to continue, and they were consequently to remain in possession of their conquests, till a general pacification. (*Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England.*) The English ministry, on the other hand, affirmed, that the suspension of arms was a mere military regulation, which was to continue in force only till the issue of a negotiation then depending (begun by his Britannic majesty, in quality of elector of Hanover), and the expected declaration of the courts of Vienna and Versailles relative to such negotiation; that this was the reason why it was not thought necessary to state a precise time for the duration of the armistice. The agreement was drawn up, they said, by the generals of the two armies, who agreed that it should be of force without the ratification of the two courts; a thing impossible, if it be supposed that the German dominions of the king of Great Britain were to be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least prospect. "But it is evident," added they, "that France herself did not understand the hands of the Hanoverians to be tied up till a general peace, by the suspension of arms concluded at Closter-seven, from her insisting on having that stipulated, as an express condition, in her artful scheme of explication, proposed by the count de Lynar, the Danish minister." *Vindication of the King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover.*

conquered, though under the express condition of abstaining from future violence, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

Having thus subdued the German dominions of his Britannic majesty, the French could act with greater vigour against the king of Prussia. The duke de Richelieu accordingly made his way into Halberstadt and the Old Marche of Brandenburg, exacting contributions, and wantonly plundering the towns. The troops of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, reinforced by the French under Soubise, were in full march to enter Saxony. Twenty thousand Swedes, commanded by general Ungern Stornberg, had already entered Prussian Pomerania, under pretence of guaranteeing the treaty of Westphalia; and having taken the towns of Demin and Anclam, and reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, they laid the whole country under contribution, without meeting with the smallest resistance, as the garrison of Stettin, consisting of ten thousand men, could not leave that important fortress, in order to check their progress. The kingdom of Prussia was still a prey to the barbarities of the Russians. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, and formed the siege of Schweidnitz; while another, penetrating through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting itself before Berlin, laid that capital under contribution. The ruin of his Prussian majesty seemed inevitable.

This illustrious prince, driven out of Bohemia, was surrounded by powerful armies; and in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven, he seemed to be deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependence. In what manner he extricated himself out of these difficulties, and what line of policy was pursued, in such delicate circumstances, by his Britannic majesty, we shall soon have occasion to see.

LETTER XXXIII.

A Survey of the State of Europe, and History of the general War, continued from the Convention of Closter-seven to the Battle of Minden in 1759.

THE affairs of England, where tumult, clamour, and discontent had long prevailed, were still in disorder, when intelligence

arrived of the humiliating convention of Closter-seven, which overwhelmed the court with shame and confusion. Pitt ^{June 29.} and Legge, the two popular ministers, had been restored to their respective offices, in compliance with the general wish of the nation expressed in many warm addresses to the throne. But they had not yet had time to plan any regular system of measures; and their first enterprise miscarried, to the no small mortification of their friends, and the severe disappointment, sorrow, and surprise of the whole kingdom.

This was an expedition to the coast of France, projected with a view of raising the spirits of the people by an appearance of vigour, and the credit of the British arms, so sunk in the eyes of all Europe, by some great blow: and of inducing the French monarch to withdraw part of his troops from Germany, for the defence of his own dominions, instead of prosecuting foreign conquests. Its ultimate purpose was the relief of the electorate of Hanover, and its immediate object was the destruction of the French shipping and naval stores at Rochefort. The destination of the armament, however, was kept a profound secret. But the highest expectations of success were formed from the magnitude of the preparations, and the confidence which the public had in the abilities of Mr. Pitt, by whom the enterprise was said to have been planned.

These expectations, however, began in some measure to abate, in consequence of unforeseen delays, before the sailing of the fleet. At length, on the ill-omened day that the duke of ^{Sept. 8.} Cumberland signed the convention of Closter-seven, the formidable armament put to sea. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, under sir Edward Hawke, beside frigates, fireships, bomb-ketches, and a number of transports, carrying ten regiments of land forces, commanded by sir John Mordaunt. The hopes of the people were now revived: their petitions to Heaven were fervent; and imagination, warmed by vows and wishes, fondly looked forward to some important conquest. What then was the astonishment of the nation, when this very expensive armament, after beating off the coast of France for three weeks, and filling the inhabitants of the sea-ports with terror, returned to England, without having taken even a fishing town!—without having attempted or effected any thing, except destroying some half-finished fortifications on the isle of Aix, situated at the mouth of the river Charente, which leads up to Rochefort.

Language cannot paint the expressions of disappointment that appeared in every countenance. Every heart seemed to feel the

national disgrace, and every eye to lighten with indignation at the conduct of those who were employed in the expedition. The officers endeavoured to throw the blame of their miscarriage on the ministry, for having planned an impracticable enterprise. The ministers, supported by the voice of the people, retorted the charge, by accusing the officers of cowardice or incapacity. A court of inquiry, appointed by his majesty, slightly censured the conduct of sir John Mordaunt; while a court-martial, composed of officers of reputation, acquitted him of the charge of disobeying his instructions. The public opinion remained the same.

In the course of this trial and inquest it appeared, that the ministry had reason to believe, on good information, that an attempt upon Rochefort would be very practicable. Nor was there any thing offered to prove the impracticability of such an attempt, if it had been made when the fleet first arrived before that port. But it was proved to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, and to the severe regret of all lovers of their king and country, of every man who had any pride in the military glory of England, that the time which ought to have been employed in action was spent in consultations and councils of war, and the proposed descent relinquished without any sufficient cause¹. In a word, the principal officers, admiral Hawke excepted, seemed desirous of avoiding a disembarkation. And their frequent consultations, notwithstanding the ardour of the troops, who were impatient to retrieve the honour of their country, seemed to have been more intended to frame a concerted apology for not making a descent than to plan any scheme of attack, or hostility.

While the people of Great Britain were mourning over this shameful miscarriage, which, joined to the accumulating misfortunes of the king of Prussia, and the mortifying convention of Closter-seven, exhibited a most melancholy picture of their affairs in Europe, those in America did not afford a more flattering prospect. Although a considerable reinforcement had been sent thither, with a great supply of warlike stores, the third campaign served only to swell the triumphs of the enemy.

The attack upon Crown Point, so long meditated, was laid aside for an expedition against Louisbourg. The earl of Loudon accordingly left New York in July, with a body of six thousand men, and sailed for Halifax: where he was joined by admiral Holbourne with a considerable fleet, and about five thousand

¹ See the printed *Evidence* in the publications of the times.

soldiers. But when the fleet and army were almost ready to proceed for Cape Breton, information was brought to Halifax, that the Brest fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, beside frigates, with a reinforcement of troops, and an abundant supply of ammunition and provisions, had arrived at Louisbourg. This intelligence immediately suspended the preparations, and damped the ardour of the British officers. Councils of war were holden one after another; and the result of the whole was, that, as the place which had been the object of their armament was so amply reinforced, the French fleet rather superior to the English, and the season of the year so far advanced, it was advisable to defer the enterprise to a more favourable conjuncture.

Thus terminated the projected expedition against Louisbourg, like that against Rochefort, in a manner inglorious to the British arms, and disgraceful to the spirit of the British officers. But those were not the worst consequences that attended it.

Since the reduction of Oswego, the French had remained masters of the great lakes; nor could the British forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and seducing or compelling them to act in their favour. The country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who preserved even the shadow of friendship to England, was abandoned to the mercy of the barbarous enemy. The British ports at the great carrying-place were demolished, and Wood Creek was industriously shut up. In consequence of these unfortunate circumstances, all communication was cut off with our Indian allies; and what was still worse, the whole English frontier was exposed, with scarcely a shadow of protection, to the irruptions of the French and their desolating savages. The fine settlements on the Mohawk river, as well as on the ground called the German flats, were destroyed.

Elate with these advantages, the French were ambitious of distinguishing the campaign by some important blow. And no sooner did the marquis de Montcalm learn that lord Loudon, with the main body of the English forces, had left New York, than he determined to lay siege to Fort William Henry. This fort had been built on the southern side of Lake George, to cover the frontier of the British settlements, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by about two thousand five hundred men, under colonel Monro. Nor were those its only security. Four thousand five hundred men, commanded by general Webb, were posted at no great distance, and a much greater force might have been assembled. The

French troops, collected from Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the adjacent forts, together with a party of Indians and Canadians, are said to have amounted to nine thousand men. With these, and a good train of artillery, Montcalm advanced against the object of his enterprise, while Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference bordering on infatuation, or intimately allied to baseness. In a word, the besiegers meeting with no obstruction from the quarter whence they dreaded it most, obliged the fort to surrender. They allowed the garrison, by the articles of capitulation, to march out with the honours of war. But the Indians pillaged the soldiers as soon as they left the place, and fiercely attacked the savages in the English service, dragging them out of their ranks, scalping them, and exercising every species of cruelty known among the natives of North America¹. And, what is yet more extraordinary, and what it is to be hoped posterity will not credit, two thousand Britons, with arms in their hands, and in danger every moment of becoming the victims of such violence, remained tame spectators of these barbarities, or sought safety only in flight!

The marquis de Montcalm, however, who was not destitute of a generous spirit, was able at length to quell the fury of the savages, and treated the sufferers with humanity. Yet from his summons to colonel Monro, when he began the siege, we may infer, that he meant, in case of resistance, to strike terror into the British troops by a new display of Indian cruelty. "I am still able," says he, "*to restrain the savages, and to oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them have been killed; but this controul will not be in my power in other circumstances*."

When intelligence of these new losses and disgraces arrived in England, the people, already sufficiently mortified, sunk into a general despondency. And some moral and political writers, who pretended to foretel the ruin of the nation, and ascribed its misfortunes to a total corruption of manners and principles, and an extinction of martial spirit, obtained general credit². But the more zealous friends of the new administration, in conjunction with the younger officers of the army and navy, warmly vindicated the national character, and seemed to long for an opportunity of

¹ These barbarities are strongly delineated in many letters from the officers, written after their arrival at New York.

² Letter, signed MONTCALM, Aug. 3, 1757.

³ Of these writers the most distinguished was Dr. Brown, whose *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, abounding with awful predictions, was bought up and read with incredible avidity, and seemed to be as much confided in as if he had been divinely inspired.

giving the lie to the visionary prognostics of splenetic theory and querulous melancholy. In the mean time public opinion, ever fluctuating, and wholly governed by events, took a less gloomy direction. The first ray of hope came from the East.

When admiral Watson returned to the coast of Coromandel, after reducing the fortress of Gheriah, he was informed of the loss of Calcutta, and of all the horrid circumstances with which it had been attended. Eager for revenge, he took on board Mr. Clive, now advanced to the rank of colonel, with part of the company's troops at Madras, and sailed for the bay of Bengal. By a zealous co-operation of the sea and land forces, the town and fort of Calcutta were recovered; and Mr. Drake and the members of the council were again put in possession of the government.

Not content with this success, the British commanders also reduced the large town of Ougli, where the soubahdar had established his principal magazines. Enraged at these losses, and dreading farther injury, Souraj-ud-Dowlah assembled a great army, and marched towards Calcutta, that he might severely chastise the audacity of the invaders, if not finally expel every Englishman from the province of Bengal. But he met with so warm a reception from colonel Clive, captain Coote, and other gallant officers, at the head of the company's troops, reinforced with six hundred sailors from the fleet, that he was induced to sue for peace, and agree to such terms as the English commanders thought proper to dictate. He engaged to restore all the factories, goods, and money, which had been seized by his orders; to reinstate the company in all its privileges; and allow the extension of the presidency over thirty-eight neighbouring villages; conformably to a disputed grant that had been obtained from the Great Mogul¹.

Apprised of the new war between France and Great Britain, and having nothing now to fear from the humbled soubahdar, Clive and his associates resolved to turn their arms against the French factories in Bengal. Their first object was the reduction of Chandernagore, the principal French settlement in the province, and a place of great strength. In the expedition against this town and fort, Clive commanded seven hundred Europeans, and sixteen hundred *Sepoys*, or soldiers of the country, habituated to the use of fire-arms. The squadron, consisting of three sail of the line and a sloop, was conducted by the admirals Watson and Pocock. The place was defended by six hundred

¹ Orme's *Hist. Indost.* book vii.—*Lond. Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1757.

Europeans, and three hundred Sepoys, who gallantly disputed every post. But the powerful cannonade from the ships, and from two batteries, mounted with twenty-four pounders, that assailed with a cross-fire the two bastions of the fort against which the men-of-war laid their broadsides, obliged the garrison to surrender, after a short but vigorous conflict.

As conquest naturally expands the views of the conqueror, Clive, who was formed for vast undertakings, no sooner found himself in possession of Chandernagore, than he conceived the design of humbling still farther the soubahdar of Bengal, and of advancing to a yet greater height the interests of the company. And the conduct of that prince furnished him with many pretexts for renewing hostilities.

Souraj-ud-Dowlah was backward in fulfilling the treaty he had lately concluded with the company. He attempted to evade the execution of its chief articles: and he had entered into secret intrigues with the French, to whom he seemed disposed to afford protection in return for support. The English colonel therefore resolved to compel him to perform his stipulations; and in case of refusal to chastise him for his breach of faith, and even to divest him of his authority. In the last resolution he was confirmed (if it was not suggested) by a discovery of the disaffection of Jaffier, commander-in-chief of the forces of the province, and of the intrigues of the soubahdar with the French officers in the Deccan.

The measures employed by Clive, to accomplish this resolution, do no less honour to his sagacity and address as a politician, than to his vigour and skill as a commander. While he conducted an intricate and dangerous negotiation with Jaffier by means of his agents, he counterfeited friendship so artfully, as not only to quiet the suspicions of the despot, but to induce him to dissolve his army, which had been assembled at Plassy, a strong camp to the south of his capital, before the taking of Chandernagore, in consequence of a report that the English commander intended to attack Mourshed-abad. "Why do you keep your forces in the field," said he, insidiously, "after so many marks of friendship and confidence?—They distress the merchants, and prevent us from renewing our trade. The English cannot remain in Bengal without freedom of commerce. Do not reduce us to the necessity of suspecting that you mean to destroy us as soon as you have an opportunity¹."

¹ Orme, ubi sup.

To quiet these pretended fears, Souraj-ud-Dowlah recalled his army, though not without great anxiety. "If," cried he, with keen emotion, "the colonel should deceive me!" And the secret departure of the English agents from Mourshed-abad soon convinced him that he was deceived. He again assembled his army, and ordered it to re-occupy the camp of Plassy; after having made Jaffier, by the most solemn oaths upon the Koran, renew his obligations of fidelity and allegiance.

The English commander, who had hoped to take possession of that important post, was not a little disconcerted by this movement. The soubahdar had reached Plassy twelve hours before, at the head of about fifty thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse. These forces were protected by fifty pieces of cannon, planted in the openings between the columns, into which the Indian army was divided, and partly directed by forty Frenchmen. Clive, however, though surprised at the number, and at the formidable array of the foe, resolved to give battle. He accordingly drew up his little army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand Sepoys, under cover of eight field-pieces. The cannonade was brisk on both sides, from eight o'clock in the morning till noon; when a heavy shower damaged the powder of the enemy, whose fire then began to flag.

Nor was this the only circumstance in favour of the English army. Souraj-ud-Dowlah, who had hitherto remained in his tent beyond the reach of danger, and had been flattered every moment with assurances of victory, was now informed that the emir Mourdin, the only general on whose fidelity he could rely, was mortally wounded. Overwhelmed by so weighty a misfortune, he sent for Jaffier; and throwing his turban on the ground, "Jaffier!" exclaimed he, "that turban you must defend." The traitor bowed, and, putting his hand to his breast, promised his best services. But no sooner did he join his troops, than he sent a letter to colonel Clive, acquainting him with what had passed, and requesting him either instantly to push on to victory, or to storm the camp during the following night.

The letter, however, was not delivered till the fortune of the day was decided; so that Clive was still in some degree of suspense with respect to the ultimate intentions of Jaffier. Meanwhile, the soubahdar, understanding that his general continued inactive, suddenly ordered a retreat. Mounting a camel soon after, he fled toward Mourshed-abad, accompanied by two thousand horsemen. And the English army, having surmounted

every difficulty, entered his camp about five in the afternoon, without any other obstruction than what was occasioned by baggage and stores; it being utterly abandoned by his troops, who fled on all sides in the utmost confusion¹.

Having at length received Jaffier's letter, Clive pressed on with his victorious army to Daudpore, regardless of the rich plunder of the enemy's camp. He arrived there in the evening; and the next morning he acknowledged the traitor as soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Jaffier now hastened with his troops to Mourshed-abad, whither he was followed by the English commander. From that city Souraj-ud-Dowlah had made his escape in disguise, accompanied only by his favourite women, and by the eunuch who governed his seraglio, having lost all confidence in his soldiers, and in his officers, both civil and military. He was taken, brought back to his capital, and put to death by order of the son of Jaffier, an ambitious and cruel youth, who was unwilling to leave any thing in the power of fortune that violence could secure. Nor can his conduct be blamed on the maxims of Asiatic policy. His father's sway, which otherwise might have been disputed, was instantly acknowledged over the three provinces.

It now only remained for colonel Clive to compel Jaffier, whom he had seated on the *musnud* or throne, to fulfil the conditional engagements into which he had solemnly entered, before the English army was put in motion for his support. After attempting some evasions, by pleading the lowness of his predecessor's treasury, he found it necessary to adhere to every stipulation. And a treaty to the following purport was read, and acknowledged to have been signed by him.

"I engage, that, as soon as I shall be established in the government of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, I will maintain the treaty of peace concluded with the English by Souraj-ud-Dowlah; that the enemies of the English shall be my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans; that all the effects and factories belonging to the French in Bengal, the paradise of nations, or in Bahar and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English; and I will never more allow the former to settle in any of the three provinces;—that, in consideration of the losses sustained by the company from the capture and plunder of Calcutta, and the charges occasioned by maintaining forces to recover the factories, I will give one *crore* of rupees," equivalent to twelve hun-

¹ Orme, book vii.

dred and fifty thousand pounds sterling ;—" and, for the effects taken from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give fifty *lacks* of rupees," equivalent to six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. He also agreed to indemnify the Armenian, Gentoo, and other Asiatic inhabitants of Calcutta, and greatly to enlarge the territory of the company. In a word, the indemnifications and restitutions, with a donation of fifty lacks of rupees to the fleet and army, exclusive of private gratuities, amounted to the enormous sum of two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Near one third of that sum was immediately paid in coined silver¹.

Before information arrived in England of this great revolution in the south of Asia, so favourable to the interests of Great Britain, a variety of events had occurred in Europe, which contributed to revive the spirit of the English nation, and gave a more agreeable turn to the affairs of his Britannic majesty and his allies.

While the king of Prussia was occupied in observing the motions of the Austrians, and struggling to obtain a footing in Bohemia, the German and French troops, under the princes of Hildburghausen and Soubise, assumed the title of the *Combined Army*, whose immediate object it was to drive the Prussians out of Saxony. The generals of this army accordingly resolved to march down the Sala (supposing they had nothing to apprehend from his Prussian majesty), and begin their operations with the siege of Leipsic. This enterprise they chose, in preference to any other, because they would there be at hand to receive succours from Richelieu's army, now entirely at liberty, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven ; and also because, in case of success, they could take up their winter quarters in that part of Saxony, and afterward proceed, in full force, to the entire conquest of the country, as well as to that of Magdeburg and Brandenburg. But their schemes were disconcerted by the vigilance and activity of the enterprising Frederic.

Aware of the necessity of opposing the progress of the French and Imperialists, or of humbling himself at the feet of his enemies, that prince pursued a line of conduct worthy of a hero and a commander. Leaving forty battalions and seventy squadrons under the prince of Bevern to defend Silesia, he marched to Dresden, quickly assembled a new army, and proceeded to the Sala. The enemy, on his approach, retired to Eisenach. He followed, with an intention of giving battle ; but found his

¹ Orme, ubi sup.—Lond. Gazette, Feb. 14, 1758.

adversaries too advantageously posted to render an attack advisable; and, as they seemed studiously to decline an action, he fell back on the Sala, the better to subsist his troops. Various movements were afterwards made by both armies. And the associated generals, having received a reinforcement under the duke de Broglie, during the absence of his Prussian majesty, who had been obliged to march to the relief of his capital, resumed their resolution of penetrating into Saxony. They accordingly marched to Weissenfels, and sent the count de Mailly to summon Leipsic.

Maréchal Keith, who had thrown himself into that town with six thousand men, treated the summons with contempt. And before the enemy could form the siege, he was happily joined by the king, who now resolved to give battle to the combined army, with less than half its number. With this view he passed the Sala at Weissenfels, Mersburg, and Halle (the enemy having re-passed that river on his approach), and assembled his troops near the village of Rosbach. The combined forces were encamped in the neighbourhood; and Frederic, having examined their position, advanced to attack them; but finding that they had changed their station, he desisted from the attempt. The hostile generals, considering his caution as the effect of fear, and elate with their superiority of number, put their troops in motion to bring him to an engagement, their cavalry being in front, and their infantry in their rear.

Nov. 5. The king, perceiving that their purpose was to attack his left flank, ordered the main body of his army to march in that direction, behind the heights of Reichertswerden. These concealed his motions; and farther to deceive the enemy, he left his camp standing, as if he had been in the most perfect, and even infatuated security. Confident of victory, the French and Imperialists advanced with such precipitation, that their ranks were thrown into some disorder in their march; and being attacked before they were completely prepared for action, they were routed by the Prussian horse. Their cavalry attempted to rally behind the village of Busendorff; but the Prussians pursued their advantage with an ardour which commanded success.

Meanwhile the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry, though with little effect; for the Prussian foot, supported by the cavalry and artillery, prevailed over all opposition. Soubise had ordered the body of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, to advance and sustain the infantry,

but these fresh regiments were soon broken, and driven off the field; and a complete victory remained to his Prussian majesty, who did not lose above five hundred men, whereas the loss of the enemy nearly amounted to nine thousand, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the last were eleven generals, and three hundred officers of inferior rank¹.

With the battle of Rosbach ended the campaign in Saxony, the combined army being no longer fit for action. But there was yet no rest for the victorious Frederic. A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain, assisted by maréchal Daun and general Nadasti, had entered Silesia, in spite of all the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that fine province, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed. Their first enterprise was the siege of Schweidnitz; a rich, populous, and strong town, situated in a plain near the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia, and garrisoned with six thousand men.

The siege of this important place was committed to Nadasti, who invested it on the 26th of October. Meanwhile the prince of Bevern lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Breslau, for the protection of that capital; while the prince of Lorrain took post at no great distance to watch his motions, and prevent his marching to the relief of Schweidnitz. Nadasti, being considerably reinforced during the siege, conducted his operations with so much vigour, that, three redoubts being carried at once Nov. 11. by assault, the place was taken, and its defenders were made prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open only sixteen days.

Prince Charles, having thus secured a communication with Bohemia, by acquiring the command of the defiles, and also a place well stored with provisions, into which he might retire in case of disaster, was encouraged to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp, as soon as he was rejoined by Nadasti. The Nov. 22. cannonading began at nine in the morning, and was continued with great fury till noon, when the Prussian entrenchments were assailed in every quarter. Twice were the Austrians repulsed with great slaughter; but their third attack was irresistible. The Prussians were driven from most of their redoubts; and the prince of Bevern, taking advantage of the friendly approach of night, which alone prevented his entrenchments from being entirely forced, abandoned his lines, and retired behind

¹ Lloyd, vol. i. p. 97.

the Oder. Nor was this his only misfortune. Going to reconnoitre the victorious enemy, two days after the battle, he was taken by a party of Croats, and Breslau surrendered to the Austrians¹.

In this desperate situation were the affairs of his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding his success at Rosbach. At that time anxious for the safety of Silesia, the great bone of contention, he advanced to Parchwitz on the Oder, where he was joined by the remains of the forces lately commanded by the prince of Bevern; the whole forming a gallant army of thirty-six thousand men, determined to conquer or die with their leader.

The Austrians, thinking the campaign finished, were preparing to go into winter quarters², when they heard of the approach of the warlike monarch. It rather surprised than alarmed them. Prince Charles and Daun immediately resolved to give him battle. Having left a strong garrison in Breslau, they passed the river at Schweidnitz, at the head of eighty thousand men, and were advancing toward Glogau, with the fullest assurance

Dec. 5. of victory, when they were met by the Prussians at Leuthen, near Lissa. There a general engagement took place.

The Austrians and their associates were drawn up in a plain, behind several little hills, which were all covered with heavy cannon; and their left was farther secured by a mountain and a wood, also planted with artillery. The village of Nypern on the right wing, and that of Leuthen on the left, were likewise fortified, and filled with infantry. But the prince and Daun made less use than might have been expected of so advantageous a position. Deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Prussia toward their right, against which he made violent demonstrations, they drew their chief strength thither; whilst he, concealed by some heights which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a sublime stroke of generalship, to bear upon their left, against which he had meditated his real attack³. Daun, who commanded in person on the right of the Austrians, instead of attacking the thin left wing of the Prussians, which he might certainly have broken, and thus have divided the king's attention, as well as his force, ordered the right and centre to

¹ Lloyd, vol. i.

² Id. Ibid.

³ The description of this battle is drawn from a diligent comparison of the Prussian and Austrian accounts published by authority; yet the author of the historical article in the *Annual Register* for 1758 (said to be the late Dr. Campbell), and other English writers in blind submission to his authority, represent the *real attack* as having been made on the Austrian *right wing*.

sustain the left wing, already in confusion, and retiring so fast as to throw the fresh troops into disorder; whilst the victorious enemy, advancing in order of battle, prevented them from forming. The left wing therefore excepted, the whole Austrian army was routed, one battalion after another.

Other circumstances contributed to the success of his Prussian majesty. The auxiliary troops, consisting of new levies from Bavaria and Wirtemberg, being injudiciously placed on the most exposed part of the Austrian left wing, were soon broken by the Prussian infantry. And the sagacious Frederic, whose superior genius enabled him to take advantage of the enemy's errors, and defeat their best conducted schemes, having foreseen that Nadasti, with the body of reserve, would advance and attack the cavalry of his right wing, had wisely placed four battalions behind them; so that when this commander attempted to take the Prussians in flank, and had thrown some regiments of horse into confusion, the fire of the four concealed battalions obliged him to retire in disorder.

The Austrians, however, made a vigorous stand at the post of Leuthen, which was defended by the flower of their army. But after a fierce combat, when the Prussian infantry had been three times repelled in spite of their most strenuous efforts, the village was abandoned; and the victorious king pursued the enemy as far as Lissa.

The action lasted from one till four in the afternoon, when the Austrians were defeated in all quarters; and night only prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. They left about five thousand men dead on the field, with an equal number wounded. And the Prussians took, within a week after the battle, twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand waggons, and two hundred pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of military trophies. Their own loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to at least five thousand¹. Of all the battles of modern times, few could be more honourable to the victors.

But the consequences of the battle of Lissa are the best proof of the importance of the victory, as well as of the honour with which it was gained. The terror inspired by the arms of Frederic, every where communicated by the celerity of his motions, was for a time of as much use as his effective force. He immediately invested Breslau, which surrendered in a few days, though garrisoned with sixteen thousand men, who

Dec. 20.

¹ Lloyd, vol. i. p. 134.

were all made prisoners of war¹. And prince Charles, having collected the remains of his broken force, retired into Bohemia before the close of the year.

Nothing now remained to the Austrians, in Silesia, but the town of Schweidnitz, which his Prussian majesty was too prudent to invest during the rigour of winter, when his troops required repose; especially as he thought it must necessarily fall in the spring. And he was not deceived in his conjecture.

The same good fortune had attended the king's affairs in every quarter. The Russians, by making war like barbarians, had so exhausted the country they invaded, that they were obliged to return home, for want of provisions, on the approach of winter, leaving only a garrison in Memel. In consequence of this retreat, general Lehwald, who commanded the royal army in Prussia, was left at liberty with thirty thousand men. These he conducted into Pomerania, and obliged the Swedes to abandon the greater part of their conquests, and retire under the cannon of Stralsund, before the end of December. Meanwhile Keith had entered Bohemia, with eight thousand men, in the absence of the prince of Lorrain; and having raised contributions in different districts, and given an alarm even to Prague itself, he returned unmolested into Saxony.

Nor was this good fortune confined to the king of Prussia. It extended even to his subjected allies.

The French, intent only upon plunder, violated without scruple the convention of Closter-seven. And in order more freely to indulge their rapacity, and preclude even the possibility of revenge, the duke de Richelieu insisted that the brave but unfortunate Hanoverians and Hessians, who had acted under the duke of Cumberland, should deliver up their arms; while the court of Versailles, pretending that this and other stipulations had been omitted through neglect, refused to ratify the ignominious convention, unless certain explanations were added, although military conventions are supposed to require no ratification, and are never infringed but by the most faithless nations.

Roused by these injuries and indignities, by tyranny and rapine abetted by national treachery, but chiefly by the terror of being deprived of their arms, the last disgrace of soldiers, the Hanoverian troops, though distributed into different cantonments, secretly resolved to rescue their country from oppression,

¹ Lloyd, vol. i. p. 134.

and had begun to collect themselves in consequence of that resolution, when the victory obtained at Rosbach more fully awakened their courage, and confirmed them in their generous purpose.

Pleased with a zeal so conformable to his wishes, and thinking himself now fully released from the mortifying shackles of neutrality imposed upon him by the convention of Closter-seven, so shamefully violated and disavowed by the court of Versailles, his Britannic majesty invested prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the chief command of his electoral forces, and ordered him to renew hostilities against his cruel and perfidious enemies. Assembled under this gallant leader, the Hanoverians A.D. bravely made head against their conquerors; and being 1758. reinforced in the beginning of the year by a body of Prussian horse, they pushed the French from one post to another, and obliged them to evacuate Lunenberg, Ottersberg, Bremen, and Verden.

The town and castle of Hoya, on the Weser, where the enemy attempted to make a stand, were reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunswick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the same river, and made prisoners a garrison of four thousand men. An English squadron, under commodore Holmes, compelled the French to abandon Embden, the capital of East Friesland; and the wretched remnant of a great and lately victorious army found the utmost difficulty in repassing the Rhine, without being entirely cut off by a body of men, whom it had, a few months before, vanquished, insulted, and trampled upon.

From this reproach, so justly merited by the French officers, as well as soldiers, while they were in possession of Hanover, the duke de Randan, a nobleman of great honour and integrity, who commanded in the capital, was happily exempted. As the pride of conquest had never prompted him to behave with insolence, resentment had as little power to make him act with rigour on the adverse turn of affairs. He not only endeavoured, at all times, to restrain the soldiers within the bounds of discipline, but exhibited a glorious proof of humanity, when ordered to evacuate the place. Instead of destroying the magazine of provisions, according to the usual, and often wantonly cruel practice of war, he generously left the whole in the hands of the magistrates, to be either sold at a cheap rate, or given to the lower class of the inhabitants, who had long been exposed to the pressure of famine!

Never perhaps in any one campaign were the changes of fortune, the accidents of war, the power of generalship, or the force of discipline, so fully displayed, as in that of 1757. Influenced by those changes, the British ministry embraced a new system of policy. Mr. Secretary Pitt, who, that he might govern the councils of his sovereign, had found it expedient to form a coalition with the duke of Newcastle and other members of the old administration, also thought fit to contradict his former sentiments, and the arguments founded upon them, and become the advocate of a German war. But perhaps such a sacrifice of sentiment was necessary, in order to enable the great commoner to serve his country, even in this preposterous manner. George, though a magnanimous prince, and a lover of his British subjects, was impatient of contradiction in whatever concerned his German dominions.

In consequence of the system now adopted, and the ardour with which the parliament and the people entered into the views of the ministry, a new agreement was signed at London, between the king of Prussia and his Britannic majesty. These

April 11. princes engaged to conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, but in full concert; and the latter promised to pay immediately to the former the sum of four millions of German crowns, or six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, in order to enable him to maintain and augment his forces, to be employed in the common cause. Liberal supplies were also granted for the support of the army under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: and it was farther resolved to reinforce it with a body of British troops.

The councils of Louis experienced a change, no less remarkable than that which had taken place in those of George. The French ministers had long been the sport of female caprice. It was their power of pleasing madame de Pompadour, a favourite mistress who entirely governed their king, that alone qualified them to serve their country. Some of the most honest and able men in the kingdom were dismissed from their employments with marks of disgrace, while others resigned their posts with indignation. But the misfortunes of the French arms, at length, obliged the court of Versailles to call men to public service upon public principles.

The duke de Belleisle, whose exploits I have already had occasion to relate, and whose abilities were known to all Europe, was placed at the head of the military department. "I know," said he, in entering on his office, "the miserable state of our

armies, and it fills me at once with grief and indignation ; for the disgrace and infamy which it reflects upon our government are more to be lamented than the evil itself:—I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging, and licentious violence, have been carried by our officers and common men, after the example of their commanders. It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman. But, thank God ! my principles are known to be very different from those that have lately been adopted.

“ Had I commanded the army, many enormities would have been repressed : a thousand things that have been done would have been omitted ; whilst others, that have been neglected, would have been executed. I should have multiplied my communications ; I should have had strong posts on the right, on the left, and in the centre : I should have had magazines in all parts. The quiet and satisfaction of the conquered, under a mild administration, would have been equal to the resentment which they have discovered at being plundered and oppressed ; and we should have been as much beloved and admired by them, as we are at present contemned and abhorred. The disastrous consequences of a different line of conduct are too obvious to need being pointed out : they are severely felt. We must not, however, supinely sink under our misfortunes. A late reformation, though it seldom can effectually remedy the disorder, is better than unavailing complaint, or the tolerance of abuse ; let us, therefore, seriously begin the important work. There is yet room for hope ; and, in our situation, the absence of future evil may be esteemed a desirable good¹. ”

The duke accordingly made every possible exertion to communicate strength and order to the French army upon the Rhine, now commanded by the count de Clermont, who had succeeded the ravenous and dissipated Richelieu. Troops were also assembled at Hanau under Soubise, supposed to be intended to penetrate into Bohemia, or to reinforce the army of the empire, but in reality to invade the territories of Hesse-Cassel, and oblige the landgrave to renounce the alliance of his Britannic majesty. In the mean time prince Ferdinand, having passed the Rhine in the face of fifty thousand men, attacked the count De Clermont at Crevelt, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologne, after six thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or captured. Among those who fell was

June
23.

¹ *Annual Register for 1758.*

the count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, who had been mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, while animating it by his example to make a vigorous effort. His fate was much lamented both by the victors and vanquished. Having been educated with all the care which an enlightened father could bestow upon a son of fine talents, in order to enable him to maintain the reputation of his ancestors, he united the purest morals to the most elegant manners. He was not only a promoter of learning, but excelled in various branches of it. He had visited many parts of Europe, and read courts and nations with a discerning eye. He seemed to want only military experience to complete his attainments, and render him a support as well as an ornament to his country. He resolved to acquire such experience. Though lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house, himself the last hope of a most noble family, he entered that course of glory and danger, which his own ardent spirit and the wishes of his countrymen pointed out to him, and fell in his first campaign. The affectionate father, and patriotic minister, deeply mourned his loss, and mingled the private with the public tear.

The reduction of Dusseldorff, however, was the only visible effect of a victory, which did great honour to the military capacity of the Hanoverian general, and to the bravery of his troops. The French army (now commanded by M. de Contades), being on its own frontier, was quickly reinforced; and prince Ferdinand saw reason to apprehend, that he might soon be obliged to repass the Rhine, by an enemy whom he had lately defeated. But he resolved to maintain his ground as long as possible, in hopes of being joined by the British troops, the first division of which had already landed at Embden; and, on their arrival, he did not doubt of being able to transfer the seat of war from the Rhine to the Maese, and of gaining such advantages over Contades, as would make it necessary for the prince de Soubise to come to his assistance. In the mean time he flattered himself, that the prince of Ysenburg, who commanded the Hessian troops, would be able to protect the territories of the landgrave, and find sufficient employment for the French in that quarter. But in this hope he was disappointed; and some unforeseen circumstances conspired to render his splendid scheme abortive.

The duke de Broglio, with a strong detachment from the army of Soubise, defeated the Hessians on the twenty-third day of July, near Sangershausen. This victory gave the French the command of the Weser; and it was apprehended, if they should

avail themselves of the advantages they had acquired, that they might be able to cut off the British troops, now on their march to join the Hanoverian army. In such circumstances, prince Ferdinand had no alternative, but to repass the Rhine or give battle to Contades. The French general studiously avoided an engagement; and heavy rains had rendered the passage of the Rhine exceedingly difficult.

Meanwhile M. de Chevert, (who had passed that river some time before, with twelve thousand men, in order to attempt the recovery of Dusseldorf,) having attacked baron Imhoff near the bridge of Rees, was repulsed with great slaughter. Imhoff joined the British forces; and Contades, convinced of the superiority of the Hanoverians in valour and discipline, though much inferior in point of number, permitted prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine, almost without molestation. The Hessians, assured of support, wore a good countenance, notwithstanding the defeat of general Oberg, who had been sent to their assistance; and the British troops were zealous for action. But the season being too far in the decline to allow any new plan of operations, the prince put his army into winter quarters in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim¹.

During these transactions on the Rhine, the king of Prussia had experienced several changes of fortune. Having spent the winter in Silesia, he began the campaign with the siege of Schweidnitz, and obliged the Austrian garrison to surrender within thirteen days. On the recovery of that important place he divided his principal army, consisting of about fifty thousand men, into three bodies; the first commanded by Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. With this army, after threatening Bohemia, he suddenly entered Moravia; which, for various reasons, he intended to make the theatre of war, but for none more than its having been hitherto exempted from contribution. Meanwhile he dispatched his brother Henry, with thirty thousand men, to oppose the army of the empire, which the prince of Deux Ponts had assembled near Bamberg.

As the king, by his rapid and unexpected march into Moravia, threw his enemies behind him, it was thought he would proceed directly to Vienna. But, though surely not destitute of ambition, or of the power of forming great designs, he chose to pursue a more moderate line of conduct. He saw the danger

¹ Lond. Gazette.

of leaving an Austrian garrison in Olmutz, supported by an army in his rear; and therefore resolved to attempt the speedy conquest of that strong town. The trenches were accordingly opened before it, and with the most sanguine hopes of success. In the mean time Daun, having quitted his camp at Leutomyszell in Bohemia, entered Moravia by the way of Billa.

Too cautious, and perhaps too weak, to attempt the relief of Olmutz, by hazarding a battle, the Austrian general took post in the neighbouring mountains, between Gewitz and Littau; where he could be copiously supplied with provisions from Bohemia, and whence he could retard the operations of the besiegers, by keeping them in continual alarm, at the same time that he could throw succours into the place, and obstruct the Prussian convoys from Silesia. In the last, his chief object, he was particularly successful; for he intercepted a convoy of four hundred waggons near the defiles of Domstadt, and obliged general Ziethen, who escorted it, to retire to Troppau. As this loss could not be easily or quickly repaired—and as the Russians, already on the frontiers of Silesia, and laying every thing waste, in their progress, with fire and sword, were preparing to enter that fine country, yet bleeding from the ravages of war—the king saw the necessity of relinquishing his enterprise. But this gallant prince, who, although he sometimes forgot himself in prosperity, by being too elate, never sunk under the pressure of adversity, acquired as much honour in conducting his retreat, as Daun did in making it necessary. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his territories, he determined to take his route through the dominions of the enemy. And as Daun, more effectually to succour Olmutz, had been obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia, his Prussian majesty found no difficulty in accomplishing his purpose. Having concealed, under an incessant fire, his intention of raising the siege, he lifted

July 1. his camp at midnight; and proceeded with so little molestation, that he arrived at Koniggratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, his military stores entire, and even all his sick and wounded¹. Here he allowed his army some repose, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. But that repose was of short duration. Understanding that the Russians,

¹ Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

instead of invading Silesia, had entered the New Marche of Brandenburg, and invested Custrin, a fortified town within fifty miles of Berlin, he instantly marched to its relief; and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Austrian generals, and the activity of their light troops, he formed a junction with lieutenant-general Dohna, near Frankfort on the Oder, with very small loss.

No sooner did the Russian generals, Brown and Fermor, receive intelligence of the king's approach, than they abandoned the siege of Custrin, and took post near Zwicker and Zorndorff. Though greatly outnumbered by the cruel invaders, Frederic resolved to give them battle; concluding that his troops were stimulated by every motive which could impel men to vigorous exertions. Revenge for barbarous wrongs, a desire of saving their country, on the brink of ruin, from future ravages, and of acquiring honour under the eye of a sovereign and a commander, who had often led them to glory and to conquest, he presumed must actuate their hearts. They did not disappoint his hopes.

Having passed the Mitzel, about nine o'clock in the morning, he attempted to turn the enemy's left wing; but the Russian generals, penetrating his purpose, defeated it by excellent dispositions. As the ground did not admit an extended line, they threw their army into the form of a square, defended on every side by cannon and *chevaux-de-frise*. And in this position they waited the attack of the Prussians, who began the battle with a powerful fire of artillery, which lasted near two hours. Then the king's infantry advanced to the charge, and completed the havoc made by the artillery. Whole regiments of Russians were destroyed by bullets or bayonets, but not a man offered to quit his rank; and fresh regiments still pressing forward, the Prussian infantry, which had given and received so many terrible shocks with immoveable firmness, yielded to the collected impulse. Aug. 25.

In that moment of danger and dismay, when all seemed lost, the intrepid Frederic, by a rapid and masterly movement, brought all the cavalry of his right wing to support his centre. Pressing upon the Russian foot, uncovered by their already broken horse, his cavalry pushed them back with great slaughter, and allowed the brave battalions leisure to recollect themselves. Returning to the charge, inflamed with rage and resentment at their disgrace, the infantry now decided the contest. The Russians were every where thrown into confusion. They no longer distinguished friends from foes: they fired upon each other in their ungovernable fury, and even plundered their own baggage.

It was now no longer a battle, but a horrid carnage; yet the Russians, though thus distracted and broken (incredible as it may seem), did not offer to quit the field. They kept their ground till seven in the evening, when they made a new struggle for victory, and darkness only put a stop to the effusion of blood. Eight thousand of their number were left dead on the spot, and five thousand were severely wounded. The loss of the Prussians did not exceed two thousand men¹.

The Russians, in consequence of this severe chastisement, retreated before the victors as far as Landsperg, on the frontiers of Poland; and the king, happy in having freed his dominions from such a dreadful scourge, hastened to the relief of Henry, who was nearly encompassed with enemies: but the strong position at Dipposewalde, which the prince had chosen in order to cover Dresden, and the timely arrival of his royal brother, extricated him from all his difficulties. His adversaries could not even prevent the king from joining him; and, on this junction, Daun fell back as far as Zittau, while the army of the empire took refuge in the strong post of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied at the beginning of the war.

But the Austrian commander, though induced by his extreme caution to avoid an immediate engagement, did not for a moment lose sight of his antagonist. Advantageously posted at Stolpen, he preserved a communication with the forces of the empire, and watched the motions of his Prussian majesty with as keen an attention as ever Fabius, to whom he has been compared, did those of the great Carthaginian general.

The king, after various movements, calculated to protect Brandenburg from the incursions of the Austrians, and cut off their intercourse with Bohemia, took post in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen; enabling himself to command both Misnia and Lusatia, and at the same time maintain a communication with the army of prince Henry. Daun, who had observed these motions with concern, advanced from Stolpen, and adopted the resolution of attacking the Prussian camp by surprise, as the only means of preserving his footing in Saxony, or finding his way out of it with safety.

Having communicated this design to the prince of Deux Ponts, who still commanded the army of the empire, the Austrian general put his troops in motion about midnight, and arrived at the

¹ *Letters from the king of Prussia, &c. in Lond. Gazette, Sept. 8, 1758.*—Other publications of the times.

place of his destination, undiscovered, by five o'clock in the morning. The Prussian right wing was surprised and routed; Oct. and maréchal Keith and prince Francis of Brunswick 15. were killed, in bravely attempting to turn the tide of battle. Their efforts, however, were not wholly without effect. The prince was early slain; but Keith, at the head of the infantry, obstinately maintained the combat against the whole weight of the Austrian army. Though wounded, he refused to quit the field. He still continued to animate the companions of his perils; and he had repelled the Austrians by his persevering valour, and was pursuing them, when he received the deadly bullet in his breast¹.

The king, who never stood more in need of all his firmness, activity, and presence of mind, now assumed in person the command of his gallant infantry. But finding it impracticable to recover the village of Hochkirchen, which had been lost in the first surprise, he ordered his right wing to fall back as far as Weissenberg, the left still remaining at Bautzen. This position was nearly as good as the former. But, beside the loss of reputation inseparable from a defeat, he had lost two able generals, six thousand brave men, and the greater part of his camp equipage². Yet the Austrians had no reason for extraordinary exultation. They had lost nearly an equal number of men, without accomplishing their purpose. The vanquished enemy was still formidable.

Of this the victors soon had some distinguished proofs. So little was Frederic discouraged by this defeat, that he offered battle to Daun immediately after it. And as this commander not only declined the challenge, but kept cautiously within his fortified camp (in hopes of amusing his heroic antagonist, whom he durst not openly meet in the field, till some blow could be given in another quarter, or some new advantage stolen in an unguarded hour), the protector of his people, and the avenger of their wrongs,

¹ Lloyd, vol. i.—Keith was brother to the attainted earl-marischal of Scotland, had been engaged with him in the rebellion of 1715, and was obliged on that account to abandon his country. He raised himself to the rank of a lieutenant-general in the Russian service in 1734, and highly distinguished himself against the Turks in 1737, especially at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. In 1741 and 1742 he commanded against the Swedes, and gained the battle of Wilmanstrand. In 1747 he quitted the Russian service for that of Prussia. In 1749 he was made a knight of the Black Eagle, and governor of Berlin, with a pension of twelve thousand dollars, besides his pay. In the present war he gave proofs of his being a great commander. He was a middle-sized man, with a very martial countenance, but of a humane and benevolent temper. Id. *ibid*.

² Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

took a bolder method of showing his superior generalship, and of recovering that trophy which had been torn from his brow, not by the sword of valour, but by the wily hand of stratagem. Darting, like the lightning of heaven, to a distant scene of action, he struck his enemies with terror and mankind with admiration.

The Austrian generals (Harsche and De Ville) having already formed the siege of Neiss and the blockade of Cosel, he saw the necessity of marching to the relief of Silesia, be the fate of Saxony what it might. Committing this important conquest to the care of his brother, he quitted his camp at Dobreschutz; and by the celerity of his motions soon arrived, without any obstruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz.

In consequence of this rapid march, all the advantages of Daun's studied position, and the promised fruits of the boasted victory at Hochkirchen, were lost in a moment. An open passage into Silesia now lay before the Prussian monarch. And he pursued his route without interruption, or any considerable loss; though general Laudohn hung upon his rear with twenty-four thousand men, and another army was sent to attack him in

Nov. front. In spite of the efforts of these armies, the intrepid

1. Frederic baffled the aims of his adversaries. The siege of Neiss was raised on his approach, as was also the blockade of Cosel¹.

Having thus driven the Austrians out of Silesia, without being under the necessity of hazarding a battle, the king returned by the same route, and with the same expedition, to the relief of Saxony, now in a manner covered with the forces of his enemies. The army of the empire had obliged prince Henry to abandon his post at Seidlitz, and had cut off his communication with Leipsic, at the same time that Daun attempted to obstruct his intercourse with Dresden. He found means, however, to throw himself into the latter, and afterward to retire to the other side of the Elbe. Meanwhile the enemy laid siege to those two cities, and also invested Torgau. But the reduction of Dresden, before which Daun appeared with sixty thousand men, and which was defended only by a fifth part of that number, was the grand object of the foe. Count Schmettau, the Prussian governor, was therefore under the necessity of setting fire to the suburbs, in order to preserve the city for his master; and two hundred and

¹ Publications of the times.

sixty-six houses were consumed, but very few persons lost their lives¹.

This conflagration has been represented by the emissaries of the court of Vienna, and by certain declamatory writers, as a terrible outrage on humanity. But as it appears that the inhabitants had timely notice of the governor's intention², he seems to have acted in perfect conformity with the laws of war, even as explained by the benevolent spirit of Montesquieu; for those laws require, that, in military operations, the least public injury, consistent with the acquisition or preservation of dominion, be done to the body of the people³.

By the destruction of the suburbs of Dresden, the cause of so much clamour and obloquy, the city was rendered more secure. It could not now be taken but by a regular siege: that must require time; and the king was hastening to its relief. These considerations induced Daun to relinquish his enterprise; and Frederic, a few days after, entered Dresden in triumph. Nov. The siege of Leipsic was raised; that of Torgau had be- 20. fore been given up; and the Imperialists retired into Bohemia for the winter. The Russians, who, in their retreat, had invested Colberg, were obliged to abandon the undertaking with disgrace; and the Swedes, who had also entered Prussian Pomerania, were not more fortunate in their operations than their barbarous allies⁴. The king of Prussia, triumphant over all his enemies, appeared greater than ever. The exploits of every other commander were obscured by the splendour of his victories and retreats, and the lustre of his valour and conduct.

While those memorable achievements occurred on the grand theatre of the war, the British arms had recovered their lustre both by land and sea. The vigorous and enterprising spirit of the prime minister seemed to communicate itself to all ranks and classes of men, but more especially to the officers of the army and navy. Patriotic zeal took place of sluggish indifference, prompt decision of wavering hesitation, and fearless exertion of timid caution. The nerve of action was new-strung. Every bosom seemed to pant for fame, and for an opportunity of retrieving the national honour.

That bold spirit of enterprise, which caught fresh fire from the victories of Frederic and the success of the army under prince

¹ *Certificates of the Magistrates of Dresden*, Nos. II. III. in the *Appendix to the Ann. Reg.* 1758.

² *Id. ibid.*

³ *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. x.

⁴ *Foreign Gazettes.*

Ferdinand, was also inflamed by some fortunate events at sea. As admiral Osborn was cruising off the coast of Spain, between Cape de Gatt and Carthagená, he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne. Two ships of the line were taken after an obstinate resistance; and another was driven on shore near the castle of Aiglos, where she found shelter under the Spanish neutrality¹.

This was a sharp blow. The French not only lost two capital ships, but saw them added to the British navy. Nor was that their only misfortune by sea. Sir Edward Hawke, in the beginning of April, dispersed and drove on shore, near the isle of Aix, a fleet consisting of five ships of the line, six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand soldiers, with a large quantity of provisions and stores, intended for the French settlements in North America². Two other convoys were dispersed, and several vessels taken; and, in May, a French ship of the line was captured after a smart engagement.

Roused to enthusiasm by this success, the people of England, who had so lately trembled under the apprehensions of a French invasion, now talked of nothing but carrying hostilities into the heart of France. And the popular minister, instead of regulating that enthusiasm, by confining it to its proper element, or directing its energy against important objects, allowed it to take its own wild sweep, and spend the strongest impulse of its force in air.

A new expedition to the coast of France was planned, notwithstanding the miscarriage of the former, and the disgrace it had brought upon the British arms; such a descent being represented by the great commoner as the most effectual means of serving his majesty's German allies, by drawing the attention of the enemy to their own internal defence, and consequently of weakening their efforts upon the Rhine. Two squadrons were accordingly equipped; the greater, consisting of eleven ships of the line, commanded by the admirals Anson and Hawke, and the smaller of four sail of the line, seven frigates, and six sloops, beside fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, under the direction of commodore Howe. The forces consisted of sixteen regiments of foot, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, assisted by lord George Sackville.

¹ Letter from admiral Osborn, in the *London Gazette*.

² Letter from sir Edward Hawke, April 11, 1758.

This great armament sailed from the Isle of Wight (where the troops had been for some time encamped) in the beginning of June, leaving every heart elate with sanguine hopes of its success. Nor did these hopes seem ill-founded. The admirals Anson and Hawke, with the fleet under their command, proceeded to the Bay of Biscay, in order to spread more widely the alarm, and watch the motions of the French squadron in Brest harbour; while commodore Howe with the transports, and the squadron appointed for their protection, steered directly to St. Malo, a port of Bretagne, against which the armament seemed to have been destined, if it had any particular object. As the place appeared too strong to admit any attempt on the side next the sea, the troops were disembarked in the bay of Cancele, with a view of attacking it on the land side. But it was found, when reconnoitred, to be equally inaccessible on that side, except by regular approaches, for which the invaders were not prepared. They therefore contented themselves with destroying the shipping and naval stores at St. Servan, a kind of suburb of St. Malo, and returned to Spithead without any further attempt¹.

The success of this expedition by no means answered the ardour of public expectation. But that ardour was again excited by the most vigorous preparations for a new armament, which sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August, the land-forces being commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh, and the fleet and transports under the conduct of Howe. The troops were disembarked in the neighbourhood of Cherbourg, which, being an open town on the land side, was entered without opposition. Some forts and other works were demolished; a petty contribution was levied upon the inhabitants; and twenty-one pieces of cannon were carried off in triumph, and pompously exhibited to the view of the English populace, as the spoils of France. After they had been shown in Hyde Park to gaping multitudes, they were drawn through the principal streets of London with great military parade, and formally lodged in the Tower.

But the British ministry had soon reason to repent of this empty ovation, which flattered the prejudices of the vulgar, and gratified for a moment the national passion for glory and conquest. While the people of England were exulting over the temporary conquest of a place less considerable than many of

¹ Lond. Gazette, June 17, 1758. See also the *Letter* from an officer on board the *Essex*, commodore Howe's ship.

their own fishing towns, the victorious battalions were exposed to the most imminent peril.

Having re-embarked the troops at Cherbourg without molestation, the commander-in-chief (for reasons best known to himself) made his second landing to the westward of St. Malo, against which he seemed determined to hazard an attempt; though the town was now in a better state of defence than when an attack had been judged impracticable by the duke of Marlborough, and the assailants were less numerous. General Bligh, accordingly, soon discovered his mistake. The design upon St. Malo was laid aside; but it was resolved to penetrate into the country, and do something for the honour of the British arms, before the troops re-entered the transports.

In conformity with this resolution, the fleet anchored in the bay of St. Cas; while the land forces proceeded, by Guildo, to the village of Matignon, where they dispersed a small body of French troops, and encamped within three miles of the transports, to prevent their retreat from being cut off. Here the British commanders were informed, that the duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Bretagne, had advanced within six miles of their camp, at the head of twelve battalions and six squadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. An immediate retreat was judged necessary; but the measures for carrying it into execution were slow and injudicious. Instead of decamping in the night without noise, by which they might probably have reached the shore before the French had the least intelligence of their motion, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who instantly repeated the same signal; and, although the march was begun soon after, so many were the obstructions, that the troops did not reach the bay of St. Cas before nine o'clock. Notwithstanding this delay, the embarkation might have been effected without loss, if it had been properly conducted. But in this, as in other respects, the greatest blunders were committed.

The English commanders, filled with delusive confidence, seemed to have flattered themselves that no Frenchman durst look an Englishman in the face. Hence, from the moment they had intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they appear to have been under the influence of fear or infatuation; like all men who have over-rated their own courage, or undervalued that of an antagonist. All the troops, however, were embarked before

the French began to press closely upon them, except the grenadiers, and one half of the first regiment of foot-guards, Sept. who had the honour of remaining longest on hostile 11. ground. This gallant body, consisting of fifteen hundred men, attempted to form and face the greatly superior enemy. But their resolution failed them: they fell into confusion: they fled; and rushed into the sea, or were slaughtered on the beach. Of those who took refuge in the waves, a considerable number were saved by the boats of the fleet, and about four hundred of the fugitives were made prisoners. Among the killed and drowned were general Drury and several men of fortune, who had acted as volunteers: and with them perished about six hundred of the best soldiers in Christendom¹.

Such was the unfortunate issue of our ill-concerted expeditions to the coast of France, which involved the nation in an enormous expense, without being attended with any adequate advantage². They contributed, however, for a time, to rouse the spirit of the people, and to encourage the passion for enterprise; but as neither their success nor their objects corresponded with the hopes which such vast preparations raised, they had finally a contrary effect. The people, though subject to delusion, are not utterly blind. They saw the disproportion between means and ends, between great armaments and petty aims. And the disaster at St. Cas, which was the more keenly felt as it was altogether unexpected, and immediately followed the rejoicings for the taking of Cherbourg, dissipated the romantic ideas of pursuing conquest in France, or annihilating the French navy by destroying the principal sea-ports; while it exalted beyond measure the spirit of that volatile nation, which had been depressed and mortified by the insulting descents made upon its coasts with impunity. The Gallic boasters now magnified into a mighty victory their accidental good fortune in cutting off the rear-guard of a misguided party of desultory invaders.

But whatever consolation France might derive from the check which had been given to the ravagers of her coasts, the solid advantages acquired by the English in other quarters of the globe afforded them abundant cause of triumph, exclusive of such fugitive conquests. In North America, whence we had hitherto

¹ Lond. Gazette, Sept. 18, 1758.

² "Could we have burned the enemy's docks, stores, &c. at Brest and Rochefort," says general Lloyd, "it would have been a service of great importance, and worth trying; but no other object was by any means equal to the risk or the expense." *Hist. of the War in Germany*, vol. ii.

received only accounts of delay, disaster, and disgrace, our affairs had taken a new and highly favourable turn.

As the earl of Loudon had returned to England on account of some dissatisfaction in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie: but, the plan of operations being extensive, the forces were divided into three bodies, under as many commanders. About twelve thousand men, under major-general Amherst, were destined for the siege of Louisbourg; near sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie in person, were reserved for the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown Point; and eight thousand, commanded by brigadier Forbes, were ordered to attack Fort du Quesne.

The reduction of Cape Breton being an object of prime concern, it was undertaken with all possible dispatch. The army under Amherst embarked at Halifax in May; and the fleet and transports, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, under the direction of admiral Boscawen, soon arrived before Louisbourg. The garrison of the place consisted of above three thousand men; and the harbour was secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin. It was therefore necessary to disembark the troops at some distance from the town. The place chosen for that purpose was the creek of Cormoran; and as soon as the landing, which was attended with some difficulty but little loss, was accomplished, the town was regularly invested.

The first thing attempted by the besiegers, was to secure a post called the *Light-house Battery*. That service was performed by brigadier Wolfe, with all the vigour and celerity for which he was so much distinguished. On this elevated point were erected several batteries, which played upon the ships and the fortifications on the opposite side of the harbour. This place was defended with spirit, and the French ships long continued to fire upon the besiegers, and to obstruct their operations. At length, on the 21st of July, one of the great ships blew up, and the flames being communicated to two others, they also shared the same fate.

As the enemy, notwithstanding this misfortune, still refused to surrender, the English admiral (who during the whole siege had done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land-forces) sent into the harbour a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats, headed by the captains Laforey and Balfour. They boarded the two remaining ships of the line, destroyed one of

them, and towed off the other in triumph. The blow was decisive. The governor fearing a general assault, as several practicable breaches were made in the works, surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war, seven weeks after the disembarkation of the invaders; and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty. With Cape Breton fell also the island of St. John, and the inferior stations which the French had established for carrying on the cod fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence¹.

The reduction of Louisbourg was severely felt by France, especially as it had been attended with the loss of so considerable a naval force; and it occasioned the greatest rejoicings in England. But all our enterprises in America were not equally fortunate.

General Abercrombie had embarked upon Lake George in July; and, after a prosperous navigation, he landed his troops without opposition, and advanced in three columns toward Ticonderago. As the country through which his march lay was rough and woody, and his guides were very unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While they were in this disorder, they fell in with a French detachment, which had fled on their approach, being bewildered in like manner. A skirmish ensued; in which the English routed the enemy; but this advantage was unfortunately purchased with the death of lord Howe, a young nobleman of the most promising military talents, who had acquired the esteem and affection of the troops by his generosity, affability, and engaging manners, as well as by his distinguished valour.

Ticonderago was better fortified than Abercrombie expected to find it. Besides being strong by its natural situation, it was defended by near five thousand men, who were stationed under the cannon of the place, behind an *abattis* (or breastwork formed of the trunks of trees, piled one upon another), and were farther secured by whole trees, with their branches outward, some of which were cut and sharpened, so as to answer the purpose of *chevaux-de-frise*. Notwithstanding this strong position, the general rashly resolved to attack the enemy, without waiting for the arrival of the artillery. The troops advanced to the assault with the greatest alacrity; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. In vain did they attempt to cut their way through every obstacle. They could make no impression upon the enemy's works. The

¹ Knox's *Campaigns in North America*, vol. i.

general, therefore, found it necessary to order a retreat, as the only means of saving the remains of his army, after it had been exposed for four hours to the covered fire of the French musquetry. About two thousand men, among whom were many officers, were killed or wounded¹.

To repair the disgrace of this bloody repulse, Abercrombie detached colonel Bradstreet with three thousand men against Fort Frontenac. The colonel, who, with great prudence and valour, surmounted every difficulty, brought his little army to Oswego, where he embarked on Lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprise by the 25th of August. The post was ill fortified and feebly garrisoned. It surrendered at discretion, on the appearance of the English commander, who found there a very considerable quantity of provisions and merchandise, sixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed sloops².

The success of colonel Bradstreet, in all probability, facilitated the expedition under Forbes. This officer attempted to pass through a vast tract of country very little known, abounding with woods, mountains, and morasses. He made his way by surprising exertions of vigour and perseverance, though he was continually harassed by parties of Indians; and having advanced with the main body of his army as far as Ray's Town, distant about eighty miles from Fort du Quesne, he detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the place. Unfortunately the major's approach was discovered by the enemy, who sent a more numerous body against him. A desperate combat ensued, which was gallantly maintained by the British detachment for more than three hours; but being at length overpowered, it was obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or made prisoners; and among the latter was major Grant. This severe check did not prevent brigadier Forbes from advancing, though he was ignorant of the enemy's numbers. Regardless of danger, he only longed for an opportunity of retaliation. The French, however, dreading the prospect of a siege, deprived him of the pleasure of revenge, by abandoning the disputed post, on the twenty-fourth of November. They retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. The British standard was erected on Fort du Quesne, which had been the primary cause of so general and so destructive a war; and the name of Fort Pitt was given to it, in honour

¹ Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i.—*Lond. Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1758.

² *London Gazette*, Oct 31, 1758.

of the minister under whose auspices the expedition had been undertaken.

Nor were the British conquests confined to North America. Two ships of the line, with some frigates and a body of marines, had been dispatched, early in the season, to reduce the French settlements on the coast of Africa. They accordingly entered the river Senegal; and, in spite of the obstructions of a dangerous bar, which the ships of the line could not pass, they obliged Fort Louis, which commands the navigation of the Senegal, to surrender, and, with it, all the French settlements on that river¹.

But this squadron being found insufficient to reduce the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues, on the same coast, commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was afterwards sent upon that service, with four ships of the line, several frigates, and about seven hundred soldiers. The great ships laid their broadsides to the principal batteries, and maintained so strong a fire, that the place surrendered at discretion before the troops were landed². M. St. Jean, the French governor, behaved with true courage, but was ill supported by his garrison.

The British arms were less successful during this campaign in the East Indies. Though admiral Pococke, who had succeeded, in consequence of the death of admiral Watson, to the command of the English squadron on the coast of Coromandel, had worsted, in two fierce engagements, the French squadron under M. d'Aché, he was not able to prevent the loss of Cudalore and Fort St. David. Those places were reduced by the count de Lally; who having been appointed governor-general of the French possessions in India, had carried out with him a great force to Pondicherry. He was gallantly assisted in his operations by the count d'Estaing, and flattered himself with the hopes of subduing all the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel.

Such, my dear Philip, was the state of the war in all parts of the world, at the close of the year 1758. Many checks had been given, many victories obtained, and many conquests made; but these were not all on one side. The success was divided. All parties had cause of hope, or room for consolation; and, in consequence of this situation of affairs, all parties prepared for opening the ensuing campaign with equal vigour, though the state of their finances was very different. The resources of England being still great, she generously continued her annual subsidy to the

¹ *London Gazette*, June 10, 1758.

² *London Gazette*, January 29, 1759.

king of Prussia. Those of Austria were nearly exhausted, and France was on the eve of a national bankruptcy; yet were the efforts of both undiminished. The empress of Russia, having lost only men, readily supplied by her very extensive dominions, adhered to her military system, which she considered as necessary to the training of her armies; and Sweden made no advances toward peace. The greatest exertions were displayed in every quarter of the globe.

Germany however continued, as hitherto, to be the chief theatre of military operations, though conquest or bold enterprise seemed to find elsewhere a wider range. Repeated trials of strength had here made all parties more cautious; because all had become sensible that the war could only be brought to a successful issue by patience and perseverance, not by any single blow. The greatest blows had been already struck, yet peace seemed as distant as ever: though in striking some of those blows, ruin itself had been hazarded by the illustrious Frederic. Less dependence was henceforth placed in fortune, and more in force and skill. Experience had moderated the ardour of courage and rectified the mistaken conceptions of military superiority. Firmness and recollection took place of presumption and rashness: and mutual esteem and apprehensions of danger, of self-confidence and mutual contempt.

The fire of the king's genius alone seemed unabated. We have seen in what manner he obliged the Austrians and the army of the empire to evacuate Saxony, at the close of the last campaign, while his generals compelled the Russians and Swedes to retire toward their own frontiers. He began the present with

A.D. alacrity and vigour, and he had formed a great system of 1759. operations, in concert with prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. One of his generals, in February, destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland; another recovered Anclam, Demin, and other towns of Pomerania. He himself, by his threatening motions, drew the Austrian army to the frontiers of Silesia. His brother, who had wintered in Saxony, seized the opportunity of subjecting Bohemia to contribution; and afterward entering Franconia, pushed the imperial army as far back as Nuremberg.

To this degree were the Prussian arms successful. But some unforeseen events, partly depending upon the king, partly upon others, disconcerted his future plans. The Russians advanced toward Silesia, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines. And prince Ferdinand, although early reinforced with a choice body of British troops, found himself unable to prevent the army

of the empire from receiving succours from that of France; a circumstance on which the success of the campaign greatly depended, and on which his Prussian majesty had presumed, though certainly without due consideration.

The French, by a flagrant violation of the liberties of the empire, accompanied with an act of perfidy, had made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Maine, a neutral and free city, in the beginning of January. This was an important acquisition, as it secured to them the course of the Maine, and the Upper Rhine, by which they could easily receive every kind of supply. It was therefore determined that they should be dislodged, if possible, as soon as the season would permit the allied army to take the field.

With this view, prince Ferdinand assembled his troops in the vicinity of Fulda, and marched against the enemy at the head of thirty thousand men; having left the rest of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the bishopric of Munster. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglio, strongly posted near Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau; yet he resolved to attack them. He accordingly advanced to ^{April 13.} the charge; but, after three attempts to gain possession of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loss of fifteen hundred men. He preserved, however, so good a countenance, that the enemy did not venture to pursue him¹.

The allies perhaps lost no honour by this action. But they failed in their object; and their failure, beside thwarting the designs of the king of Prussia, reduced them to great distress for want of provisions. Meanwhile the French enjoyed plenty of every thing. And their armies on the Upper and Lower ^{June 3.} Rhine, having formed a junction near Marpurg, proceeded northward, under the *maréchal de Contades*, who fixed his head-quarters at Corbach, whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel.

Finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, prince Ferdinand judged it prudent to retire as they advanced. He left strong garrisons, however, in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden, to retard the progress of the French generals. But this precaution proved ineffectual. Retberg was surprised by the duke de Broglio. He also took Minden by assault; and Munster was reduced after a short siege.

It now seemed impossible to prevent the French from making

¹ French and English *Gazettes* compared.

themselves a second time masters of his Britannic majesty's German dominions. Considering the conquest of Hanover as certain, the court of Versailles was only occupied in contriving expedients for securing it; and the regency of that electorate, willing to provide against the consequences of such a probable event, again sent the archives to Stade. All things seemed hastening to the same situation which brought on the humiliating convention of Closter-seven; especially as prince Ferdinand continued to retire, and studiously kept up his communication with the Weser.

But that accomplished general, though weakened by his losses, was not disconcerted. He saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. Although naturally cautious, he resolved, under the pressure of necessity, to pursue a bold line of conduct, instead of taking refuge in despair, or seeking an apology for misfortune in the gloom of public despondency. As soon as he found that nothing but a battle could prevent the French from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate, he determined to bring matters to that issue. And the means by which he accomplished his design with an inferior army, without exposing himself to any disaster, discovered so profound a genius for war, as will ever induce good judges to rank him among the greatest masters of the military art.

The main body of the French army had encamped near Minden, to which town its right wing extended. On the left was a steep hill, in the front a morass; and a rivulet covered the rear. As nothing could be more advantageous than this position, which rendered an attack impracticable, prince Ferdinand employed all his skill to draw the enemy from it. With that view he quitted his camp on the Weser, and marched to Hille; leaving, however, general Wangenheim entrenched on the banks of the disputed river; and detaching the hereditary prince of Brunswick to make a compass toward the left flank of the French, and cut off their communication with Paderborn.

Contades and Broglio, who were not inattentive to these movements, fell into the snare that was laid for them. They concluded, that the opportunity which they had so long sought, of cutting off prince Ferdinand's intercourse with the Weser, was at last found, and with it the consummation of their wishes. They saw, as they imagined, the allied army disjoined, beyond the possibility of immediate union; and therefore flattered themselves with the hope of effecting its ruin, by defeating general Wangenheim, and securing the command of the Weser. Full of this

idea, they left their advantageous post ; and passing the morass, advanced into the plain.

The duke de Broglie, who led the French van, proceeded with great confidence until he reached a neighbouring eminence ; whence he beheld, instead of entrenchments defended by a small body, the whole army of the allies disposed in excellent order, and extending from the banks of the Weser almost to Minden. A discovery so unexpected embarrassed the French general. But he had no alternative left : it was too late to recede. He therefore ordered his cavalry to advance, and begin the engagement. Aug. 1.

The British infantry, which, with two battalions of Hanoverian guards, composed the centre of the allied army, sustained the principal shock of the battle, and broke every body of horse and foot that advanced against them ; while the Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Prussian and Hanoverian dragoons, posted on the left, baffled all the attempts of the enemy, and pushed them to the necessity of seeking safety in flight¹.

At that instant, prince Ferdinand sent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the British and Hanoverian horse, which composed the right wing of the allies, to advance to the charge. And, if these orders had been cheerfully obeyed, the battle of Minden would probably have been as memorable and decisive as that of Blenheim. The French army would have been destroyed, or totally routed and driven out of Germany. But whatever was the cause, whether the orders were not sufficiently precise, were misinterpreted, or imperfectly understood, the British cavalry did not arrive in time to have any share in the engagement² : so that the French, instead of being warmly pursued, were permitted to retire in good order, and to regain their former position, after seven thousand of their countrymen had been killed, wounded, or captured. They judged it necessary, however, to quit their camp, and pass the Weser the same night ; and, the next day, the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion. About two thousand men lost their lives, or received severe wounds, on the side of the allies.

Prince Ferdinand passed an indirect censure upon the British commander for his conduct on this occasion ; and a court-martial confirmed that censure. But, as the whole weight of ministerial

¹ London and Paris *Gazettes*.—The French account of this battle, and of the operations that preceded it, is the most perfect.

² Evidence produced on the trial of lord George Sackville.

influence is supposed to have been thrown into the scale of the German general, impartial observers are still divided in their opinion on the subject. It may not, however, be improper to observe, for the information of posterity, that the two generals were by no means on good terms with each other before the battle. Prince Ferdinand, who understood the *mystery*, as well as the *art* of war, and pursued it as a *lucrative trade*, felt himself uneasy under the eye of an observer so keen and penetrating as lord George Sackville, and wished to remove him from the command. This wish perhaps occasioned that confusion, or contradiction of orders, of which the English general complained, and which he assigned as the cause of his inaction. But there is also reason to suppose, that the chagrin of the British commander rendered his perception, on that occasion, less clear than usual, and that he even secretly indulged a desire of obscuring the glory of a hated rival, without reflecting, that by such conduct he was sacrificing his duty to his sovereign, and eventually the interests of his country¹.

LETTER XXXIV.

The View of the State of Europe, and the History of the general War, pursued, from the Defeat of the French at Minden to the Death of George II.

THE victory gained by the allies at Minden, though less complete than it might have been rendered by the ready co-operation of the British general, threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion, and blasted all its hopes of conquest. It not only enabled prince Ferdinand effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover, but to recover Munster, and force the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. And if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, in order to support the king of Prussia, whose affairs were much embarrassed, he would probably have driven the vain-glorious enemy to the other side of the Rhine, before the close of the campaign.

¹ See prince Ferdinand's *Letter* to the king of Great Britain, and lord George Sackville's *Vindication* of his conduct.

The embarrassment of Frederic was chiefly occasioned by the approach of the Russians, in spite of every effort to obstruct their progress. Displeased with the studied caution of count Dohna, the king conferred the command of the army destined to oppose them on general Wedel, who immediately gave battle July conformably to his orders. He attacked them with great 23. spirit, but without effect, at Kay, near Zullichau, in Silesia. The Prussians were repulsed with the loss of many lives, after an obstinate engagement; and the Russians took possession of Frankfort on the Oder.

No sooner was the warlike monarch informed of this disaster, than he resolved to oppose the Russians in person; and began his march with ten thousand veterans to join the shattered army under Wedel; leaving his brother to observe the motions of the Austrians on the frontiers of Lusatia. Meanwhile Daun, apprised of the king's intention, detached Laudohn, with twelve thousand horse, to give vigour and stability to the Russian army, which was deficient in cavalry.

The reinforcement arrived nearly at the same time that his Prussian majesty joined Wedel. And Laudohn and count Soltikoff, the Russian general, took post at the village of Cunersdorff, opposite Frankfort. The combined army consisted of eighty thousand combatants; their position was naturally strong; and they farther secured their camp by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. The king's forces, after every augmentation that he could procure, fell below fifty thousand men; yet did his pressing circumstances, and his own sanguine spirit, inflamed by hostile passion, induce him to hazard an attack.

With such vigour did his army engage, that the Russian entrenchments were forced with great slaughter. Several Aug. redoubts, which covered Cunersdorff, were also mastered, 12. and the Prussians advanced to the village itself. Here the battle was renewed, and raged with redoubled fury. At length the post was carried; and victory seemed ready to attend the arms of Frederic. But the Russians, though thrown into some disorder, were not discouraged. They again formed under cover of the Austrian cavalry, and took possession of an eminence, called the *Jews' Burying Ground*, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last man.

Prudence, and past experience of the steady valour of the Russians, ought to have taught his Prussian majesty to rest satisfied with the advantage he had gained; but he was not content to be a conqueror by halves. The ardour of his mind deter-

mined him to follow his blow, in hopes of crowning at once his glory and his vengeance, by a complete triumph over a barbarous enemy, who had dared to enter within the line of his ambition ; and whose cruel ravages had so often drawn him from the pursuit of victory, or obstructed the career of conquest. He accordingly led on, to a new attack, his brave battalions, yet faint from recent toil, beneath the heat of a burning sun, and sore with many a wound. He led them against the main body of the Russian army, the greater part of which had not hitherto been engaged, posted on higher ground, and strongly defended by artillery. They were unequal to the difficult service : they fell back : they were again brought to the charge, and repulsed with great slaughter. Enraged at this disappointment, the king put himself at the head of his cavalry ; but their vigour also was spent. In vain did he attempt to break the ranks of the Russians (who are possessed of uncommon bodily strength, and an instinctive or mechanical courage, which makes them inaccessible to fear) : they baffled all his gallant efforts. Their fire was the mouth of a volcano, and their bayonets were a hedge of spears. The Prussians, wasted with fatigue, and startled at the number of slain, blamed the perseverance of their prince, but still maintained the unequal combat.

In those awful moments, when the finest troops in the world were wavering, and the greatest of modern commanders could with difficulty encourage them to keep their ground, the Austrian cavalry, yet fresh, broke in upon them with the impetuosity of a torrent. The Russian horse followed the animating example, and the foot resumed their activity. The exhausted Prussians yielded to the irresistible shock : they were seized with a panic ; they fled. The king rallied them, and three times renewed the engagement in the front line. He had two horses shot under him, and many bullets had passed through his clothes. But all his intrepid exertions were ineffectual : the battle was irretrievably lost, and only the approach of night prevented the Prussian army from being utterly cut off. As the struggle terminated, the slaughter, on both sides, was awfully great. Near thirty thousand men lay dead on the field, or were harassed with wounds ; and sixteen thousand of these were Prussians¹.

The issue of this battle astonished all Europe ; and occasioned the most extravagant exultation among the hostile powers on

¹ Compared *Relations* of the battle of Cunersdorff, published by authority at Berlin and Vienna.

one side, and the greatest depression of mind on the other. When the king had seized the village of Cunersdorff, he wrote, in the triumph of his heart, a congratulatory billet to his queen, without waiting for the final event: "We have driven the Russians from their entrenchments. Expect, within two hours, to hear of a glorious victory!"—And as this note arrived at Berlin just as the post was going out, the premature intelligence reached the courts of London and Versailles before the news of the king's disaster, also first conveyed in another laconic dispatch to the queen: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy."

But if his Prussian majesty subjected himself to some degree of ridicule as a man, and blame as a commander, by his defeat at Cunersdorff, his subsequent conduct effaced all unfavourable impressions. And the surprise of mankind, at his unexpected reverse of fortune, was soon lost in their admiration of the wonderful resources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his spirit. The day after the battle, he repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; whence he moved to Furstenwalde, and posted himself so advantageously, that the Russians did not dare to make any attempt upon Berlin. He even watched their motions so assiduously, that the main body of their army, under the victorious Soltikoff, instead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia. There he joined *maréchal* Daun; and the two generals held consultations concerning their future operations.

In the mean time the king, having refreshed and recruited his broken and exhausted troops, and supplied the loss of his artillery (which had all fallen into the hands of the enemy) from the arsenal at Berlin, appeared again formidable. While his friends as well as his enemies, were of opinion, that the Russian and Austrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they chose first to subdue as a prelude to the conquest of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defensive. And he at the same time detached six thousand men, under general Wunch, to the relief of Saxony; where the army of the empire had made great progress during his absence. Halle, Wittenberg, Leipsic, Torgau, and even Dresden itself, had surrendered to the Imperialists. But the detachment under Wunch retook Leipsic in September, and when he had joined Finck, who commanded in Saxony, the two generals repulsed the enemy

at Corbitz, and recovered every place in that electorate except Dresden.

Encouraged by these successes, and seeing that he could not, on the side of Silesia, second the king's operations, prince Henry quitted his camp at Hornsdorff in Lusatia, and marched with extraordinary celerity into Saxony, where he joined the Prussian forces under Finck and Wunch. This rapid march obliged Daun to quit his camp in Lusatia, and separate his army from that of count Soltikoff, in order to protect Dresden. And the Prussian monarch, thus freed from the presence of his most dangerous enemy, having put himself between the Russians and Great Glogau, compelled them to relinquish an enterprise which they had formed against that place, and return into Poland.

Fortune, in a word, seemed yet to be preparing triumphs for Frederic, after all his disasters; and if he had placed less confidence in her flattering promises, which he had repeatedly found to be delusive, he might have closed the campaign with equal glory and success. But his enterprising spirit induced him once more to trust to the deceiver, and attempt a great line of action, while prudence, reason, experience, and even self-preservation, dictated a sure one.

No sooner did he find himself disengaged, in consequence of the retreat of the Russians, than he marched into Saxony; and there joined his brother near Torgau in November, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian generals. On this junction, the troops of the empire retired. Daun, who had threatened prince Henry, fell back upon Dresden. And the king saw himself at the head of a gallant army of sixty thousand men, in high spirits, and still ready to execute any bold enterprise, under the eye of their sovereign and commander, so lately reduced to the brink of despair. But as the season was already far in the decline, and remarkably severe, his most able generals were of opinion, that no important exploit could be attempted with any probability of success, and that his wisest conduct would be to watch the motions of the Austrians, and cut off the provisions of Daun; who must, by these means, be obliged to abandon Dresden, and retire into Bohemia, leaving to the Prussians, as hitherto, the entire possession of Saxony.

The king's views, however, extended to greater and more decisive advantages. He knew that the passes into Bohemia were so difficult, that, by seizing certain posts, the subsistence of the Austrians might not only be cut off, but their retreat rendered

impracticable. Having obliged Daun to retreat as far as Plawen, and advanced himself to Kesseldorff, he ordered general Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to occupy the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorff, through which alone he thought it possible for the enemy to communicate with Bohemia. This service was successfully executed; and no doubt was entertained that Daun would be obliged to hazard a battle, or to surrender at discretion, as he seemed now to have no resource left but in victory.

Meanwhile that sagacious general, sensible of his danger, sent experienced officers to reconnoitre the position of the Prussian detachment; and finding the commander lulled into the most fatal security, he took possession of the neighbouring eminences, and, surrounding the enemy, precluded the possibility of escape. The Prussians defended themselves gallantly for one day, and made several vigorous efforts to disentangle themselves from the net in which they were caught, but in vain: they were foiled in every attempt to force those defiles which they had been appointed to guard. Night put an end to the struggle, and to the effusion of blood. The next morning, Finck, seeing his situation desperate, as every avenue through which a retreat could be made was planted with bayonets, judged it more prudent to submit to necessity, than wantonly to throw away the lives of so many brave men, who might serve their king on some more promising occasion. He therefore endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms. They were sternly denied him. And he was ultimately forced to surrender at discretion, on the 26th of November; he himself, with eight other generals, and fifteen thousand men, being made prisoners of war¹.

This was a mortifying blow to the hopes of the Prussian monarch, and must have made him severely sensible of his too common error, in placing all his attention on the possible advantage, and overlooking the probable danger. Nor did that evil come alone. He sustained another heavy stroke in the defeat and capture of a rear-guard, consisting of three thousand men, under general Diercke. Yet, after all his losses, he was still so formidable, that the cautious and moderate-minded Daun, instead of attacking him, took shelter in the strong camp of Pirna, and kept close within his entrenchments.

His Prussian majesty seemed also, at last, to have acquired a lesson of moderation. Though joined by twelve thousand men,

¹ Compared *Relations* of the two courts.

under the hereditary prince of Brunswick, he put his army quietly into winter quarters at Freyberg, without attempting any new enterprise; so that, the loss of men excepted, affairs in Germany were nearly in the same situation as at the opening of the campaign. The country had been desolated, and much blood had been shed; but Dresden was the only place of importance that had changed masters.

In spite of all the eloquence and popularity of Mr. Pitt, so many indecisive campaigns began to cool the zeal of the English nation in the cause of their illustrious but burthensome ally, the king of Prussia, to whose wars they could see no end. And the success of the British arms in America and the West Indies opened the eyes of the people more fully to their true interests, and contributed to convince them of the folly of defending the electorate of Hanover at such a vast expense of blood and treasure.

Immediately after the taking of Louisbourg, which had long been considered as the key of Canada, a plan was formed by the British ministry for the reduction of Quebec, and the entire conquest of New France, as soon as the season of action, in those northern latitudes, should return. In the mean time an expedition was undertaken against the island of Martinique, the chief seat of the French government in the West Indies, a territory of great importance by its position, and also by its produce.

It was known that Martinique, and all the sugar islands belonging to France in the American archipelago, were in great distress for want of provisions and other necessaries; with which it was not in her power to furnish them, on account of the inferiority of her navy to that of England, and her subsequent inability to protect her trade with them. It was therefore supposed that they could make but a feeble resistance to a spirited attack.

The armament destined for this service consisted of ten ships of the line under commodore Moore, and five thousand soldiers commanded by general Hopson. The design upon Martinique, however, was relinquished as impracticable, after some desultory attempts, though seemingly with little reason, as the French governor possessed neither courage nor conduct, and the distressed inhabitants appeared willing, it was said, to submit to a power that could more readily supply their wants, and afford them a better and more certain market for their produce. But whatever was the prospect of resistance, it is certain that the

British troops were re-embarked within twenty-four hours after their landing, and that the armament directed its course toward the island of Guadaloupe¹; a less splendid object of conquest, though not a less valuable possession.

The British fleet appeared in the road of Basse-Terre on the twenty-second of January; and the chief town and fort were taken after a terrible cannonade, accompanied with incessant showers of bombs. Never did the commanders of the English navy exert themselves with greater intrepidity and judgment than on this occasion. They left to the land forces no other employment than that of taking possession of the place, which was abandoned by the garrison².

The reduction of Basse-Terre, however, was not immediately followed by the conquest of Guadaloupe. The slowness, timidity, and irresolution of the operations by land, afforded the fugitive garrison leisure for recollection, and for the occupancy of a strong post which obstructed all communication with the more fertile parts of the island. Despairing therefore of being able to subject Guadaloupe on that side, the invaders proceeded to attack it on another, known by the name of Grande-Terre. Fort Louis, the chief defence of this division of the island (which is separated from the other by a shallow strait), was taken sword in hand, by the marines and Royal Highlanders, after a short but vigorous cannonade from the fleet³.

But the conquerors were guilty of the same error which they had before committed. They did not take advantage of the enemy's terror: and they suffered the same inconveniences from their neglect. The fugitives found refuge in the mountains, where they became formidable: and the event of the expedition was even doubtful, when general Barrington, having succeeded to the command of the land forces in consequence of the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. Instead of attempting to penetrate into the country, which abounds with strong posts and dangerous defiles, he re-embarked the troops, and successively attacked the towns and villages upon the coast. By this mode of making war, every considerable place was soon reduced; and the governor and inhabitants, tired of their uncomfortable situation in the mountains, and seeing no prospect of relief, sur-
May 1.
 rendered the island to his Britannic majesty. Marie-
 galante, and some other small islands in the neighbourhood, also

¹ Lond. *Gazette*, March 7, 1759.—See also Capt. Gardiner's *Account of the Expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe*.

² Id. *Ibid*.

³ Capt. Gardiner, *ubi sup*.

submitted. And the inhabitants obtained the same terms with those of Guadaloupe; namely, the undisturbed possession of their private property, and the enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges¹.

This moderation was equally generous and politic, and may be supposed to have had a serious influence upon the minds of the French colonists, even in North America; where the campaign was not yet begun, and where the plan of operation was as extensive as the objects were great. It was concerted to attack the French in all their strong-holds at once;—that major-general Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence with eight thousand men, and a considerable fleet from England, and besiege Quebec; that Amherst, now commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, should, with twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderago and Crown Point, cross Lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the way of Richelieu River to the banks of the St. Lawrence, join Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; and that brigadier Prideaux, with a third army, reinforced with a body of provincials and friendly Indians, under sir William Johnson, should invest the fortress of Niagara, which in a manner commanded the interior parts of the northern division of the New World. It was further proposed, that the troops under Prideaux, after the reduction of Niagara, should embark on Lake Ontario, fall down the St. Lawrence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join, or co-operate with, the combined army under Amherst or Wolfe.

A bolder system of war, perhaps, was never framed; but many doubts had been started in regard to its natural practicability, founded on the strength of the places to be attacked, the extent of the operations, and the disposition of the French forces. The marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, was stationed near Montreal, with five thousand veterans; while the marquis de Montcalm, his lieutenant-general, whose reputation was already high in the military world, took the field with an army of ten thousand Europeans and Canadians, for the defence of the capital; and M. de Levi, an active officer, was at the head of a flying detachment, which, as well as the army under Montcalm, was strengthened by a large body of trained Indians, intimately acquainted with all the woods and defiles. The garrison of Niagara consisted of at least six hundred men; Ticonderago and

¹ *Lond. Gazette*, June 14, 1759.

Crown Point were in a respectable state of defence ; and the city of Quebec, naturally strong from its situation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garrison, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it. All these obstacles, however, were surmounted, though not immediately, by a happy mixture of conduct and valour ; the wonderful effects of which ignorant and credulous men ascribe to supernatural influence, and dull and timid men to chance.

The army under Amherst, by the progress of which the operations of the other two were supposed to be in some measure governed, was early in motion. But the season was far advanced before the general could pass Lake George. He thence proceeded, with little opposition from the enemy, to Ticonderago, so fatal to the British troops in the preceding campaign. The French seemed at first determined to defend the fort ; but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, and having orders to July retreat from one place to another toward the centre of 7. operations, rather than incur the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they abandoned the works in the night, and retired to Crown Point.

To this fortress Amherst advanced, after repairing the works of Ticonderago, which the enemy had damaged. But before his arrival the garrison had retired to Isle-aux-Noix, at the lower end of Lake Champlain. There the French were said to have three thousand five hundred men, with a numerous train of artillery ; and he was also informed, that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels. With a sloop and a radeau, which he had built with all possible dispatch, he destroyed two of the enemy's vessels. But the declining season obliged him to postpone farther operations ; and he returned in October to Crown Point¹.

General Amherst now saw himself in a very awkward situation for a commander-in-chief. Though his success was great, he had found it impossible to attain the grand object of his enterprise—a junction with general Wolfe, which was considered as essential to the fortunate issue of the campaign. And what was yet more disagreeable, he had not, during the whole summer, obtained the least intelligence of the condition of that commander, on the operations of whose slender and unsupported army so much de-

¹ Letter from general Amherst to Mr. Pitt, in the *London Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1759.—Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. ii.

pended; a few obscure and alarming hints excepted, of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where he was in danger of being crushed by the whole force of Canada, under the marquis de Montcalm. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara. Having received an account of its progress before he left Ticonderago, he had detached brigadier Gage to assume the command of the troops in the room of Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while directing the operations against the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least molestation.

Meanwhile the command of that expedition devolved upon sir William Johnson, who prosecuted with equal judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor. He pushed the attack of Niagara with such intrepidity, that the besiegers soon brought their approaches within a hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this interior key of their empire in America, the French collected a body of regular troops (from the garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle), and a party of savages, with a resolution of attempting the relief of the place. Apprised of their intention, general Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress. He posted the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and while he thus prepared himself for an engagement, he took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

The enemy appeared about nine o'clock in the morning, and July the battle was begun with a horrid scream from the 24. hostile Indians, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, called the *War-whoop*, the most frightful sound which imagination can conceive, that struck a panic into the army under Braddock, and had on other occasions carried terror to the hearts of European soldiers. But having now lost its effect upon the British troops, it was heard with a contemptuous indifference. And the French regulars were so warmly received by the English grenadiers and light infantry, while their savages were encountered by other barbarians, that they were totally routed in less than an hour, and the place surrendered on the same day¹.

The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and consequently was a great step toward the conquest of both. But the reduction of Quebec

¹ *London Gazette*, September 18, 1759.—Knox, *ubi sup.*

was a still more important object ; and if general Amherst had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, it would have been attended with equal certainty, as a proportional force would have been employed to accomplish it.

The issue of this grand enterprise seemed, at first, very doubtful. The land forces did not exceed seven thousand men. They were, however, in good health and spirits. Having been embarked at Louisbourg, under convoy of admiral Saunders, they were safely landed, toward the end of June, on the isle of Orléans, formed by two branches of the St. Lawrence, a few leagues below Quebec. There the soldiers and sailors found every refreshment : and there general Wolfe, who was accompanied by the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, published a spirited but somewhat romantic manifesto, vindicating the conduct of the king his master in making this hostile invasion, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the entire possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion, provided they should take no part in the dispute for dominion between the crowns of France and England. He represented to them the folly of resistance, as all hopes of relief were cut off, while the British fleet not only commanded the navigation of the St. Lawrence, but enjoyed the empire of the sea ; and he reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French against the English subjects in America, would excuse the most severe retaliation. But Englishmen, he said, were too magnanimous to follow the barbarous example ; and he concluded with extolling the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out to them the hand of humanity, when it was in her power to enforce their obedience ¹.

As this manifesto produced no immediate effect, Wolfe was under the necessity of considering the Canadians as enemies, and saw himself exposed to the difficulties of a general commanding an army in a country where every thing is hostile to him. These difficulties, on examination, appeared so great, that although he was naturally of a sanguine temper and an adventurous spirit, he began to despair of success before the commencement of operations. " I could not flatter myself," says he, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt, " that I should be able to reduce the place." Nor is this to be wondered at. Besides the natural and artificial strength of the city of Quebec, which is chiefly built upon a steep

¹ Printed *Manifesto*.

rock on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and farther defended by the river St. Charles, which places it in a kind of peninsula, Montcalm, the French general, was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood, with a force superior to the English army. To undertake the siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed contrary to all the established maxims of war.

Resolving, however, to make every possible exertion before he should abandon the enterprise committed to him by his sovereign, and the event of which was already determined in the fond imagination of his admiring countrymen, Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. But these batteries, by reason of their distance, made small impression upon the works, though they destroyed many houses, and greatly incommoded the inhabitants. The fleet could be of little use, as the elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond its reach, and even gave them a degree of command over it. The English general, therefore, became sensible of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the northern side of the river. That shore, however, for a considerable way above Quebec, was so bold and rocky as to render it impracticable to land in the face of the enemy. Below the town the French army was strongly encamped, between the Montmorency and St. Charles. If the former of these rivers should be passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the second, beyond which they would then take refuge, would present a new and almost insuperable barrier against the victors. With all these obstacles Wolfe was well acquainted; but he also knew, to use his own heroic language, "That a victorious army finds no difficulties!" He therefore resolved to pass the Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement.

A part of the British army had landed at the mouth of that river, and the main body had been ordered to ford it higher up, when some unpropitious circumstances made it necessary to withdraw the troops, and relinquish the design. Wolfe's original plan was, to attack a detached redoubt close to the water, and apparently situated beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's entrenchments. Should they attempt to support that fortification, he doubted not of being able to bring on a general action; and if they should remain tame spectators of its fall, he could afterward coolly examine their situation, and regulate accordingly his future operations. But observing the enemy in some

confusion, he rashly changed his purpose ; and listening only to the ardour of his courage, determined immediately to attack the French camp.

With that view, orders were sent to Townshend and Murray, to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river. In the mean time, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and July part of the second battalion of Royal Americans, who, 31. having first disembarked, had been directed to form upon the beach, until they could be properly sustained, rushed impetuously toward the enemy's entrenchments, as if, in their ungovernable fury, they could have borne down every thing before them. But they were met by so strong and steady a fire of musquetry, that they were quickly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter in or behind the detached redoubt, which the enemy had abandoned on their approach¹. There they continued for some time, before they could repass the river, exposed to a dreadful thunder-storm, and a more terrible storm of bullets, which proved fatal to many gallant officers, who fearlessly exposed their persons, in attempting to form the troops. And instead of lamenting this early failure, though occasioned by inexcusable precipitancy, and attended with the loss of near five hundred brave men, we ought rather to consider it as a fortunate event ; for, if the whole British army had been led on to the attack, there is reason to believe, from the strength of the French entrenchments, that the consequences would have been much more destructive².

When this mortifying check, and the information connected with it, had convinced Wolfe of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of Montmorency, while the marquis de Montcalm chose to maintain his station, he detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes above the town, in endeavouring to destroy the French shipping, and otherwise to distress and distract the enemy, by descents upon the banks of the river. In pursuance of these instructions, Murray made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern shore, but without success : in the third he was more fortunate. By a sudden descent at Chambaud, he burned a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions. This was a service of some importance, though inadequate to his wishes. The French ships were secured in such a manner as not to be

¹ Letter from general Wolfe to Mr. Pitt, in the *London Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1759.

² This is, in some measure, admitted by Wolfe himself.

approached either by the fleet or army. He therefore returned to the camp at the request of the commander-in-chief, in some measure disappointed, but with the consolatory intelligence (received from his prisoners), "that Niagara was taken; that Ticonderago and Crown Point were abandoned; and that general Amherst was employed in making preparations for attacking the enemy at Isle-aux-Noix."

This intelligence, however, though agreeable in itself, afforded no prospect of immediate assistance. The season wasted apace; and the fervid spirit of general Wolfe, which could not brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace, began to prey upon his delicate constitution. Conscious that the conduct of no leader can ever be honoured with true applause, unless gilded with success, he dreaded alike to become the object of the pity or scorn of his capricious countrymen. His high notions of military glory, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted disappointment, and the fear of miscarriage, into a disease that threatened the dissolution of his tender frame. Though determined, as he declared in his disquiet, never to return to England without

Sept. 2. accomplishing his enterprise, he sent to the ministry a pathetic, and even desponding, account of his situation, in order seemingly to prepare the minds of the people for the worst¹.

Having thus unburthened his mind, and perhaps found considerable relief, he called a council of his principal officers, in which it was resolved, that the future operations should be above the town, with a view of drawing the French general from his impregnable position, and bringing on an engagement. The camp at Montmorency was accordingly abandoned; and the troops reembarking, some landed at Point Levi, and the rest were carried higher up the river. The good effects of this new scheme were soon visible.

The marquis de Montcalm, apprehensive that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the town, detached M. de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and thus weakened his own army. Meanwhile a daring plan was formed by the three English brigadiers, and presented to the commander-in-chief; namely, a proposal for landing the troops in the night, under the heights of Abraham,

¹ "The affairs of Great Britain, I know," says he, "require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some probability of success!" Letter to Mr. Pitt, ubi sup.

a little above the town, in hopes of conquering the rugged ascent before morning.

The very boldness of this plan, which was conceived while Wolfe was confined by sickness, recommended it to his generous and intrepid spirit. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steep so difficult as hardly to be ascended in the day-time, even without opposition. The French general could not think that a descent would be attempted in defiance of so many obstacles. It was effected, however, with great spirit and address. Wolfe himself was one of the first who leaped ashore. Colonel Howe, with the Highlanders and light infantry, led the way up the dangerous precipice. All the troops ^{Sept. 13.} vied with each other in emulating the gallant example; and the whole army had reached the summit, and was ranged under its proper officers, by break of day.

Montcalm, when informed that the invaders had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded Quebec, could not at first credit the alarming intelligence. The ascent of an army by such a precipice exceeded all his ideas of military enterprise. He believed it to be only a feint, magnified by report, in order to induce him to abandon his strong post. But, when he was convinced of its reality, he no longer hesitated what course to pursue. When he found that a battle could not prudently be avoided, he bravely resolved to hazard one, and immediately put his troops in motion.

No sooner did general Wolfe perceive the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, than he began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing commanded by Monckton, and the left by Murray. The light infantry secured the rear; and, as Montcalm advanced in such a manner as to show that his intention was to out-flank the left of the English army, Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals.

The disposition of the French army was no less masterly. The right wing was composed of one half of the colonial troops, two battalions of Europeans, and a body of Indians. The centre consisted of a column formed of regulars; and one battalion, with the remainder of the military colonists, secured the left wing. The bushes and corn-fields in the front were filled with

fifteen hundred skilful marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire.

That fire was the more severely felt, as the British troops were ordered to reserve theirs. This they did with great patience and fortitude, until the French main body advanced within forty yards of their line. Then they poured in, at a general discharge, a thick shower of bullets, which took full effect. Nor did any relaxation of vigour take place. The fire was briskly continued; and the enemy every where yielded to it. But in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, general Wolfe, who was pressing on at the head of the grenadiers, received a fatal bullet in his breast, and fell in the arms of victory¹.

Instead of being disconcerted by the loss of their commander, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own particular character, as well as the glory of the whole. While the grenadiers took vengeance with their bayonets, Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his direction, and broke the centre of the French army. Then it was that the Highlanders, drawing their broad swords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and falling upon them with irresistible fury, drove the fugitives with great slaughter toward the city, or under some fortifications which the Canadians had raised on the banks of the river St. Charles.

The other divisions of the British army did not behave with less gallantry. Howe, with part of the light infantry, having taken post behind a small copse, sallied out frequently upon the flanks of the enemy, during their spirited attack on the other part of his division, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townshend advanced against their front; so that the French general's design of turning the left flank of the English army was baffled. But the gallant officer, who had so remarkably contributed to this service, was suddenly called to a more important station, in consequence of a new disaster. Monckton (who had succeeded general Wolfe, according to the order of military precedence) being dangerously wounded, the chief command devolved upon Townshend, as next in seniority. On receiving the melancholy news, he hastened to the centre; and, finding the troops somewhat disordered in the ardour of pursuit, he formed them again with all possible celerity. This act of generalship, however, was scarcely completed, when M. de

¹ Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

Bougainville, with a fresh body of two thousand men, appeared in the rear of the victorious army. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as soon as he learned that the British forces had gained the heights of Abraham. But fortunately the main body of the French army was, by this time, so much broken and dispersed, that Bougainville did not think it advisable to hazard an attack¹.

The victory was indeed decisive. The brave marquis de Montcalm and his second in command, were mortally wounded. About five hundred of their men were killed, and about twelve hundred were wounded or made prisoners. The remainder of their army, unable to keep the field, retired to Trois-Rivières and Montreal.

The loss of the English, with respect to number, was very inconsiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed seven hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. He first received a shot in the wrist, but, wrapping a handkerchief round his hand, he encouraged his men to advance, without manifesting the least discomposure. He next received a shot in the groin, which he also concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when he was informed that the French fled on all sides, "Then," said he, "I am happy!"—and instantly expired, in a kind of patriotic transport, which seemed to diffuse over his darkening countenance an air of exultation and triumph.

Wolfe, at the age of thirty-three, to all the fervour of spirit, the liberality of sentiment, the humanity, generosity, and enlarged views of the hero, united no inconsiderable share of the presence of mind and military skill that constitute the great commander. He only required years and opportunities of action to elevate him to an equality with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation: to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give, to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge, the correctness of judgment perfected by experience.

The French general was not inferior to his antagonist in military talents. Though less fortunate in the last scene of

¹ Letter from brigadier-general Townshend to Mr. Pitt, in the *London Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1759.—Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

life, he had often been victorious; and he made, perhaps, the most judicious dispositions that human prudence could suggest, both before and during the engagement. Nor were his dying words less remarkable than those of Wolfe. "I am glad of it!" said he, when his attendants intimated to him that his wound was mortal; and when they added, that he could survive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So much the better!—I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec¹."

That event, as the illustrious Montcalm foresaw, was not distant. Five days after the victory gained in its neighbourhood the city surrendered to the English fleet and army, which were preparing for a grand attack. By the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition². Thus was the capital of New France reduced under the dominion of Great Britain, after an arduous campaign of about three months; and, all circumstances considered, perhaps there never was a naval and military enterprise conducted with more steady perseverance, or distinguished by greater vigour and ability.

While the British generals were thus making rapid strides toward the final conquest of the French empire in America, M. de Lally, the French governor in the East Indies, threatened with utter subjection the English settlements in the Carnatic. When he had reduced Fort St. David and Cudalore, as already related, he prepared to attack Madras. This place was regularly invested by two thousand Europeans and a large body of sepoys, after its brave but slender garrison had made every possible effort to keep the enemy at a distance. By the firm resolution of governor Pigot, and the persevering courage of the colonels Laurence and Draper, and other gallant officers, it was enabled to hold out till the arrival of succours. On the appearance of a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, the French general found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; greatly mortified and enraged at a disappointment which blasted all his sanguine hopes of expelling the English from the peninsula of Hindostan.

The British forces in the Carnatic, though still inferior to those of the enemy in number, now took the field in different divisions, and reduced the French settlements of Masulipatam and Conjeveram. Major Brereton, however, failed in a rash but vigorous

¹ Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

² *London Gazette*, ubi sup.

attack upon Wandewash. But the town was afterward taken by colonel Coote, who bravely maintained his conquest, and defeated a strong army, when general Lally had made a bold attempt to regain possession of the disputed settlement.

With respect to the battle of Wandewash, we may observe, that Lally, being early deserted by his whole body of cavalry, in consequence of a brisk cannonading, put himself at the head of his line of infantry, and impetuously rushed into action. Colonel Coote coolly received the French at the head of his own regiment, which he had formed in a line, opposed obliquely to theirs. Nor did he alter his disposition, although they did. After two discharges, the regiment of Lorrain vigorously pressed on, in the form of a column, through a heavy fire, and threatened to bear down all resistance. In an instant the two regiments were engaged at the push of the bayonet. The front of the French column at first broke the English line, and a momentary confusion ensued. But no sooner did man encounter man in single opposition, than the superiority of British prowess was conspicuous. The field was soon strewn with killed and wounded Frenchmen. The regiment of Lorrain was broken, routed, and hotly pursued.

This conflict was followed by another, no less bloody, which finally decided the fortune of the day. As soon as colonel Coote could restrain the ardour of his own victorious battalion, he rode along the line, and ordered major Brereton to take possession of a fortified post, which the enemy seemed to have abandoned. In making this effort, the major was mortally wounded, but not before he saw that the post was gained. "Follow your blow!" said he nobly, to some of the soldiers who offered to assist him, "and leave me to my fate!"

That service was gallantly performed by major Monson. In vain did M. de Bussy attempt to recover the post, at the head of the regiment of Lally; in vain, to maintain the combat on the plain. His horse being shot under him, he was made prisoner, in leading on to the push of the bayonet the few troops that preserved any firmness. Major Monson received his sword. The regiment was utterly broken; and Lally, having lost six hundred men, was happy to save the wreck of his army, by abandoning his camp to the victors¹.

Nor were these the only achievements of the British forces in the East Indies, in the course of this memorable year. During the progress of colonel Coote on the coast of Coromandel, admiral

¹ Orme's *Hist.* book xii.

Pococke, with an inferior force, defeated the French fleet, under M. d'Aché, near Ceylon, though without capturing any ships. Surat, a place of great consequence on the coast of Malabar, was taken by a detachment from the English settlement of Bombay. The French factory in that town was destroyed; and, on the opposite side of the peninsula, the Dutch were chastised for attempting to acquire an ascendancy in Bengal.

These avaricious republicans, whose grasping spirit no principles could moderate, no treaties restrain, became jealous of the growth of the English power in the East Indies, and, enraged at the loss of certain branches of trade, which they had been accustomed to monopolise, formed a conspiracy for the extirpation of their rivals, as atrocious as that of Amboyna. In consequence of this conspiracy (in which the French and the soubahdar of Bengal are supposed to have been engaged), the government of Batavia, under pretence of reinforcing the settlement of Chinsura, sent an armament of seven ships, and thirteen hundred soldiers, up the river Ougli. The troops disembarked near Tannah Fort; and a detachment from Chinsura advanced to meet them. Colonel Forde, who had been appointed to watch their motions, at the head of the troops of the English East India Company, gave battle first to the detachment and afterward to the main body; defeated both; killed four hundred men, and made the fugitives prisoners. About the same time, three English India ships gave battle to the Dutch squadron, and obliged the whole to strike, after an obstinate engagement¹.

Thus checked, the factory at Chinsura agreed to such conditions as the government of Calcutta thought proper to impose, disclaiming all knowledge of hostile intentions. Similar protestations were made by the states-general in Europe; and the British ministry, though by no means convinced of their good faith, seemed to admit their apology. The chastisement inflicted, though necessary for self-defence, was thought sufficiently severe to operate as a correction.

While the British arms were signally victorious by land in both hemispheres, the success of our countrymen was no less splendid by sea. Elate with their advantage at St. Cas, the French talked loudly of retaliating the insults on their coasts, by invading Great Britain and Ireland. Their ministry, embarrassed by the failure of public credit, were happy to indulge the national

¹ Compared *Relations* of the hostile attempt of the Dutch in Bengal, transmitted to the India House.

vanity. Large bodies of troops were accordingly assembled on the coasts of the Channel; men-of-war and transports were collected, and flat-bottomed boats prepared at the principal sea-ports. A small armament, said to be destined for the invasion of Scotland, was to sail from Dunkirk; that which was supposed to be designed against Ireland was to sail from Lower Bretagne, the troops being under the command of the duke d'Aiguillon; while the troops intended for the invasion of England, if any such intention existed, were to sail from Havre de Grace, and other ports on the coast of Normandy, and land in the night on the opposite shore.

To defeat the purpose of these boasted armaments, an English squadron under commodore Boyes, was stationed off Dunkirk; the port of Havre de Grace was watched, and the town fiercely bombarded, by rear-admiral Rodney; sir Edward Hawke, with a formidable force, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where the French fleet, under M. de Conflans, lay in readiness to conduct, as was supposed, the transports and flat-bottomed boats belonging to the grand armament; and a small squadron detached from that under Hawke, hovered on the coast of Bretagne. These precautions were continued during the whole summer; and the projected invasions seemed, in consequence of so strict a blockade, to be laid aside by the French ministry, till the month of August, when, the battle of Minden having baffled all their designs upon Hanover, they turned their attention seriously toward their naval armaments.

In the mean time admiral Boscawen, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, was employed in blocking up, in the harbour of Toulon, a French squadron under M. de la Clue, intended to assist, as was believed, in the descents upon the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. But Boscawen finding it necessary to return to Gibraltar to careen, M. de la Clue took that opportunity to attempt to pass the Strait, and had nearly accomplished his purpose, when he was discovered by the English admiral; pursued, and overtaken, on the 18th of August, off Cape Lagos, on the coast of Portugal. The French squadron consisted of twelve, and the English of fourteen ships of the line. The former made a faint resistance. The admiral's ship, named the *Ocean*, of eighty guns, and the *Redoubtable*, of seventy-four guns, were destroyed; and the *Temeraire* and the *Modeste* were taken¹.

¹ Boscawen's *Letter* in the *London Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1759.

This disaster did not discourage the French ministry. The greatest preparations for an invasion were made at Brest and Rochefort; and the long neglected Pretender, again flattered and caressed, is said to have remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes, in disguise, in order once more to hazard his person, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of his ancestors, to serve the ambitious purposes of France. Happily the execution of that scheme, which might have produced great confusion, was prevented by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, till the season of action had elapsed. But the French, in their ardour, seemed to disregard the course of the seasons, and the rage of the elements. The English fleet being driven off the coast of France by a violent storm, Conflans put to sea with twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, and threw the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland into the utmost terror and consternation. But their alarm was transitory.

Sir Edward Hawke, who had taken shelter in Torbay, put to sea with twenty-three ships of the line, and came up with the enemy between Belleisle and Cape Quiberon. The French admiral being on his own coast, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and not choosing openly to hazard a battle, or expose himself to the disgrace of a retreat, attempted to take advantage of a lee-shore, thickly sown with rocks and shoals. Among these he hoped to remain secure, or profit by the temerity of his antagonist. He accordingly collected his fleet under the land. Hawke saw the danger, and determined to brave it; though in so doing he perhaps obeyed the dictates of his own impetuous courage rather than those of a prudent foresight. While his fleet remained entire, he was at all times equal to the important charge with which he was entrusted by his sovereign, the protection of the British kingdoms; but, should it be destroyed by fortuitous means, the consequences might prove very distressing to his country. Fortunately, on this occasion, the English admiral, whose honest mind was not the most enlightened, and whose lion heart had never listened to the cautious suggestions of fear, being little acquainted with consequential reasoning, paid less regard to the possible disaster than to the probability of acquiring a complete victory, and essentially serving his country, by the destruction of the French fleet. Regardless of every peril, he

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bore down with full sail upon the enemy about two o'clock in the afternoon, and ordered the pilot to lay his own ship, the Royal George, alongside of that of the French admiral, named the Royal Sun.

The pilot represented the danger of the coast. "By this remonstrance," said Hawke, "you have done your duty; now execute my orders, and I will endeavour to do mine." He reluctantly obeyed. Conflans did not decline the combat; but a French captain, with the gallantry peculiar to his nation, threw himself between the admirals. One broadside from the Royal George, and a high sea, sent his noble ship, called the *Thesée*, with him, and all his crew, to the bottom. The *Superbe* shared the same fate. The *Formidable* struck her colours. The Royal Sun drove on shore, and was burned by her own people, as well as the *Hero* by the British seamen. The *Juste* sunk at the mouth of the Loire. Unfortunately, however, a tempestuous night, which saved the French fleet from utter ruin, proved fatal to two English ships of the line. They ran upon a sand-bank, and were irretrievably lost. But the men and part of the stores were saved¹.

This justly celebrated victory, which broke the boasted effort of the naval power of France, freed the inhabitants of South Britain from all apprehensions of an invasion. But the people of North Britain were still kept under alarm. The famous adventurer Thurot had sailed from Dunkirk, before M. de Conflans left Brest. His squadron consisted of five frigates, carrying about twelve hundred soldiers. With this force he reached the Scottish coast, and showed a disposition to land in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen; but being pursued by Commodore Boyes, he was obliged to take shelter on the coast of Sweden, and afterward on that of Norway. During these voyages in an inclement season, his men became sickly, his ships were greatly shattered, and he lost company with one of them. He resolved, however, to attempt something worthy of his former exploits, before his return to France. Nor was he without hopes of yet co-operating with Conflans, with whose defeat he was unacquainted. He accordingly sailed for the coast of Ireland, and took Carrickfergus. Having there victualled his ships, pillaged the town, and obtained certain intelligence of Hawke's success, he again put to sea, and steered his course homeward. But he was swiftly pursued by a squadron under Elliot, and overtaken near the Isle of Feb. 28. Man. The force, on both sides, was nearly equal: the 1760. commanders were rivals in valour and naval skill; the crews were tried; and the engagement that took place was obstinate

¹ Sir Edward Hawke's *Letter* in the *London Gazette*, Nov. 1759, and information afterward received relative to the action.

and bloody. The death of the gallant Thurot determined the contest. His principal ship struck her colours, and the rest followed the example¹.

These naval victories, with the conquests achieved by the British arms in North America, and in the East and West Indies—in a word, wherever shipping could give a superiority—sufficiently pointed out to the intelligent part of the nation the true line of future hostilities, and the madness of persisting in the prosecution of a ruinous German war. Yet was it resolved, by the popular administration, not only to prosecute that war, but to make it the supreme object during the ensuing campaign. Above two millions sterling were accordingly granted, by parliament, in subsidies to German princes, besides the enormous supplies demanded for maintaining twenty-five thousand British soldiers in Westphalia. And all these troops and subsidies, it must be owned, were necessary for the defence of the electorate of Hanover, and in order to enable the king of Prussia to support his declining fortunes against the Austrians, Russians, Swedes, and the army of the empire. But why the people of Great Britain should burthen themselves, for such purposes, with a great amount of additional debt, was a question that no good citizen could answer with temper, and which a quiet subject would not choose to investigate. It will therefore suffice to observe, that such was the wish of the monarch, and the will of the minister, who governed the populace and the parliament with absolute sway; and who had the address to convince both, that it would be ungenerous in Great Britain, and unworthy of her glory, to desert an illustrious ally in distress, after having encouraged him to engage in so arduous a struggle; or to permit the electoral dominions of her sovereign, how small soever their value, to fall into the hands of an enemy whom she had vanquished in every other part of the world.

The people of France were no less generous to their king. As the ordinary resources of the state had failed, the principal nobility and gentry, in imitation of his example, threw their plate into the public treasury, to enable them to support with vigour the war in Germany; conscious that the strength of the kingdom could there, on its own frontier, be exerted to the greatest advantage, and that of Great Britain with the least effect. The French forces in Westphalia were now so augmented, as nearly to reach the number of one hundred thousand men, under the

¹ *London Gazette*, March 3, 1760.

duke de Broglio ; while an inferior army was formed upon the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain.

The allied army, under prince Ferdinand, was less numerous than that under Broglio ; but the troops were in better condition. The confederates, however, very prudently acted chiefly on the defensive. Yet if Broglio and St. Germain had not come to an open rupture, in consequence of which the count left the service, prince Ferdinand would have found himself under the necessity of hazarding a general action, or of suffering himself to be surrounded. Before this quarrel arose, the progress of the French arms had been very rapid. Broglio paying no regard to the places of strength possessed by the allies in his front, pushed into the landgraviate of Hesse with the grand army, leaving detachments to reduce the castles of Marpurg and Dillenburg ; while St. Germain penetrated through the duchy of Westphalia, and the two armies, in July, formed a junction near Corbach.

Ignorant of this junction, and desirous of preventing it, prince Ferdinand, who had fallen back with the allied army from Fritzlar, and was retreating toward the Dymel, sent the hereditary prince, with a strong detachment, before him to Saxenhausen, where he meant to encamp. Continuing to advance, that gallant youth found a body of French troops formed near Corbach ; and concluding them to be St. Germain's van-guard, as they did not seem to exceed ten battalions and fifteen squadrons, he attacked them with great fury. But the French stood their ground with firmness ; and as they were continually reinforced with fresh troops from the main army, the hereditary prince was obliged to retire in some disorder, and with no small loss. A few days after, however, he severely retaliated upon the enemy, by surprising a French detachment, under M. Glaubitz, at Emsdorff. Besides killing a considerable number of all ranks, and taking their artillery and baggage, he made the commander-in-chief, with one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand two hundred and eighty-two private men, prisoners of war¹.

During these transactions, the duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. When the chevalier de Muy (who had succeeded the count de St. Germain, as second in command) had passed the Dymel at Stadtberg, with thirty-five thousand men, and extended this body along the banks of that

¹ *London Gazette*, July 29, 1760.

river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, prince Ferdinand also passed the Dymel to give him battle. He accordingly ordered the hereditary prince and general Sporcken to turn the left wing of the enemy near Warburg, while he himself advanced against the centre, on the thirty-first day of July, with the main body of the allied army. Thus attacked in flank and rear, and in danger of being surrounded, the French, after a smart engagement, retired with precipitation toward Stadtberg, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred men dead or wounded. About an equal number were made prisoners in the pursuit, by the British cavalry. The loss of the allies was very inconsiderable¹.

By this advantage, which ensured him the command of the Weser and the Dymel, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Westphalia, and to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into the electorate of Hanover. But in order to obtain these important ends, he was under the necessity, notwithstanding his success, of sacrificing the whole landgraviate of Hesse. The enemy even reduced Göttingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, while the people of England were celebrating with bonfires and illuminations the victory obtained by their arms, which was immediately followed by all the apparent consequences of a defeat.

Prince Ferdinand, however, regardless of appearances, continued to occupy Warburg, for more than a month after the battle; and Broglio, overawed by so commanding a position, attempted nothing farther of any consequence during the campaign. In the mean time the hereditary prince undertook a rambling expedition to the Lower Rhine, and laid siege to Wesel. But he was defeated near the convent of Campen, on the fifteenth of October, by a body of French troops under M. de Castries, and sixteen hundred of his men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Soon after this severe check, both armies went into winter-quarters; the French being left in possession of Hesse, and of the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. The British troops were cantoned in the bishopric of Paderborn, where they suffered great hardships from scarcity of forage and provisions. Few campaigns, between armies so numerous and well appointed, have been more barren of memorable events.

¹ *London Gazette*, August 9, 1760.

The king of Prussia, as usual, was more active than the general of the allies; and the dangerous state of his affairs seemed to require the most vigorous exertions. He began the campaign, however, on a defensive plan. Having passed the winter in Saxony, he took possession of a very strong camp, between the Elbe and the Moldau, in the month of April. This camp he fortified in every place that was accessible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these means he was enabled to maintain his ground against the grand Austrian army under Daun, whose whole attention he engaged, and at the same time to send a strong reinforcement to his brother, without exposing himself to any danger.

Prince Henry had assembled an army near Frankfort on the Oder, where he took various positions, in order to oppose the Russians, and to protect Silesia and the electorate of Brandenburg, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. Fouquet, another Prussian general, had fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz; and whilst he covered Silesia on that side, he kept up a communication with the prince.

These arrangements were judicious; but the wisest precautions may be eluded by cunning, or disconcerted by enterprise. General Laudohn, the most enterprising of all the Austrian commanders, having quitted his camp in Bohemia, with a strong, but light and disencumbered army, alternately menaced Breslau, Berlin, and Schweidnitz. At length he seemed to fix upon the last of those towns; and Fouquet, deceived by the artful feint, marched to Schweidnitz with the main body of his troops, and left Glatz uncovered.

No sooner did Laudohn perceive that this stratagem had succeeded, than he made use of another, and with equal success. He took possession of Landshut, which he discovered a design of securing, and left there a small body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at so unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Austrians from Landshut with great ease. Meanwhile Laudohn had made himself master of several important passes, by which he was enabled almost to surround the small army under Fouquet. The Prussian general did every thing possible, in such circumstances, to defend himself against a superior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The Austrians attacked his entrenchments, with irresistible fury; and he himself having received two mortal wounds, and three thousand of his men being slain, the rest, amounting to six thousand, surrendered prisoners of war. The reduction of Glatz, on which

Laudohn fell like a thunderbolt, was the immediate consequence of this victory¹.

The king's defensive plan seemed now to be entirely deranged. One of his three armies had been, in a manner, ruined ; and the victorious Laudohn was ready to lay siege to Breslau, where he expected to be joined by the Russians, and enabled to complete the conquest of Silesia, the great object of the war. Frederic saw the danger ; and while the fortitude of his spirit determined him to meet it without shrinking, his daring genius led him to hope that important advantages might be drawn from the very bosom of misfortune. He accordingly quitted his strong camp, and directed his march towards Silesia. Daun pursued the same route, and by forced marches anticipated the motions of his heroic antagonist, who was more dilatory than usual.

The Austrian general had reached Gorlitz, and was pushing on to Lauban, when the king received the agreeable intelligence of his rapid progress, and, by one of the boldest acts of generalship recorded in the annals of war, wheeled into the opposite direction ; repassed the Spree near Bautzen, and threw himself unexpectedly before Dresden. His appearance struck the garrison like the springing of a mine. But Macguire, the governor, being an officer of courage and experience, resolved to defend the place to extremity ; and as it had been strengthened by additional fortifications since it had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, it baffled all the assaults of the Prussians, and gloriously resisted every mode of attack, until Daun returned from Silesia, and obliged the king to relinquish an enterprise, which deserved to have been crowned with the most brilliant success².

Chagrined at his disappointment, the Prussian monarch offered battle to Daun ; but the cautious commander prudently declined the challenge, and took every measure to render an attack impracticable. In the mean time general Laudohn, having completed his preparations, laid siege to Breslau, and endeavoured to intimidate the governor and the inhabitants into an immediate capitulation, by a pompous display of his strength. He set forth that his forces consisted of fifty battalions and eighty squadrons ; that seventy-five thousand Russians were within three days'

¹ Prussian and Austrian *Relations* compared.

² It will detract little from the merit of this enterprise, to suppose, as has been insinuated, that the king had an intention of marching into Silesia, till he found that Daun had the start of him. But, if such had been really his purpose, there is no reason to suppose he would have permitted Daun to gain upon him a march of two days : as on every other occasion, he exceeded the Austrians in the celerity of his motions. And his return was far more rapid than his advance.

march; that it was in vain for the governor to expect succour from the king, then on the other side of the Elbe, and still more vain to look for relief from prince Henry, who must sink beneath the swords of the Russians, if he should attempt to obstruct their progress. And he declared that the garrison must expect no terms, nor the inhabitants any favour, if they should resolve to hold out.

Finding all his threats ineffectual, as the governor's reply was firm and manly, Laudohn endeavoured to put them in execution. He tried to carry the town by assault, while he thundered upon it, from an immense artillery, a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. But the assault failed; and the awful bombardment affected only the wretched inhabitants, on whom it fell like the vengeance of Heaven. At length an army was seen, and tremulous hope and convulsive fear shook, by turns, the hearts of the distracted citizens:—but it was not an army Aug. 5. of Russians. A deliverer appeared in the person of prince Henry, whose peculiar fortune it was, with a happy conformity to his beneficent disposition, more frequently to save than to destroy. He had marched one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage. The Austrians abandoned the siege on his approach¹.

But the rapid march of prince Henry, and the relief of Breslau, seemed only to retard for a moment the ruin of the king's affairs. Laudohn, lately victorious, and still formidable, though obliged to retire before the royal brother, kept Schweidnitz and Neiss under blockade, and anxiously waited the arrival of the Russians; when he hoped not only to receive the submission of those two places, but to return to the siege of the capital, and complete at one blow the conquest of Silesia.

The main body of the Russian army, under count Czernicheff, had actually reached the frontiers of that province, and wanted only a few days' unobstructed march to form the much-feared and desired junction. Another body of Russians had entered Pomerania, where the Prussian forces did not exceed five thousand horse and foot, and threatened to invest Colberg; while the Swedes resumed their operations in the same country, with an army of twenty thousand men.

A plan of mere defence, in such circumstances, must have proved altogether ineffectual. Silesia was in danger of being instantly subdued, by the junction of the Austrians and Rus-

¹ *London Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1760.

sians. The king therefore marched thither without delay ; and left Daun, who had the start of him at setting out, considerably behind. He passed five rivers with a numerous army, clogged with heavy artillery, and above two thousand waggons ; and while one body of forces hung on his flank, another watched his rear, and a third presented itself in front, he traversed a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, under all those perils and difficulties, with a celerity that would have rendered memorable the march of a detachment of light troops. But he was not able, with all his activity, to bring Laudohn to action, before that general was joined by the Austrian armies under Daun and Lasey ; and, by the forces of these three generals, he was in danger of being surrounded in his camp at Lignitz. In vain did he attempt, by various movements, to divide the enemy's strength, to turn their flanks, or attack them under any other disadvantage : the nature of the ground, and the skill of the Austrian generals, rendered abortive all the suggestions of ingenuity.

While thus circumstanced, he received intelligence that the Russians were ready to pass the Oder at Auras. As the least of two dangers, he resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of a new enemy. Meanwhile Daun, having reconnoitred the king's situation at Lignitz, had formed an intention of attacking him by surprise, in the night, with the united strength of the three armies ; and he had communicated his design to the two other generals.

Of this scheme, it is probable, the Prussian monarch was not ignorant ; as, on the same night that it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp, with the utmost privacy, and occupied an advantageous post on the heights of Pfaffendorff, by which Laudohn was to advance. Daun, with no less precaution, made his approaches toward the Prussian camp ; but, to his astonishment, on his arrival, no enemy appeared. When day broke, however, he could perceive at a distance the rising of a thick smoke, which left him little room to doubt in what business the king was engaged, or for what purpose he had quitted his station.

As Laudohn was eagerly pressing on to Lignitz, and feeding his heart with splendid hopes of the glory which he should acquire, by his distinguished share in the action that was

Aug. 14. to determine the fate of the illustrious Frederic, he was furiously attacked, about three o'clock in the morning, by the Prussian army, regularly drawn up, and obliged to retire, after a

fierce conflict, when eight thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or captured. Daun had no opportunity of assisting him. His Prussian majesty, who exposed his own person in a remarkable manner, in order to animate his troops, was unguarded in no other respect. He had secured his rear so effectually with a strong body of reserve, and by a numerous artillery, judiciously planted on the heights of Pfaffendorff, that an attack was impracticable. Daun therefore found himself under the necessity of remaining inactive, and waiting, in anxious suspense, the issue of the momentous combat. It was finally decided by six o'clock, when the Austrians gave way on all sides, and were pursued as far as the Katzbach, a river that falls into the Oder below Lignitz. The king did not choose to push his advantage, lest he should afford the wily and watchful Daun an opportunity of disjoining his army¹.

By this victory, he not only rescued himself from imminent danger, but prevented the long-dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian armies in Silesia: for count Czernicheff was so intimidated by the defeat of the Austrians, that he immediately repassed the Oder. Having joined his brother at Neumarck, and opened a communication with Breslau, the king now marched against Daun, who had formed the blockade of Schweidnitz; routed a body of the enemy under general Beck, and obliged the grand Austrian army to forego its purpose, and take refuge among the mountains of Landshut.

While the active potentate was making these heroic efforts in Silesia, the reputation of his arms was ably supported in Saxony by general Hulsen, who gained several advantages over the army of the empire. But very different was the state of his affairs in other quarters. The Russians, after they repassed the Oder, pushed a strong detachment into Brandenburg; and count Czernicheff being joined by a large body of Austrians under
Oct. 6.
 general Lascy, the united army made itself master of Berlin². Nor was this mortifying blow the only stroke of ill fortune that fell upon the gallant monarch.

The Russians and Austrians, having levied a contribution upon the inhabitants of Berlin, destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, and plundered the palaces, retired by different routes, on hearing that Frederic was advancing to the relief of his capital. The city suffered considerably, especially in its ornaments, the adjacent country was ravaged, and the king sustained a very

¹ Prussian and Austrian *Accounts* compared.

² *Lond. Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1760.

great loss in valuable furniture and military stores. But these were not the worst consequences that attended the invasion of Brandenburg, and the assault upon the seat of government, of arts, and of elegance.

When Berlin was first threatened, Hulsén left Saxony, and attempted to oppose the enemy. He found himself unequal to the generous purpose, yet continued to hover in the neighbourhood, in order to seize any advantage that might offer. In the mean time, the prince of Deux-Ponts, meeting with no interruption, made rapid progress in Saxony. Leipsic, Torgau, and Wittenberg, successively surrendered to the Imperialists. And while the illustrious Frederic was thus losing his footing in Saxony, which had been hitherto the great support of his armies, a detachment from the French army in Westphalia laid Halberstadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians, who had invested Colberg both by land and sea. The king's situation again seemed desperate. All his motions, in his march toward Brandenburg, were watched by Daun, whose army had been reinforced; and, in his absence, Laudohn had formed the siege of Cosel, and threatened the whole Silesian province with subjection.

It now became necessary for the warlike prince, who was still at the head of a strong army, to call up once more the vigour of his genius, and attempt by some bold exertion to extricate himself from all his difficulties. He had determined to make such an exertion. And no sooner did he learn that the enemy had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburg, than he passed the Elbe, and rushed into Saxony. Daun followed him with seventy thousand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and left being secured by ponds, hills, and woods. A stronger position than that which was seized by the Austrian general could not have been chosen by a small army, as a security against one of the greatest force. Yet did his Prussian majesty, encompassed by dangers, resolve to attack, with only fifty thousand men, that able and experienced commander in his seemingly impregnable camp, as he could not hope to draw him from it, and winter was fast approaching.

In consequence of this resolution, the most daring that could be dictated by despair, the king divided his army into three bodies, and made all his dispositions with as much coolness and caution, as if it had been the result of the most guarded prudence. Hulsén, with one body, was directed to take post in a

wood on the left of the hostile army, and had orders not to move until he should find that the other divisions of the Prussian forces were engaged. Ziethen was instructed to charge on the enemy's right: and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by his majesty in person. These dispositions being made, the king informed his officers that he was determined to conquer or die. They unanimously answered, they would die or conquer with him.

Pleased with the ardour of his troops, and convinced that they would not disappoint his hopes, the intrepid monarch, having made his approaches in the morning, began an attack Nov. 3. upon the enemy's camp about two in the afternoon. He was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, disposed along the front of the Austrian line. The Prussian infantry fought with uncommon resolution; but they were at length broken, and repulsed with great slaughter. The cavalry then broke the Austrian infantry by an impetuous shock, but were soon forced to retire by the pressure of fresh battalions, which poured in on every side. And victory seemed ready to declare for the Austrians, when Ziethen, with the Prussian left wing, fell upon the enemy's rear; and Daun, having received a dangerous wound in the thigh, was carried off the field.

Encouraged by the confusion occasioned by these fortunate circumstances, the Prussian infantry returned to the charge. The cavalry, following their example, threw several bodies of Austrians into irreparable disorder; and if the darkness of night had not prevented the possibility of pursuit, and enabled the routed army to escape over the Elbe, the victory would have been complete, and the carnage extremely great. As matters terminated, however, the loss of lives, in the battle of Torgau, was not inconsiderable. About eight thousand men were killed or wounded on each side. And the Prussians took seven thousand prisoners, among whom were four generals, and two hundred inferior officers¹.

Of all the victories of the king of Prussia, this was perhaps the most glorious, as it was certainly the most important. His troops, though different from those invincible battalions now no more, which he had formerly led into Bohemia, and which conquered at Lowositz, Prague, Lissa, and Rosbach, behaved with a firmness worthy of the most hardy veterans. In no battle did he ever expose his own person so much; yet, as if invulnerable, a

¹ Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

bullet only grazed upon his breast. His courage and conduct were alike conspicuous. The Austrians pretended to dispute with him the honour of the action : but its consequences sufficiently proved where the advantage lay.

He immediately entered Torgau ; recovered all Saxony except Dresden ; and put his troops into winter quarters in that electorate, instead of being obliged to canton them in his own wasted dominions. He attained the object for which he fought, and at the same time added new lustre to his arms. The shock of victory seemed to be felt in every hostile quarter. Laudohn abruptly raised the blockade of Cosel, and evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland ; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were forced to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund.

During these important transactions on the continent of Europe, events of still greater moment took place in other quarters of the globe. While the allies of Great Britain, though supported by her money and troops, with difficulty maintained their ground in Germany, which alone seemed to engage her attention, her own arms, under the direction of British officers, were crowned with signal success in North America and the East Indies.

The taking of Quebec, it had been generally supposed, would be followed by the final submission of Canada, without any farther struggle. But this was soon discovered to be a dangerous error. Although the possession of that city was necessary to the conquest of the province, much yet remained to be done before it could be subjected to Great Britain.

The French, after the battle of Quebec, were reinforced at Montreal with six thousand Canadians, and a party of Indians ; and M. de Levi, who had succeeded the marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, proposed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the spring. In that resolution he was encouraged by an oversight of the English naval officers, who had not made sufficient provision against his attaining a superiority on the river St. Lawrence. No vessels of force had been left at Quebec, on a supposition that they could not be useful in winter.

The French general had even thought of attempting the recovery of the place during the rigour of that season, although a British garrison of five thousand men had been left in it, under the command of general Murray. But, on reconnoitring, he found the out-posts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant

and active, that he delayed the enterprise until the month of April. Then his artillery, provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggage, fell down the St. Lawrence from Montreal, under the convoy of six stout frigates. This squadron secured to him the undisputed command of the river ; a circumstance of the utmost importance to the execution of his whole design. And after a march of ten days, he arrived with ten thousand men at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

Meanwhile general Murray had omitted no step that could be taken by an able and experienced officer for maintaining the important conquest committed to his care. But the garrison had suffered so much from excessive cold in the winter, and from the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that he had not above three thousand men fit for service, when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army. With this small but gallant body, he intrepidly resolved to meet the enemy in the field, in order to avoid the tedious hardships and dangers of a siege, in an extensive town with a sickly garrison, and all the inhabitants secretly hostile to him. He accordingly marched out, on the 28th of April, to the heights of Abraham, and attacked M. de Levi, with great impetuosity, near Sillery. But being out-flanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he was obliged to retire, after an obstinate conflict, in which one thousand of his men were killed or wounded¹. The French sustained a much greater loss in this action, without deriving any positive advantage from it ; for Murray, instead of being dispirited by his defeat, seemed only to be roused to more strenuous efforts. The same bold spirit, which had led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a very small force, in hopes of obliging them to desist from their enterprise, now animated him in the defence of Quebec with a feeble garrison, since defence had become necessary. Nor did the French general lose a moment in improving his victory. He opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle ; but it was the eleventh of May before he could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time Murray had completed some outworks, and planted a numerous artillery on the ramparts ; so that the French batteries were in a manner silenced by the superior fire of the garrison, and the place was soon relieved, by the fortunate arrival of the English fleet, under lord Colville and commodore Swanton. M.

¹ *Letter from general Murray, in the London Gazette, June 27, 1760.—Knox's Campaigns, vol. ii.*

de Levi now retired with precipitation toward Montreal ; where the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and was resolved to make a last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

In the mean time general Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the utter subversion of the French power in that part of the New World. He sent instructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water to Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. And colonel Haviland, by like orders, sailed with a detachment from Crown Point, and took possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly for Montreal ; while the commander-in-chief, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego. There he was joined by a thousand Indians under sir William Johnson.

Amherst embarked on Lake Ontario with his whole army ; and after taking the fort of Isle Royale, which in a manner commands the source of the river St. Lawrence, he arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the same day that general Murray landed near that place from Quebec. The two generals met with no opposition in disembarking their troops ; and, by a happy concurrence of circumstances, colonel Haviland, with a detachment under his command, arrived on the following day.

The junction of these three bodies, composed of the flower of the British forces in North America, and the masterly dispositions made by the commanders, convinced Vaudreuil that all resistance would be ineffectual. He therefore demanded a capi-

Sept. 8. tulation, which was granted on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect in such circumstances.

Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and all other places possessed by the French within the government of Canada, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. It was stipulated that the troops should be transported to Old France ; and the Canadians were secured in their property, and in the free exercise of their religion¹.

This was an important conquest, and seemed to complete the great object of the war, the humiliation of the French in North

¹ *Letters from Amherst and Murray, in the London Gazette, Oct. 1760.—Knox's Campaigns, ubi sup.*

America. But while the arms of Great Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emissaries, from the province of Louisiana, had exercised their arts of insinuation so successfully among the neighbouring Indians, that the Cherokees, a powerful tribe, had commenced hostilities, toward the close of the last campaign, against the more southern English colonies, plundering, massacring, and scalping the inhabitants of the back settlements. Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, repressed their ravages, and obliged them to sue for peace. They engaged to renounce the French interest, but renewed the war. Colonel Montgomery, with a regiment of Highlanders, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincials, made war upon them after their own manner, and severely chastised them for their breach of faith. But the consummation of vengeance was reserved for colonel Grant, who, in 1761, desolated the whole country of the Cherokees, destroyed fifteen of their towns, and reduced them to the necessity of making the most humble submissions. They accordingly supplicated, and obtained the renewal of their treaties with England, at Charles Town, with all the marks of a penitent spirit and pacific disposition; while the other savage tribes, overawed by the fear of a similar visitation, seemed alike quietly disposed. The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Mississippi, alone remained to France of all her settlements in North America:—and these were too distant and feeble to molest the English colonies.

Nor was the success of the British arms less decisive in the East Indies. Encouraged by the taking of Wandewash, and by his victory over Lally, colonel Coote resolved to invest Pondicherry, the only settlement of any consequence remaining to the French on the coast of Coromandel. But as the place was too strong, and the garrison too numerous to permit him to indulge a hope of carrying it by assault, or even by regular approaches, with any force that he could then assemble, he blocked it closely by land and sea, and reduced both the garrison and the inhabitants to the greatest distress for want of provisions.

In the midst of this distress, and when the blockade had been continued for many months, the French were suddenly flattered with a prospect of relief. The English fleet, under admiral Stevens, was driven off the coast by a violent storm, and four ships of the line were lost. But such was the vigour of the officers and seamen, that, before any supplies could be thrown into Pondicherry, it was again blocked up by a stout squadron. The blockade, by land, had already been changed into a regular siege,

which was now carried on with redoubled vigour. A breach was made in the ramparts, and the inhabitants offered to capitulate ; but, as the commandant paid no attention to their interests, the proposal was disregarded.

Lally, who was at all times a man of violent and turbulent passions, appears to have been disordered in his understanding after his unsuccessful attempt on Madras. Greatly dissatisfied with the state of the French affairs in India, and with the conduct of the troops under his command, he thus expressed himself in the agitations of his disappointment :—" Hell has spewed me into this country of wickedness ; and I wait, like Jonah, for the whale to receive me in its belly." By his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, and the tyrannical exercise of his authority, under pretence of reforming abuses, he had early rendered himself odious to the governor and council of Pondicherry, and to the officers of the army, and therefore found his situation extremely disagreeable during the siege. " I would rather go to command the Caffres," said he, " than remain in this Sodom, which must sooner or later be destroyed by the English fire, in default of that from Heaven !" He made, however, a gallant defence.

The place being rendered utterly untenable, was surrendered to colonel Coote on the 15th of January, 1761. The defenders were made prisoners of war ; and a vast quantity of military stores, with a rich booty, fell into the hands of the victors¹.

In consequence of the reduction of Pondicherry, and the subsequent surrender of the small settlement of Mahie, on the coast of Malabar, the French power in the East was subverted ; and the English became, in a manner, masters of the commerce of the vast peninsula of India, from Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, beside the almost exclusive trade of the rich and extensive provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

These acquisitions of trade and territory, added to the conquest of Canada and the possession of Senegal, opened to the subjects of Great Britain immense prospects of commercial advantage, as well as of future empire ; of uniting the wealth of the southern to that of the northern regions of the earth ; the spices and fine fabrics of Asia, with the gums and gold dust of Africa, to the tar, turpentine, rice, indigo, tobacco, and beaver of North America. Yet were the people of England dissatisfied. They complained

¹ *Letter from colonel Coote in the London Gazette, July 20, 1761.*

of the shameful inactivity of the navy ; as nothing, they said, had lately been done by sea. And they affirmed, that the final conquest of Canada was the natural consequence of the success of the preceding campaign ; that a powerful armament, which had been detained at Portsmouth during the whole summer, with a view of making a diversion in favour of the Hanoverian army, was sufficiently strong to have reduced, in the present distressed circumstances of the inhabitants, not only Martinique, but all the remaining French islands in the West Indies ; of more real value to a naval and commercial people than one-half of the German empire. The dispute concerning the German war was renewed, and the folly of pursuing it exposed, with all the force of reasoning, and all the keenness of satire.

In the midst of these disputes, to which he was far from being inattentive, George II. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was suddenly taken ill, and expired almost instantly. His character is by no means complicated. Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to command the respect, of those who were most about his person. If his understanding was not very capacious, his judgment was sound ; and if he had little of the munificence of a great monarch, he possessed in perfection the economy of a prudent prince. Nor did that economy, though perhaps too minute for his exalted station, remarkably impair the splendour of his royal dignity, until age rendered state inconvenient to him. His fond attachment to German politics rendered the early part of his reign unpopular. But the bold spirit with which he resented the insults offered to his crown ; the readiness with which he changed his ministers, in compliance with the wishes of his people ; and the brilliant conquests with which the latter years of his reign were adorned, have endeared his memory to the English nation.

He was succeeded, in his regal and electoral dominions, by his grandson George III., a young prince of an amiable disposition, and of the most unblemished manners. The first speech of the new king to his parliament excited the highest hopes of a patriotic reign. " Born and educated in this country, I glory," said he, " in the name of a BRITON !"—But before we enter upon the history of the reign of this prince, it will be necessary to make a pause, and contemplate the state of Europe at the death of the second George.

LETTER XXXV.

A Survey of the State of Europe, and the Progress of the War in all Quarters of the Globe, from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Paris in 1763.

GEORGE III., who succeeded to the crown of Great Britain in the twenty-third year of his age, was universally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, as he was beyond dispute the most powerful monarch in Europe. Supplies, indeed, large beyond all political calculation of what the kingdom could raise, had already been granted by his subjects; yet were they still able and willing to give more, in order to complete the humiliation of his and their enemies. It was, however, hoped by the body of the people, that a change of politics would take place; that the young king, from his known and declared attachment to his native country, would no longer suffer the public treasure to be squandered in pensions to foreign princes, under the name of subsidies, to enable them to fight their own battles, or the blood of the British soldiery to be shed to water the forests and fertilize the plains of Germany. But how much soever the youthful sovereign might disapprove the continental system, he could not immediately adopt new measures, without inflicting a direct censure upon the conduct of his venerable predecessor. Nor could he abruptly desert his German confederates, after the important steps that had been taken in conjunction with them, without impairing the lustre of the British crown, and bringing into question the faith of the nation. He therefore declared in council, that, as he ascended the throne in the midst of an *expensive*, but *just* and *necessary* war, he would endeavour to *prosecute* that war in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace in *concert* with his *allies*.

This declaration quieted the throbbing hearts of those allies; and the liberal supplies granted by the British parliament for A.D. supporting the war during the ensuing campaign (which 1761. amounted nearly to nineteen millions sterling), astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. The dominions of the house of Austria were much wasted; the king of Prussia was in a better situation than at the opening of the

former campaign; the army under prince Ferdinand amounted to eighty thousand men, every way well appointed; the Russians and Swedes seemed weary of a war in which they had acquired neither honour nor advantage: the elector of Saxony was still in as distressed circumstances as ever, and his Polish subjects obstinately refused to interpose in his behalf. France declared her inability to discharge her pecuniary engagements to her allies. Her finances were low; her navy was almost ruined; her affairs in America and the East Indies seemed to be irretrievable; and her West Indian islands, she was sensible, must surrender to the first English armament that should appear upon their coasts. A congress was accordingly summoned to meet at Augsburg, for settling the disputes among the German powers; while the ministers of France and England were appointed to negotiate at London and Paris, for the adjustment of the differences between the two crowns.

The congress at Augsburg did not take place. But the negotiation between France and England was formally opened by Mons. Bussy at London, and Mr. Stanley at Paris, and was continued during the whole summer, though seemingly with little sincerity on either side. Affairs were not yet ripe for a general pacification; and a particular treaty could not be concluded between the crowns, without sacrifices of interest and fidelity, which neither was willing to make. Both were sensible of this; yet both professed a strong desire of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and both had strong reasons for such professions.

The British minister found such professions necessary, in order to reconcile the minds of the people to the prosecution of the German war, against which they began to revolt. And as he knew he durst not propose to give up the conquests in Africa, America, the East or West Indies, to procure favourable terms for the German allies of his master, he on that side planted the bar of honour, which was to obstruct the progress of the negotiation, and even to break it off, unless their affairs should take a more advantageous turn, and enable him to reconcile the interests of the king of Prussia with the engagements of his Britannic majesty. The French ministers, in like manner, accommodated themselves to their circumstances. While they made the most humiliating concessions, in order to awaken in the neutral powers a jealousy of the encroaching spirit of Great Britain, they insisted on certain stipulations, which they had reason to believe would not be admitted, and artfully attempted to involve the interests of France with those of Spain. But the cause of

the failure of this famous negotiation will be best understood by particulars.

The councils of Madrid were now under French influence. The pacific Ferdinand VI. having breathed his last on the 10th of August, 1759, was succeeded on the throne of Spain by his brother Don Carlos, king of Naples and Sicily. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip should have ascended the throne of the two Sicilies; and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, have reverted to the house of Austria, with a proviso of certain grants to the king of Sardinia. But as Carlos had never acceded to that treaty, he assigned the crown of the Two Sicilies to his third son Ferdinand, the eldest being judged unfit for government, and the second designed for the Spanish succession. Philip acquiesced in this disposition: and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France, permitted him to remain in possession of the three duchies, without asserting any claim to those territories. The king of Sardinia was quieted with money.

These good offices on the part of Louis, added to the ties of blood, could not fail to have some effect upon the mind of Charles III., the new king of Spain; and although he had hitherto observed a fair neutrality, and been liberal in his professions of friendship to Great Britain, France did not despair of being able to draw him into her views. She was sensible that he could not behold with indifference the humiliation of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, or the rapid progress of the British arms in America. The last more especially excited his jealousy. He foresaw that the Spanish empire in America, if that of France should be annihilated, must in a manner lie at the mercy of England, as no power would remain, in case of a contest between the two crowns, able to hold the balance in the New World. This reasonable jealousy, raised in the course of the negotiation, by the intrigues of the court of Versailles, and blown into a flame by the arrogance of the British minister, induced the Spanish monarch to seek refuge in the FAMILY COMPACT, so long and so ardently desired by France; an ambitious league, which seemed to threaten the liberties of Europe with extinction.

Before I investigate the principles of this compact, it will be proper to trace the leading steps of the negotiation between France and England, which immediately produced it. The first proposal of the court of Versailles was, "that the two crowns should remain in possession of what they had conquered from each other:" and, as France had assuredly been the greatest

loser, such a proposition from that haughty power appeared, to the more dispassionate part of the British ministry, an instance of extraordinary moderation, if not humility. A better foundation of treaty could not be offered. The great commoner, however, did not treat this proposition with the attention which its apparent fairness deserved.

It had already been intimated by the duke de Choiseul, the French minister, "that the situation in which they should stand at certain periods, should be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty that might be concluded between the two powers." And he proceeded to settle the periods; namely, the first of May in Europe, the first of July in Africa and the West Indies, and the first of September in the East Indies; observing, at the same time, that, as those periods might seem too near or too distant for the interests of Great Britain, the court of Versailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that subject. But Mr. Pitt haughtily declared, that his Britannic majesty would admit no other epoch than that of "the signing of the peace."

To this blunt and singular declaration the court of Versailles replied, with that coolness and temper which ought to govern all such transactions, "that, if not *those* which were already named, at least *some fixed periods* during the war ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti possidetis*, or mutual retaining of possessions, could not reasonably have reference *only* to the time of *signing the peace*." For, if the contrary principle should be admitted, it would become difficult to know, or even to guess at, the value of the possessions that might be given away, as it could not be ascertained what might, in the interval, be lost or gained. And if these difficulties occurred, it was added, in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be increased tenfold upon every other, and would come to such a height, as to preclude all possibility of negotiation, on things of so intricate a nature as changes and equivalents¹.

This dispute occasioned delay, and afforded the French ministry, if they had been so disposed, a decent pretext for breaking off the negotiation. In the mean time hostilities were prosecuted in various parts, as if no such negotiation had subsisted. But the campaign was distinguished by few memorable events.

¹ Account of the Negotiation published by the court of France, and tacitly admitted by that of England.

The war which had been carried on so long and so fruitlessly in Westphalia, at an immense expense, was as indecisive as ever. For although prince Ferdinand, by taking the field in February, gained several advantages over the French, who were little fitted for a winter campaign, the Duke de Broglie obliged him to abandon all the places he had taken or invested before the first of April; to raise the blockade of Ziegenhayn and the siege of Cassel, to expose anew the landgraviate of Hesse, and retire behind the Dymel.

Broglie having afterward passed the Dymel, and formed a junction with Soubise, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, attacked the allies at the village of Kirch-Denkern, on the 16th of July; but he was repelled by the energy of his adversaries; and four thousand of his men were killed, or made prisoners¹. In consequence of this advantage, prince Ferdinand, having extended his army towards Hamelen, was enabled to secure the course of the Weser, and to protect the electorate of Hanover, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy. But he had the mortification to see them ravage Westphalia and East Friesland.

The king of Prussia, seemingly fatigued with ineffectual efforts, and mortified by indecisive victories, acted solely on the defensive; himself taking post in Silesia, and his brother in Saxony. Yet this defensive campaign was not more exempt from misfortune than those in which he most freely indulged the ardour of his genius. The Austrians took Schweidnitz by surprise, and the Russians made themselves masters of Colberg. By the loss of these two important places, the illustrious Frederic found himself in a worse situation than at the close of any former season of action. The Russians wintered in Pomerania and the Austrians in Silesia.

These events did not altogether correspond with the haughty tone assumed by the English minister, in his negotiation with France. But several actions happened at sea between single ships and small squadrons, greatly to the honour of the British flag. And a naval armament, which had excited the highest hopes, while its destination remained unknown, was prepared early in the season, and crowned with signal success.

The object of this armament—consisting of ten ships of the line, under commodore Keppel, and nine thousand soldiers, commanded by major-general Hodgson—was the reduction of Belle-

¹ *London Gazette*, July 23, 1761.

isle, near the coast of France, between Port-Louis and the mouth of the Loire. A descent was immediately attempted at different places; but the troops were repulsed with considerable loss, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. They were not, however, discouraged, but resolutely persevered in their purpose; and a landing was effected on the 22d of April. The invaders drove the French from their lines before Palais, the capital of the island; entered the town sword in hand, and obliged the garrison to take refuge in the citadel. That fortress, built by the famous Vauban, and defended by three thousand men under the Chevalier de St. Croix, an able and experienced officer, made a gallant defence. But after it had been invested about six weeks, and a practicable breach made in the works, St. June 7. Croix, seeing no prospect of relief, judged it prudent to capitulate; and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty¹.

The taking of Belleisle, which was celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and every expression of triumph and tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the pride of the English populace, and was no small mortification to France. But the expedition, having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Westphalia, in order to defend their own coasts, and thus to enable prince Ferdinand to strike some decisive blow; and the island itself (which is merely a barren rock) being found to have no harbour for ships of force, the chief circumstance that could make it valuable to Great Britain, the possession of it was thought, by the more intelligent part of the nation, to have been dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand brave men, beside an extraordinary expenditure of naval and military stores. The ministry, however, represented it as a place of great importance, from its position, while they highly and justly extolled the valour of the troops employed in reducing it. Yet, as this conquest had not been attended with the expected consequences, and as no other enterprise was planned from which any important advantage could be expected during the summer, Mr. Pitt condescended to name certain epochs, to which the reciprocal holding of possessions should refer: and the negotiation with France was resumed.

The periods named by the British minister were, the first of August for Europe, the first of September for Africa and Ame-

¹ *Lond. Gazette*, April 30, and June 14, 1761.

rica, and the first of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of the nearness, as she now had hopes of acquiring some important advantage in Westphalia before the close of the campaign. She also agreed, that every thing settled between the two crowns relative to their particular disputes, should be finally conclusive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congress to be holden at Augsburg, for deciding the disputes of Germany. And she farther agreed, that the definitive treaty of peace between the kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpose, should be signed and ratified before the first of the next August.

France even gave up the point of honour, and frankly made an offer of what places she was willing to cede and exchange. In her final answer (after certain difficulties had been removed, and some claims relinquished), she promised to guarantee Canada to England, in the utmost extent required, including as dependencies the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; to demolish Dunkirk, provided the right of fishing and drying fish on the banks of Newfoundland should be confirmed to her; to restore Minorca for Guadaloupe and Mariegalante; to evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and Göttingen, provided one settlement in Africa should be guaranteed to her for the convenience of the Negro trade; to remit the settlement of affairs in the East Indies to the companies of the two nations, and to leave England in possession of Belleisle until some equivalent should be offered and accepted. But she persisted in demanding the restitution of the trading vessels taken before the declaration of war, and obstinately refused to give up Wesel and Gueldres, which she had wrested from the king of Prussia.

England, with no less obstinacy, refused to restore the disputed captures, yet insisted on the restitution of those two places. Nor would the minister, astonishing as it may seem, agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He rejected the proposal with disdain as an insult upon the national honour; though it would certainly have been more easy for Great Britain, and no less honourable, to mediate or even purchase a peace for the king of Prussia, in the congress at Augsburg, than to enable him to continue the struggle for Silesia, and defend his various provinces against France, Sweden, Austria, Russia, and the army of the empire. On this romantic idea, however, and the two other contested points, the negotiation between France and England

was broken off, when it seemed ready to terminate in a solid peace, and after it had been protracted considerably beyond the term fixed for signing the treaty. Sept. 20.

A rupture with Spain, it was readily foreseen, would be the immediate consequence of the failure of this treaty, as the failure itself had been partly occasioned by the suspicions of a secret understanding between the French and Spanish ministers. The poisonous insinuations of the court of Versailles had now produced their full effect upon the mind of Charles III. This had sufficiently appeared in the course of the late negotiation. The French minister, with his memorial of propositions (dated the 15th of July), had presented to the court of London a private memorial, signifying the desire of his most Christian majesty that, in order to establish the peace upon solid foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; and he proposed, with the consent and communication of his catholic majesty, that the three points in dispute between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, should be finally settled in this negotiation; namely, the restitution of some ships taken in the course of the present war under Spanish colours, the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the demolition of certain settlements made, contrary to treaty, by the English logwood-cutters on the bay of Honduras.

The British minister read this memorial with surprise and indignation, and declared, on returning it, with that dignity and even haughtiness peculiar to his character, that his Britannic majesty would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; and that it would be considered as an affront, and a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation on the part of France, to make any farther mention of such a circumstance. He at the same time called upon the Spanish minister to disavow the proposition which had been said to be made with the knowledge of his court; and expressed his astonishment at seeing a proposal for accommodating disputes between friends coming through the medium of an enemy! to find points of so much consequence offered for deliberation by a French envoy, when his catholic majesty had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of such business had been received!

The court of Versailles condescended to make an apology for having proposed a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain:

but the Spanish ambassador openly avowed and justified the step taken by the French envoy, as entirely conformable to the sentiments of his master. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but by those of mutual interest. He applauded the humanity and magnanimity of the former prince, in seeking to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs would permit; and haughtily added, that, if governed by any other principles, his catholic majesty, consulting only his greatness, would have spoken "from himself, and as became his dignity¹."

The meaning of this declaration could not possibly be misunderstood. It evidently appeared, from the most liberal interpretation of the words, that Spain, as a party, was gratified with a communication of every step taken in the negotiation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to in the proposition, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance, of the terms offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and counsels, between the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

A firm conviction of this is said to have been the cause of that arrogance, bordering upon insult, with which Mr. Pitt thenceforth treated the proposals of France, and which completed the views of the court of Versailles. The Family Compact was signed on the 15th of August. From that moment, the French minister changed his tone; and the negotiation with England was broken off, as already related, less from any disagreement between the courts, on important points, than their seeming obstinacy in maintaining pretended points of honour.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness against the daring interposition of Spain, in the negotiation between France and England, and to demand a declaration of her final intentions; to put a negative upon the Spanish pretensions to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; to rest the article of disputed captures on the justice of the English tribunals; to continue the former professions of the court of London, indicating a desire of an amicable adjustment of the logwood dispute, and the willingness of his Britannic majesty to cause the settlements on the coasts of Honduras to be evacuated, if his Catholic majesty would provide for the continu-

¹ *Papers relative to the Negotiation with France, and the Dispute with Spain, published by authority.*

ance of that traffic to which the British subjects had a right by treaty.

Mr. Wall, the Spanish minister, applauded the spirit of the king of Great Britain, in not suffering France to be appealed to, as a tribunal, in his disputes with Spain. In the proposition made, with the consent of his court, he declared that things had not been considered in that light; and he asked whether it could be imagined in England, that the Catholic king was seeking to provoke Great Britain to war in her most flourishing and exalted condition, and after such a series of prosperous events as never perhaps occurred in the annals of any other kingdom. But he refused to give up any of the three points in dispute, and owned that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; that, in consequence of this harmony, the most Christian king had offered to assist his catholic majesty, if the dispute between Great Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture; and that the offer was considered in a very friendly light.

A declaration less explicit would have been sufficient to convince a minister of Pitt's discernment, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal. He accordingly declared in council, that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war; that we ought, from prudence as well as spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow; that if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain; that her supplies lay at a distance, and might be easily intercepted and cut off, as we were already masters of the sea; that her flota, or American plate-fleet, on which she had great dependence, had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once strengthen our hands and disable hers. Such a bold but necessary step, he added, would be a lesson to his catholic majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain.

The transcendent dignity of this sentiment, so far exceeding the comprehension of ordinary minds, appeared in the form of shocking violence, or wild extravagance, to the majority of the council. They admitted, that we ought not to be deterred from the assertion of our reasonable demands by the menaces of any power; but they affirmed, at the same time, that this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst the springs of government were already overstrained, was ill-suited to our national strength; that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madness; that if Spain, misled

by the counsels of France, should enter, in a more decisive manner, into the views of that hostile court, it would then be early enough to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced, that we acted with as much temper as resolution, and when every thinking man in the kingdom was satisfied, that he was not hurried into the hazards and expenses of war from an idea of romantic heroism, but from unavoidable necessity ; and would cheerfully contribute to the support of an administration which, though firm and resolute, was afraid alike to waste the national treasure wantonly or employ it unjustly.

These arguments, though plausible, had no weight with Mr. Pitt. He considered them as the timid counsels of short-sighted caution, or the captious objections of narrow-minded and selfish politicians, envious of his greatness, and indifferent to the welfare of their country. Giving full scope to his pride and patriotism, he warmly exclaimed, " This is the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon ! and if we neglect the glorious opportunity, we shall in vain look for another. Their united power, if suffered to gather strength, will baffle our most vigorous efforts, and possibly plunge us into the gulf of ruin. We must not allow them a moment to breathe : self-preservation bids us crush them, before they can combine or recollect themselves."

Mr. Pitt, in the same council, rashly declared that, if he could not carry so salutary a measure, this would be the last time of his sitting at that board. " I was called to the administration of public affairs," added he, haughtily, " by the voice of the people : to them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct ; and, therefore, cannot remain in a *situation* which makes me *responsible* for *measures* I am no longer allowed to *guide*." The sagacious earl Granville, president of the council, coolly replied, " The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise have compelled us to leave him ; for if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of war, to what purpose are *we* here assembled ?" On a division the minister himself, and his brother-in-law earl Temple, were the only members of the council who voted for an immediate declaration of war against Spain.

Pitt, conformably to his declared resolution, carried the seals
Oct. 5. of his office to the king ; although not without hopes,
as is believed, that he would be desired to retain them.
But royal favour had, by this time, begun to flow into new channels.

The earl of Bute claimed a large share of that favour. He had been much about the person of George III. before his accession to the throne; and beside the pleasure of having partly formed the mind of the heir apparent to the British crown, he had in so doing the particular satisfaction of discharging a debt of gratitude to the memory of his majesty's father, Frederic prince of Wales, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed in a high degree with Mr. Pitt and other reputed patriots. Soon after the death of George II., this nobleman was appointed secretary for the northern department: and he now expected, in consequence of the divisions in the privy council, and the affection of his royal master, to seize the reins of government. The duke of Newcastle, and other ministers of the late king, who had found themselves overshadowed by the superior abilities of the great commoner, also wished his removal; and as HE, the favourite of the people, had found it necessary to form a coalition with them, and to flatter the political prejudices of his aged sovereign, in order more effectually to serve his country, and gratify his own boundless ambition, THEY, in hopes of recovering their consequence, yielded in like manner a temporary support to the earl of Bute, supposed to be the bosom favourite of the youthful monarch.

The king, therefore, received the seals from Mr. Pitt with ease and dignity. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant, at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behaviour so firm, yet full of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears¹. This was the time for conciliation between the powerful sovereign and his *greatest* subject, if the highest ability to serve the state, although inferior to many in rank and fortune, can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king was willing to abide by the opinion of the majority of his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation; settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a year, for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady; for, at that time he declined the honour of nobility, content that it should descend to his offspring.

No change in the British ministry ever occasioned so much alarm as the resignation of Mr. Pitt. It seemed equal to a revolution in the government. As the nation, under his ad-

¹ Account of Mr. Pitt's *Resignation*, &c. as published by the two parties.

ministration, had been raised from despondency and disgrace to the highest degree of glory, triumph, and exaltation, the most serious apprehensions were entertained, by the body of the people, that it might again sink into the same state of depression, and be overwhelmed by its numerous enemies, since his all-inspiring genius no longer directed its councils; or that an inglorious peace would be patched up, to avert the dangers of a new war.

But this alarm was soon quieted by the vigorous measures of the new ministry, and the address with which their emissaries drew off the veil from the imperfections of the late secretary, whose reputation, both as a patriot and a statesman, they endeavoured to destroy. They keenly exposed his inconsistency, and called in question his political sagacity, in so warmly entering into the German contest, against which, in the early part of his public career, he had so vehemently and so justly declaimed. They blamed his shameful prodigality, in expending so much of the national treasure in fruitless expeditions to the coast of France, instead of directing them against the remaining French islands in the West Indies. They reprobated his inexcusable negligence, in not ordering general Amherst to enter Louisiana, which might easily have been conquered, during the last campaign, without sending any additional force to America. And they maintained, with some appearance of reason, that his resignation discovered more pride than patriotism. But when they attempted to ascribe all the success of his measures to mere chance, and to turn into ridicule his most laudable enterprises, the sentiments of the people revolted against the insult offered to their understanding. And all sincere lovers of their country, whatever might be their opinion of his principles, lamented the loss of so able and popular a minister at so dangerous a crisis; while his friends entered zealously into a vindication of his whole conduct, and severely censured the insidious arts of his unworthy colleagues, who had obliged him to quit the helm of state, by thwarting him in his favourite measure, and irritating a temper naturally too hot, and a spirit which they knew could not brook control.

In changing opinion upon farther experience and good grounds, they ingeniously observed, there was no inconsistency; that all men are liable to error and mistake; and that whatever might have been Mr. Pitt's original opinion of the policy of engaging in the German war, the proposal of neutrality in regard to that war, made by France in the late negotiation, was an irrefragable proof that she did not think herself a gainer by the continental

contest, and consequently justified his pursuing it; that the expeditions to the coast of France, though attended with few immediate and positive advantages, had distracted the councils and the measures of the enemy, at the same time that they roused the spirit of the English nation, and had eventually made us victorious in every quarter of the globe; that this spirit having borne down all resistance in America and the East Indies, was now to have been directed against the remaining French islands in the West Indies, a formidable armament being actually ready to sail for those latitudes; and, if Mr. Pitt had been allowed to commence hostilities immediately against Spain, there was the utmost reason to believe, that we should soon have been in possession not only of Martinique, Hispaniola, and Cuba, but of the mines of Mexico and Peru. In reply, the friends of administration affirmed, that, instead of achieving new conquests, he was no longer able to act; that having exhausted the resources of the kingdom, and drawn upon it new enemies, he had deserted his station at the helm, and left the vessel of state to sink or swim amidst the storm which he had raised¹.

These disputes, and their anxiously-expected issue, engaged the attention of all Europe. The German allies of Great Britain flattered themselves that the seals would be restored to Mr. Pitt, and expressed their apprehensions of the injury which the common cause might suffer by his resignation; while the Bourbon courts indulged a hope, that his exclusion from the administration would be perpetual, and represented the failure of the late promising negotiation, between France and England, as solely the effect of his arrogance.

The French ministry went yet farther. They industriously circulated the news of a secret treaty between France and Spain, into which they had been driven by the domineering temper of the English secretary. By this alarming intelligence, they presumed that they should be able to intimidate the new cabinet of George III. into the adjustment of a pacification upon their own terms, or at least deter that court from declaring war against Spain, until her preparations should be completed, when such a measure would be equally agreeable to the courts of Versailles and Madrid. But they were unacquainted with the character of the men whom they hoped to terrify; so that their vain-glorious boasting produced an effect directly opposite to that for which it was intended.

¹ Publications of the times.

The earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary for the southern department, sensible of the necessity of behaving with spirit in the dispute with Spain, to secure in any degree the confidence of the people, had already, with the consent of his colleagues, instructed the British ambassador at Madrid to act with firmness, and now ordered him to require an account of the purport of this vaunted treaty. But all the answer which the earl of Bristol could obtain was, "That his catholic majesty had judged it expedient to renew his *Family Compact* with the most Christian king." And as the nature of the present, or the existence of any preceding compact, was then unknown to the English ministry, and to all foreign nations, our ambassador was directed to demand a satisfactory explanation on the subject, and to signify, that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war on the part of Spain. The pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and the minister Wall told the earl, "that the spirit of haughtiness, which dictated this demand, had even pronounced a declaration of war in attacking the king's dignity!" And it was intimated to him, that he might return to England when, and in what manner, he thought proper.

In consequence of this answer, the earl of Bristol immediately quitted Madrid, and the conde de Fuentes left London. Before his departure, however, the Spanish ambassador delivered to the earl of Egremont a paper in the form of a manifesto, apparently calculated to distract the British councils, by fostering the spirit of faction, already too prevalent in the nation. In that paper, after insisting much on the insolence of the late English minister, and the little delicacy or decorum with which the court of Madrid had been treated since his resignation, he affirmed, that, if the purport of the secret treaty had been desired in a manner less offensive to the dignity of the catholic king, it might as easily have been obtained as it could have been justified, as it contained merely a reciprocal guarantee of the dominions of the several branches of the house of Bourbon, with this particular restriction (seemingly thrown in to blind the British ministry), that it should extend only to the dominions which might remain to France after the present war¹.

But the fundamental articles of the treaty will furnish the best answer to this manifesto, and best explain the nature of the **FAMILY COMPACT**. By these it was stipulated, that the subjects of the different branches of the house of Bourbon should be ad-

¹ Printed Manifesto.

mitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of the same privileges and immunities over all their European dominions, as those enjoyed by natural-born subjects in the countries of their particular sovereigns. The direct trade to America formed the only material exception to this remarkable community of interests. Nor was the political union rendered less intimate than the civil.

The kings of France and Spain agreed to look upon every power as their common enemy, which should become the enemy of either; that war declared against the one should be regarded as personal by the other; and that, if both should happen to be engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they would carry it on jointly with their whole force, and observe the most perfect concert in their military operations. And they formally stipulated, that they would not make peace, or even listen to any propositions from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as well as of war, "each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crowns as its own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages; and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power." The king of Spain contracted, for the king of the Two Sicilies, the obligations imposed by this treaty; and the three monarchs engaged "to support, on all occasions, the dignity and rights of their royal house, and those of the princes descended from it¹."

To the great extent of these political stipulations, there was but one restriction; namely, that Spain should not be bound to succour France, when she might be involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany, and the North, "unless some *maritime power* should take part in those wars, or France be attacked by land in her own country." This exception of the maritime powers formed a key to the whole confederacy; as it showed in the most satisfactory manner against what power that confederacy was chiefly directed. It pointed out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connexion with Great Britain was the principal circumstance which was to provoke the enmity of Spain; and to Great Britain, that her humiliation was the grand object of the Family Compact.

This agreement, which seemed at length to produce that intimate union between the French and Spanish monarchies, so

¹ Abstract of the *Family Compact* published by the court of France.

much dreaded at the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, would of itself have been sufficient, as soon as its true purport was known, to justify Great Britain in declaring war against Spain; a power so closely connected with her principal enemy, that it was almost impossible to distinguish one from the other. And, after the steps that had already been taken, such a measure was now rendered unavoidable. Mutual declarations of war were A.D. accordingly issued by the courts of London and Madrid, 1762. in the beginning of the year; and great preparations were made by both, for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect.

Never had Great Britain seen herself in so perilous a situation as the present. She was engaged, as a principal, in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and, as an ally, she had the declining cause of the king of Prussia to support against the house of Austria, the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all. As the strength of her victorious navy gave her a manifest superiority over the fleets of France and Spain, an expedient was devised to engage her in a new land war, that her resources might be exhausted, and her attention diverted from distant conquests or naval enterprises. This expedient was an attack upon the neutral kingdom of Portugal; a great political stroke, which naturally leads us to take a view of the state of that realm.

As Portugal was, in some measure, indebted to England for the recovery of her independence, and the family of Braganza for its full establishment on the throne of that kingdom, the closest friendship subsisted from that time between the two crowns. In consequence of this friendship, founded on mutual interest, England gave a preference in her ports to the wines of Portugal above those of other countries; and obtained, in return for such indulgence, many exclusive privileges in her trade with that kingdom, of which she was considered as the guardian. Envious of those commercial advantages, and sensible that England would not tamely relinquish them, whatever might be the disposition of his most Faithful Majesty, France suggested to Spain the invasion of Portugal, as the most effectual means of distressing their common enemy, if not of extending the dominions of the house of Bourbon.

The conquest of Portugal, indeed, seemed no distant or doubtful event. Sunk in ignorance and indolence, reposing in the protection of England, and fed and adorned with the rich produc-

tions of Brasil, (where gold and diamonds are found in great abundance, and where the most luxuriant crops of rice and sugar may be raised almost without culture,) the Portuguese had relinquished all attention to their internal defence. A long peace had extinguished the martial spirit among them; and, notwithstanding the increase of their resources, they had suffered their army insensibly to moulder away. That part of it which remained was without discipline and without officers; and the fortresses on the frontiers were in no state of defence.

Nor were these the only circumstances favourable to the views of the house of Bourbon. Before Portugal had recovered from the shock of the earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins, it experienced a civil convulsion of the most dangerous kind. This was a conspiracy against the life of Joseph, the reigning sovereign, and the fifth king of the house of Braganza. Less superstitious than most of his predecessors, he had banished the Jesuits from his court, because their brethren in Paraguay, where they acted as sovereigns, had opposed the cession of certain territories, which he had exchanged with the king of Spain. He had also spirit and resolution to repress the encroachments of his nobles, and to disconcert the ambitious views of the duke d'Aveiro, supposed to have a design upon the crown.

This nobleman, enraged at his disappointment in a favourite matrimonial alliance, by which he hoped to extend his political influence, entered into intrigues with the heads of the dissatisfied Jesuits; namely, Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, formerly confessors to the royal family. They encouraged him in his purpose of destroying the king, and engaged in his conspiracy the Tavora family, one of the most ancient and powerful in the kingdom, also disgusted with the court. The conspiracy failed, at a time when it was so near taking effect, that the king was dangerously wounded, by a shot through the back of his carriage, on the third of September, 1758. He saved his life by returning to his country-house, instead of proceeding to the capital, in his way to which he would have been attacked by new assassins¹. The principal conspirators were seized, and executed in the beginning of the year 1759; and the Jesuits of all descriptions were banished from the kingdom. But the discontents among the nobility remained. The clergy were not in a better humour. The pope had resented the expulsion of the Jesuits; and the body of the people,

¹ *Account of this Conspiracy, published by the court of Lisbon.*

enslaved by the most blind superstition, seemed ready to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign who was at enmity with the Holy See.

Such was the state of Portugal, when the Spanish forces marched toward its defenceless frontiers, and the ministers of France and Spain presented to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial (the first fruits of the Family Compact,) with a view of persuading his most Faithful Majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great Britain. In that memorial, they insisted largely on the tyranny exercised by England over all other powers (especially in maritime affairs), and which the kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded by the ties of blood and their common interest to oppose; and they declared, that, as soon as Joseph should have taken his resolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal, and garrison the fortresses of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwise be exposed from the naval force of Great Britain. To this extraordinary memorial, the two ministers added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any farther deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The situation of the king of Portugal was now critical. If, contrary to the established connexions and supposed interests of his crown, and in violation of the faith of treaties, he should engage in this proffered alliance, he must expect to see his most valuable settlements, Brasil and Goa, fall a prey to his ancient and injured ally, and Lisbon and Oporto, his chief cities, laid in ashes by the thunder of the English arms; and, by admitting garrisons into his principal places of strength, the avowed condition of his accession to the Bourbon confederacy, he must necessarily expect to be reduced to the abject state of a vassal of Spain. If, on the other hand, he should adhere to his engagements, and resolve to maintain his independence, sixty thousand Spaniards were ready to enter his kingdom, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered province.

His firmness, on this trying occasion, is highly worthy of admiration. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon, he observed, with judgment and temper, that his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis; that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects: that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, were she even willing, from

taking part in an offensive war: into the calamities of which neither the love he bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, would suffer him to plunge them. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was merely defensive, or entirely innocent; and for this astonishing reason—that the defensive alliance was converted into an offensive one “by the *situation* of the Portuguese dominions and the *nature* of the British power!”—The English fleets, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, or cruise on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal. “Nor,” added they, “could those haughty islanders insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands.” And, after endeavouring to awaken the jealousy of his most Faithful Majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England, they insultingly told him, that he ought to be thankful for “the NECESSITY which they had imposed upon him to make *use* of his *reason*, in order to *take* the *road* of his *glory* and *embrace* the *common interest*!”

Although the king was sensible, that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honourable resolution. The treaties of amity and commerce, subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, had always deemed innocent. And he entreated their most Christian and Catholic majesties to open their eyes to the gross injustice of turning upon Portugal the hostilities kindled against Great Britain, and to consider that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind; that there would be an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they had formed defensive alliances with the powers at war; and that, if their troops should invade his dominions, he would therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces and those of his allies. And he concluded with declaring, that he would rather see the last tile of his palace fall, and his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than sacrifice the honour or the independence of his crown, and afford the ambitious princes, in his submission, a pretext for invading the sacred rights of neutrality.

In consequence of this magnanimous declaration, the ministers

¹ Printed Papers, published by authority.

of France and Spain immediately left Lisbon; and their departure was soon followed by a joint denunciation of war April 27. against Portugal in the name of their sovereigns. His Britannic majesty could not view with indifference the danger of his faithful ally, who depended upon him for support; nor could he prudently avoid acting with vigour in his defence. He accordingly sent over to Portugal arms, ammunition, provisions, and eight thousand soldiers.

By the exertions of these additional troops, the enterprising valour of the British officers, and the skilful conduct of the count de la Lippe (a German general who had acted with ability under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and now commanded the Portuguese army), the Spaniards, who had passed the mountains in three divisions, taking several places, and confidently hoped soon to become masters of the whole kingdom, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning their conquests, and evacuating Portugal before the close of the campaign¹. In this service, brigadier Burgoyne, who commanded the British troops, bore a distinguished part.

Nor did the attention of Great Britain to the safety of Portugal diminish her exertions or her success in Westphalia. There the French had resolved to make the most powerful efforts; while the Spaniards, in order to divide our strength, should enter the Portuguese dominions. Their plan of operation was nearly the same as formerly; but they had changed their generals. Broglie had been disgraced, through the intrigues of the prince de Soubise, who now commanded the army on the Weser, in conjunction with the *maréchal d'Estrées*; while that on the Lower Rhine was committed to the direction of the prince of Condé.

The disposition of the allies was not more varied. The hereditary prince was posted in the bishopric of Munster with a strong detachment, to observe the motions of the prince of Condé; and prince Ferdinand lay behind the Dymel, with the main body, in order to oppose the progress of the grand French army; to prevent it from entering the electorate of Hanover, and, if possible, to recover the territories of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

The first service Ferdinand effectually performed. He obliged the enemy to abandon Göttingen, the only place which they possessed in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and which

¹ *Lond. Gazette.*

they had fortified at great expense. He gained several advantages over them, particularly in the actions at Grabenstein, Homberg, and Melsungen; where the British troops under the marquis of Granby acquired signal honour¹. He reduced Cassel, in presence of the three French generals, notwithstanding a defeat which the hereditary prince had suffered from the prince of Condé at Johannisberg; and he was preparing to besiege Ziegenhayn, the last Hessian town that remained to the enemy, when he received intelligence of the signature of preliminaries of peace.

While Ferdinand was thus exerting himself in Westphalia, with a degree of spirit which induced his enemies to insinuate that he had hitherto protracted the war, in order to enjoy its emoluments, the fortune of the king of Prussia wore a variety of appearances, in consequence of certain great and singular revolutions in the affairs of the North.

At the close of the last campaign, we saw the Austrians in possession of Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, and the Russians masters of Colberg, and wintering in Pomerania; so that the dominions of his Prussian majesty, whose armies were considerably weakened, lay entirely at the mercy of his foes, who were now enabled to begin their operations more early than they had before been accustomed to enter upon the campaign, as well as to sustain them with greater vigour and concert. A complete victory, an event by no means probable, did not seem sufficient to save him from utter ruin; when the tremendous storm, ready to burst upon his head, was happily dissipated, by one of those sudden and extraordinary changes in human affairs, which instantly decide the fate of nations, outstrip all human foresight, and confound the reasonings of the wisest politicians.

The Russian empress Elizabeth, having died in the beginning of the year, was succeeded by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, under the name of Peter III. As they who were most intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the new czar could only conjecture, whether he would pursue or abandon the political system of his predecessor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned toward the court of Petersburg, to observe the direction of his early councils. He began his reign with regulating, on the most generous principles, his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all slavish vassalage, and put them on a footing with those of the same rank in other European countries. He abolished the private chancery, a kind of state-

¹ *London Gazette*, June 28, et seq.

inquisition: he recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia; and extending his benign policy to his subjects of all conditions, he diminished the taxes upon some of the necessities of life, to the great relief of the poor¹.

The same mild spirit, which dictated the civil regulations of this prince, seemed to extend itself to his foreign politics. He ordered a memorial to be delivered (in February) to the ministers of his allies, in which he declared, that, in order to procure the re-establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia during the war, in hopes, "that the allied courts would also prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the *advantages* which they might *expect* from the *continuance* of hostilities, but which they could not obtain, unless by a *continuance* of the *effusion* of human blood²!"

This declaration, however, was not dictated solely by motives of humanity. Beside an extravagant admiration of the character of the king of Prussia, Peter was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of Sleswick, to which he had pretensions as duke of Holstein. He therefore ordered a cessation of arms, on receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his memorial from the courts of Vienna and Versailles; and he entered soon after into an alliance with the illustrious Frederic, without stipulating any thing in favour of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to those of his new ally, for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of Silesia, while he commanded another army to march towards Holstein. Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

The king of Prussia did not fail to profit by this great revolution in his favour. As that load of power which had so long oppressed him, and against which he had borne up with such unexampled fortitude, was now much lightened, he was again at liberty to indulge the ardour of his genius, and to act with vigour against his remaining enemies. His first aim was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next the expulsion of the Austrians out of Silesia; and, in the attainment of these objects, he was greatly assisted by the valour and military skill of his brother, who gained the important battle of Freyberg. Even before he had obtained this victory, the prince was so far master of Saxony, that the Austrians found it necessary to withdraw a body of troops from their armies in

¹ *Regulations* published by the court of Petersburg.

² Printed *Memorial*.

Silesia, in order to prevent him from making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Daun, however, with a large army, still occupied some eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that town. The king resolved to force him to abandon those posts: and he succeeded; not indeed by a direct attack, which he found to be impracticable, but by a series of masterly movements, which made the cautious Daun apprehensive that his principal magazine might be seized, and even his communication with Bohemia cut off. He accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz uncovered¹.

His Prussian majesty immediately prepared to invest that place with a numerous army. In the mean time different bodies of his troops, some on the side of Saxony, others on that of Silesia, penetrated into Bohemia, laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread general alarm. A body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into Bohemia, and retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages, which, at the instigation of the court of Vienna, the same barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Prussian dominions.

But the gallant Frederic, while he was conducting, with spirit and ability, that bold line of operations which unexpected circumstances had enabled him to form, was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune, in consequence of a new revolution in Russia. Peter III., in his rage for innovation, made more new regulations in a few weeks than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His first measures, as we have seen, were truly laudable, and seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their interests. He disgusted both the army and the church, the two chief pillars of absolute sway: the former, by the manifest preference he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek communion (having been bred a Lutheran) and by some innovations in regard to images: but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they should no longer be "distinguished by *beards*."

These were high causes of discontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's misfortunes immediately arose from a matrimonial feud—from the bosom of his

¹ Prussian and Austrian *Accounts* compared.

own family. He had long slighted his consort, Catharine, of the house of Anhalt Zerbst (a woman of a masculine disposition and sound understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited), and now openly lived with the countess of Woronzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he entertained thoughts of confining the empress in a convent, and of raising the countess to the partnership of his throne. The dis-

June 28. satisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of

O. S. the army, taking advantage of that domestic dissension, assembled in the absence of the czar, formally deposed him, and invested Catharine with the imperial ensigns.

The new empress marched at the head of the malcontents in quest of her husband. Peter was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprise at being informed that he had lost his crown. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, where he expired a few days after of what was called an *hæmorrhoidal colic*, to which he was said to have been subject¹. His death, from the steps which had preceded it, occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes dethroned by their subjects are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catharine II. began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead: she restored to the clergy their revenues, and, what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards. She conferred all the great offices of state on Russians, and threw herself wholly on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

The wisdom of this policy was not disputed. But it was feared by one part of Europe, and hoped by another, that Catharine would also introduce a total change of system with regard to foreign affairs; for the peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Russia. Every thing, in a word, seemed to threaten Frederic with a renewal of his former difficulties and distresses.

¹ *Manifesto* of Catharine II. on her exaltation to the throne of Russia, as independent sovereign, &c.

Fortunately, however, for that heroic monarch, the new empress, independent of personal regard, did not think her situation sufficiently secure to engage in foreign hostilities. She therefore declared to the Prussian minister at her court, "that she would observe inviolably the peace concluded under the preceding reign, but had thought proper to order back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania." And although this change, from a strict alliance to a mere neutrality, made no small difference in the state of the king's affairs, yet it must be regarded, all things considered, as an escape scarcely less wonderful than the former, especially as all the important places which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired, were faithfully restored to that prince.

Frederic, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, acted only with greater vigour. He attacked Daun the day after it arrived, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him by terror no less than by force of arms, from the heights of Buckersdorff, with considerable loss. He then invested Schweidnitz, and obliged that much-contested town, though defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obstruct his operations¹.

No sooner did the warlike king find himself master of Schweidnitz, and eventually of all Silesia, than he began to turn his eye toward Saxony. He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and made preparations which seemed to indicate a design of laying siege to Dresden.

These preparations, and the victory obtained near Freyberg, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian majesty for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia; advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets². Some parties penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia; ravaging the country, exacting heavy contributions, and spread-

¹ *Berlin Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1762.

² *Austrian and Prussian Accounts* compared.

ing ruin and dismay on every side. Many of the princes and states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages ; and most others were so disabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions, that no prospect remained of their being able to furnish, for the next campaign, any army under the imperial name and authority. The war, therefore, was seemingly left to be finished as it had been begun, by the single arms of Prussia and Austria.

During these transactions in Germany, so favourable to the allies of his Britannic majesty, the British arms were not inactive. The spirit with which Mr. Pitt had carried on the French war, and the obligation under which the new ministers found themselves, of declaring war against Spain, rendered them sensible of the necessity of showing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wisdom of its councils, depended upon a single man. They accordingly made greater and more successful efforts than any under his administration, though the supplies fell short of those of the preceding year by one million. Without weakening the army in Westphalia, we have already seen them undertake the defence of Portugal, and defend it effectually. In like manner, without evacuating Belleisle, or abandoning our conquests on the continent of America, they drew troops from both ; and, in pursuance of that line of policy which they had always recommended, sent out powerful armaments for the reduction of the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies.

An armament which had been prepared under the administration of Mr. Pitt was destined against Martinique, the largest and best fortified of the French Windward Islands. It was composed of nine thousand soldiers, headed by general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. The troops were disembarked, without the loss of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, the strongest place in the island ; and by gaining, with incredible fortitude, possession of some eminences, named Tortenson and Garnier, by which it was commanded (and which were then ill fortified, but gallantly defended), the invaders soon made the governor sensible of the necessity of surrendering the citadel, in order to save the town from being laid in ashes¹.

¹ *Lond. Gazette*, March 21, 1762.

On the reduction of Fort Royal (which capitulated on the fourth of February), M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the same side of the island. He there seemed determined to make a last stand; but, through the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preservation of their property, and envious of the prosperity which the planters of Guadaloupe enjoyed under the English government, he was prevailed upon to submit, and obtained terms of capitulation for the whole island, before the place was invested. With Martinique fell Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen, though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Caribbee Islands.

Before the success of this expedition was known in England, another armament was ready to sail. Its object was the Havannah, the principal sea-port in the island of Cuba, the key of the Gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World. The conception of the enterprise was great, as it struck immediately at the very basis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates and sloops, and about one hundred and fifty transports, with ten thousand soldiers on board, who were to be joined by four thousand men from North America. The command of the fleet was intrusted to admiral Pococke, whom we have seen distinguish himself in the East Indies. The land forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle. And the whole armament, which assembled off the north-west point of Hispaniola, and was conducted, for the sake of expedition, (with uncommon seamanship,) through the old channel of Bahama, arrived, on the sixth of June, in sight of those dreadful fortifications that were to be stormed.

The Havannah stands near the end of a small bay, which forms one of the most secure and capacious harbours in the world. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, strongly fortified on each side. The mouth of that channel, when visited by the English fleet under Pococke, was defended by two strong forts; on the east side by one named the Moro, and on the west by another called the Puntal. The Moro had towards the sea two bastions, and on the land-side two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, also surrounded by a ditch, cut in the same manner, was provided with casemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had

likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. That wall, which was not in the best repair, twenty-one bastions not in a much better state, a dry ditch of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has therefore been thought, by some military men, that the operations ought to have commenced with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen ships of the line, three of which were afterward sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it.

But the earl of Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro, which he deemed (perhaps justly) the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with extreme difficulty. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that the troops could not easily cover their approaches; and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged, by the soldiers and sailors, up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful labour, while parched with thirst beneath a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries, disposed along a ridge on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed, with great slaughter, in an attempt to destroy them; and the besiegers flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy period to their toils, when their principal battery took fire, and a work, which had employed six hundred men for sixteen days, was consumed in a few hours.

This accident was peculiarly discouraging, as it happened at a crisis when the hardships of the siege, and the diseases of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the English army unfit for service. The seamen were not in a much better condition. Yet both soldiers and sailors, animated by that active and persevering

courage which so remarkably distinguishes the natives of Great Britain, applied themselves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately another battery took fire. The besiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, interest, and ambition, continued their efforts with unabated ardour. At length, after conquering numerous difficulties, they gained possession of the covered way. They made a lodgment before the right bastion; and a mine being sprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was observed. Though small, the soldiers were ordered to storm it.

The attempt seemed desperate, as the Spanish garrison was still strong: and the brave defence it had made allowed the besiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and resolution of the commanders. But danger itself was only a *stimulus* to men who had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared for the assault with the utmost alacrity; and, mounting the breach under the command of lieutenant Forbes, supported by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison. Four hundred of the Spaniards July
were cut in pieces, or perished in attempting to make 30.
their escape by water to the city: the rest threw down their arms and received quarter. The marquis Gonzales, the second in command, was killed in bravely endeavouring to stop the flight of his countrymen; and Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers in an entrenchment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to strike.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and the Puntal see the besiegers in possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. When this service was Aug.
completed, the earl, willing to prevent an unnecessary 10.
carnage, sent his aide-de-camp with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, as unavoidable destruction would otherwise fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and would hold out to extremity.

The next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the

besiegers, to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and as soon as the terms were adjusted, the Havannah, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government—the Puntal, and the ships in the harbour—were surrendered to his Britannic majesty¹. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at near two millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise belonging to the Catholic king, beside an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

This single blow, the greatest perhaps ever struck by any nation, tended to subvert the power of the Bourbon princes, by cutting off their resources. The marine of France was already ruined; her finances were low. Spain, with her principal fortress in the West Indies, had lost a large fleet. And the conquest of the Havannah not only gave to England the absolute command of the Gulf of Mexico, but promised to put her in possession of the whole American Archipelago.

The navy of Great Britain was superior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of supporting it in her immense commerce, which increased with her fleets: and both might almost be said to embrace the universe. For her conquests, during this season of glory, were not confined to the West Indies. The south of Asia also beheld her triumphs.

While the British forces were engaged in the siege of the Havannah, an armament sailed from Madras, under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish and brigadier Draper, for the Philippine Islands. The chief object of this enterprise was the reduction of the city of Manilla, the capital of the island of Luçonia; the seat of the Spanish government in those islands, and the centre of communication between South America and the East Indies.

The hostile fleet arrived in the bay of Manilla before the governor had the least intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. He prepared, however, for a vigorous defence, and rejected with disdain the repeated summons of the British commanders. Necessary steps were consequently taken for landing the troops,

¹ *Letters from the Earl of Albemarle and sir George Pococke, in London Gazette, Sept. 30, 1762;—and the chief Engineer's Account of the Siege.*

consisting of two thousand and three hundred men. The debarkation was safely effected; an important post was seized, and batteries were formed. But the operations of the besiegers were much retarded by incessant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempest, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army; and also by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who rushed up to the muzzles of the British musquets, in their wild ferocity, and even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded¹.

Meanwhile the invaders, in spite of every obstacle, advanced to the accomplishment of their enterprise. They had silenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications toward the sea; when, as a last effort to raise the siege, a desperate sally was made by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both, however, were repelled, after a short conflict. A practicable breach at length appeared in the works, and preparations were made for storming it.

In such circumstances, it might naturally have been expected that the governor, instead of remaining obstinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no proposal of that kind was presented. General Draper, therefore, took the most effectual measures for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies, about four o'clock in the morning, advanced to the breach at the signal of a general Oct. 6. discharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick smoke which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Russel led the way, at the head of sixty volunteers (from the different bodies of which the army was composed), supported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment. Colonel Monson and major More followed with two other divisions; next came a battalion of seamen, and the troops of the India Company closed the rear.

The assailants behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were soon driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss. The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens; and the humanity and generosity of the British commanders saved the town from a general and justly merited pillage. A ransom to the amount of four millions of dollars,

¹ Draper's *Journal of the Siege of Manila*, in *London Gazette*, April 19, 1763.

was only demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated, at the same time, that the other fortified places in Luçon, and in the islands dependent on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty. Thus the whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manilla.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Victorious by land and by sea, in both hemispheres, and in every quarter of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she should retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for himself, or continue the war without further subsidies, and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present state of weakness. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of Tory councils at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the Family Compact, lately so alarming to Great Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

In the midst of our splendid conquests, however, to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonishment of every honest Englishman, a negotiation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the ministers of his Britannic majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manilla was known,

Nov. 3. preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau; which have generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France or Spain. The cause of a measure so extraordinary deserves to be traced to its source.

George III., as soon as he ascended the throne, had resolved, if possible, to abolish those odious party distinctions which had so long divided the kingdom, and to extend the royal favour and confidence equally to the whole body of his subjects. This policy, as time has too fully proved, was more liberal than wise; for although the Whigs, who engrossed all the great offices of state during the two preceding reigns, had lost much of their popularity by promoting the influence of the crown, they were still esteemed the true friends of freedom, and the natural supporters of the family of Hanover on the throne of these realms. By them

chiefly the Revolution had been effected, and the Protestant succession established.

The Tories, indeed, by assuming the character of patriots, had frequently been able, as we have seen, to maintain a formidable opposition. But that opposition was considered, by the more moderate and intelligent Whigs, as no more than sufficient to keep alive the spirit of liberty, and preserve the balance of the constitution. The first and also the second George, therefore, always disregarded the arguments of those courtiers, who endeavoured to prove, that they would more firmly establish their sway, by admitting the Tories to an equal share in the administration. They reposed all their confidence in the Whigs. Even the shock of two rebellions, ascribed by many to this narrow policy, did not induce those princes to make any alteration in their plan.

Mr. Pitt had originally associated himself with the supposed Tory patriots, and first acquired distinction by opposing the corrupt system of sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the Whigs. After the resignation of that minister, he occasionally temporised (though he seems always to have had an eye to the true interests of Great Britain), and was sometimes reputed a Whig and sometimes a Tory. But during his own administration, he scorned all party distinctions; and the very names of Whig and Tory seemed to be lost in the blaze of his popularity. Reposing on the affections of his country, the strength and the resources of which he better understood than any other man, he employed men of all parties, and found all alike faithful. He raised whole regiments of Highlanders from among the disaffected clans, and even gave the command of some of them to officers who had served under the pretender. Their behaviour justified his confidence. They carried victory wherever they appeared, and began to be reckoned among the most loyal subjects of his majesty.

This great man would soon have done away all local and petty distinctions; and, while assisted by so able a minister, the resolution of the young king to lend his countenance to the abolition of such distinctions, as a prelude to a more liberal system of policy, was alike generous and prudent. But on the resignation of the great secretary, the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury, who had long been considered as the head of the Whigs, endeavoured to revive those factious distinctions, in order to ruin the credit of his rival in power, John earl of Bute, a nobleman of worth and probity, as well as learning and

talents, but of a dry humour and reserved temper ; and who, unhappily for the quiet of the nation, beside being little acquainted with public business, was a reputed Tory, a Scotchman, and a Stuart !

The public clamour was accordingly loud against the *favourite*. But as the duke's faculties, which had never been strong, were now much decayed, and his rival possessed the royal ear, he saw his influence in the cabinet daily decline, notwithstanding his great parliamentary interest, his high office, and his importance as the leader of the most powerful party in the kingdom. He therefore found it expedient to resign ; and the earl, in consequence of that resignation, was placed at the head of the treasury.

Many of the duke's friends, persons of rank and eminence, had resigned with him. And the new minister, in order to preserve his situation, judged it prudent to deprive others of their employments, and to fill their places with men attached to his person ; among whom, especially in the inferior departments, were too many of his own countrymen. He also thought it sound policy, in conformity with the system of comprehension that had been embraced, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the Tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families who had uniformly opposed the court during the two preceding reigns, and who were able to yield him effectual support. They readily came into his measures.

The popular clamour, however, continued ; and although the friends of Mr. Pitt did not form an actual junction with those of the duke of Newcastle, both parties were alike hostile to the minister. To these parties belonged the whole commercial and monied interest. The earl of Bute was, therefore, soon made sensible of the necessity of resigning, or of procuring peace to Europe ; as he must expect to encounter innumerable difficulties, in attempting to raise the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war. From motives of patriotism, as he declared, he chose the latter alternative ; and so far as his judgment was swayed by an antipathy to the continental system, he deserves pardon, if not praise. But the great body of the people of England, though not insensible of their burthens, or of the degree of their annual increase, have not yet forgiven him for checking the career of their conquests. They had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from a continuance of hostilities.

Fortunately for the British minister, if not for the kingdom, all things were favourable to his views among the hostile powers on the continent. Disappointed in her hopes of immediate advan-

tage from the Family Compact, the invasion of Portugal, and the resignation of Mr. Pitt, France was now sincerely disposed to peace. Spain, having suffered beyond example during her short concern in the war, and labouring under the most dreadful apprehensions of future misfortunes, keenly repented of the step she had taken, and wished to recede. Both courts, therefore, observed with pleasure the progress of the popular discontents in England; and France, in order to profit by them, and recover in the cabinet what she had lost in the field, intimated, through the medium of the king of Sardinia, a desire of negotiating.

The proposal was cordially embraced by the British ministry, and the duke of Bedford was sent to treat at Paris, while the duke de Nivernois came to London for the same purpose. The negotiation, which was built upon that begun by Mr. Pitt (with too little attention, on the part of Great Britain, to the fortunate change of circumstances in her favour), was soon finished, as no new demand of any consequence was made, and both parties now agreed to withdraw themselves wholly from the German war, and make restitution of all the places they had taken on the European continent. And the preliminary articles, including the interests of both France and Spain, were signed, as already observed, in the beginning of November.

By those articles it was stipulated, that France should cede to Great Britain, Canada in its utmost extent, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louisiana which lies on this side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orléans, and its territory: that the French should be permitted to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations; and that the island of St. Pierre and Miquelon should be ceded to them for the benefit of their fishery, but without the liberty of erecting forts on those islands: that Spain should relinquish her claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, permit the English logwood cutters to build houses near the bay of Honduras, evacuate whatever places she had taken from Portugal, and cede Florida, in return for the restitution of the Havannah; that Minorca should be restored to Great Britain, and Martinique, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle, to France: that France should cede to Great Britain the forts and factories she had lost on the river Senegal, the island of Grenada and the Grenadines, and give up claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. But St. Lucia, the most valuable of the neutral islands, was delivered in full right to France; and the treaty put the French India Company in the same situation

as after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the restitution of Pondicherry and other places, with the single exception of erecting no forts in the province of Bengal. In return for so many indulgences France agreed to destroy the harbour, and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

These preliminaries were approved, contrary to all expectation, by a majority of the British parliament; and the definitive Feb. 10, treaty was signed at Paris, early in the following year.

1763. About the same time was signed, at Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia; by which it was provided, that a mutual restitution of conquests and oblivion of injuries should take place, and that both parties should be put in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities.

Thus, my dear Philip, was terminated, fortunately for the general happiness of mankind, but prematurely for the grandeur of Great Britain, and without a due attention to her interests, the most active, splendid, and extensive war that ever divided the human race; the most bloody between disciplined armies, and the most general in Europe, since that which was closed by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

POSTSCRIPT.

BESIDE the general dissatisfaction in England, occasioned by the premature termination of hostilities, and the restitution of so many conquests without adequate cessions, it was strongly urged by some popular writers, that the British ministry had committed a still more dangerous error, at the peace of Paris, in the choice of the conquests they had thought proper to retain. "Martinique and Guadaloupe," said those writers, "would have been found more profitable possessions than Canada and its dependencies. Their produce would not only have augmented the royal revenue, while it increased our shipping, but have given us the command of the sugar trade of Europe. France ought to have been compelled to make her sacrifices in the West Indies." It must, however, be owned, that, as the war originated in North America, from a dispute between the French and English colonies concerning their boundaries, its grand object on our part, the securing of our American colonies against future encroachments, seemed to be attained at the peace, in the cession of Canada and Louisiana to Great Britain.

Farther provision was made for the security of the English settlements in North America, as well as for their extension, in the cession of Florida by Spain. But that security, it was insinuated by some keen-sighted politicians, would prove the source of new evils. It would embolden our old colonies to shake off the controul of the mother-country, since they no longer stood in need of her protection, and to erect themselves into independent states. This insinuation, however, was at that time generally considered as illiberal and unjust. And the humanity and generosity of the people, amidst the violent discontents provoked by the treaty of peace, found no small consolation in reflecting, that their American brethren would thenceforth be happily exempted from the annoyance of any European enemy, and able to keep the natives in awe.

Nor was this their only consolation. The magnitude of the British empire in North America, and the prospect of its growth in population and improvement, afforded wide sweep for the projects of political ambition, and a boundless field for the speculations of commercial avidity. The undivided sovereignty of that vast continent, with the enjoyment of its exclusive trade, seemed to open to the citizens of Great Britain such sources of industry, and channels of naval greatness, as had never fallen to the lot of any other people; and which the immensity of her conquests, and their towering hopes of farther acquisitions, with an ardent desire of finally humbling the house of Bourbon, only could have made them consider as beneath her haughtiest wish.

These consolatory reflections are offered merely from a love of truth, not suggested by a desire of palliating the justly-execrated peace of Paris; a measure that must eternally rouse the keenest emotions of indignation in the mind of every honest and enlightened Englishman. No human consideration should have induced the British ministry to give up Cuba, or to stop short of the reduction of Hispaniola; while our naval force enabled us to protect the one, and to subdue the other; as each promised a prodigious augmentation of that force, and also of the means of supporting it. We ought not to have left the French or Spaniards in possession of a single island in the West Indies. With the exception of some unimportant isles, Hispaniola and Porto Rico alone remained to them.

An armament planned in the East Indies, and fitted out in the port of Manilla, would have enabled us to become masters of the rich but defenceless kingdom of Peru; and by holding, in the port of the Havannah, the key of the Gulf of Florida, we might

be said to be actually possessed of all the treasure of Mexico. No ship could pass from Vera Cruz to Europe without our permission, nor any European vessel thither. Deprived of the articles which they had been accustomed to receive from the mother-country, and which were necessary to their accommodation, the inhabitants of new Spain would readily have submitted to that power which alone could supply their wants; and which would have offered them the free exercise of their religion, with a more indulgent government, and a more advantageous market for their produce.

But let us moderate our ideas; let us confine our views solely to the places we had positively taken, and we shall find (admitting Belleisle to be equal in importance to the island of Minorca, which it certainly is to France or England) that we gave up at the peace of Paris without any equivalent, except the sandy promontory of Florida, not only Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, but the principal part of the large and fertile island of Cuba, with the Havannah, its almost impregnable port, the Gibraltar of America; and eventually the rich city of Manilla, and the whole range of the Philippines; to say nothing of the restitution of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and other places in the East Indies, with the island of Goree on the coast of Africa.

If it was necessary to grant some indulgence to France, in order to quiet the jealousy of other powers (though I am not sensible that Great Britain, considering her insular situation, had occasion to be afraid of giving umbrage to any European power), France might have been allowed to retain, with the town of New Orléans and its territory, her settlements higher on the Mississippi, and the province of Canada, confined within its natural boundaries, the four Great Lakes; or if, instead of Canada, she had wished to be mistress of a sugar-island, in addition to her plantations in Hispaniola, she might have been allowed to possess Martinique or Guadaloupe, without the liberty of erecting fortifications. A suspension of the blow hanging over the remaining dominions of Spain in the West Indies, with the provisional restitution of the Philippines, was all that she could reasonably have demanded.

By such an equitable treaty of peace, the haughty family of Bourbon would have been effectually humbled and kept in awe, and the sinews of their naval strength so completely cut, as to prevent them from again becoming formidable by sea. By such a peace, England, without farther acquisitions, would have established, beyond the possibility of dispute, that maritime dominion

which she had long claimed; and might have established it for ever, by erecting it upon the basis of a rich and extensive commerce.

The apparent cause why so glorious an opportunity of humbling an ambitious enemy was neglected, has already been assigned:—"the INFLUENCE of *Tory counsels*!" alike discernible, whether we regard the *inadequate* treaty of Peace, or the *premature* termination of the War. The fatal *effects* of those *counsels* and of that *influence*, I shall have farther occasion to show, in describing the convulsions, and the dismemberment of the British empire, subjects less pleasing to Englishmen, but not less interesting, than its struggles in advancing toward aggrandisement. In the mean time, I must carry forward the Progress of Society to this grand era in the HISTORY of MODERN EUROPE.

LETTER XXXVI.

Of the Progress of Society in Europe during the greater Part of the eighteenth Century.

ON a former occasion I brought down the Progress of Society to the close of the seventeenth century¹. And if we examine the history of the eighteenth, and compare it as far as the year 1763, with the annals of Modern Europe during any preceding period of the same extent, we shall find cause to congratulate mankind on the improvements in the social system; which, with a happy conformity, at once diminished the miseries and multiplied the enjoyments of human life.

If enlightened reason, after ascertaining the interests of nations and the rights of individuals, was unable, during that period, wholly to restrain the ambition of princes, it at least introduced into the operations of war a spirit of generosity and fellow-feeling unknown to our ferocious forefathers. Persecution ceased to kindle the fagot for the trial of orthodoxy, or to water the earth with the blood of the unbelievers; and the peaceful citizen was rarely disturbed in his industrious pursuits, or ingenious labours, by the ravages of intestine war.

¹ See Part II. Letter XIX.

If the most exact regulations of police did not prove altogether effectual to suppress private violence, or the strict execution of justice did not entirely banish fraud from the transactions of men, both were rendered less frequent. Property became more secure. The comforts and conveniences of life were more equally enjoyed. Pestilence and famine were kept at a distance. Numerous and commodious receptacles were provided for poverty, and hospitals for disease. Private festivities were enlivened by public entertainments. The pleasures of sense, refined by delicacy, were heightened by those of imagination and sentiment; while taste, in contemplating the beauties of nature and art, might be said to open new sources of satisfaction to the soul, and to offer new delights to the heart.

And if there are some speculative visionaries, under the name of philosophers, who represent Man as more happy in the savage state than when he is furnished with all those social enjoyments and elegant delights, their arguments are too futile to deserve a serious answer: and it would be a just punishment for their impertinence, to exclude them from the pale of polished life, and condemn them to reside among the barbarians whose manners they affect, and whose condition they pretend to admire.

In support of this representation, my dear Philip, I shall exhibit to your view some leading circumstances, which could not readily enter into the general narration.

Russia, under the auspices of Peter the Great, made a rapid progress in civilization, and experienced perhaps the most sudden and fortunate change of any country of the same extent in the history of human affairs. But that change, as I have had occasion to remark¹, was not attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been wished to the body of the people, whom Peter found and left in a state of slavery. And notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II., who endeavoured to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extended encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Russia were cultivated chiefly by foreigners, or by such natives as had been initiated in them abroad. Even in her reign, they continued to be in some measure exotics in that great and flourishing empire; not, as Raynal insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil was not sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, usefully extended

¹ Part II. Letter XXXV.

itself under her sway; and the general progress of improvement was not inconsiderable. Many of the Russian nobility and gentry acquired a relish for polite literature, and were not only exempt from barbarism, but were distinguished by humanity to their vassals, by polished manners and elegant conversation. The citizens tasted the sweets of industry, and prosecuted the mechanic arts with success. Many valuable cultures, both for trade and consumption, were introduced; and it was not unreasonably supposed, that Russia, which had already produced generals and statesmen, would soon give birth to poets, painters, historians, and philosophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts, sciences, and amusements, and, alleviating the inconveniences of life by its enjoyments, highly improve the system of social happiness.

Of the progress of improvement at that time in Poland, where, beside other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy continued to reign in all its austerity, where the king was a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark declined in their consequence, as kingdoms; but the sons of the North did not seem to be less happy, though they appeared to lose with their political freedom their ancient spirit of liberty and independence. They enjoyed more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, made considerable progress among them; and we may reasonably state it as a general maxim, which will admit few exceptions, that all communities are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition be altogether servile. Nor were these countries without their men of genius and science. Sweden in her Linnæus, who arranged the animal and vegetable systems, and discriminated the *genera* and species of each, with all the accuracy of Aristotle, could boast the honour of possessing among her natives the most profound naturalist in modern times.

Germany, during the period under review, was perhaps subjected to less change than any other country of equal extent, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it was shaken. These wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourse of the body of the people with strangers in time of peace, by reason of their inland situation, preserved the general manners nearly the same as at the close of the preceding century; and the constitution of the empire sustained little variation from the peace of Westphalia to the death of the emperor Francis. But, in the course of the eighteenth century,

agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts made great progress in many parts of Germany ; especially in the dominions of his Prussian majesty. There the sciences and the polite arts also flourished, under the protection of the illustrious Frederic, who was at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms : the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He collected around him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches were directed to the most valuable ends. And while Joseph II. filled the Imperial throne, the court of Vienna, long distinguished by its magnificence, became as polished and enlightened as that of Berlin, of London, or Versailles. German literature was then enriched with works of imagination and sentiment ; and the writings of Gesner, Klopstock, and other men of genius, excited the general attention of Europe.

The Swiss, so much distinguished by their love of liberty, and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil—having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts—began, instead of hiring themselves as soldiers to ambitious princes, to pour forth their surplus of population upon more wealthy states in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers ; and preserved at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient independence and military character. Happy without wealth, they were strangers to luxury. Domestic duties among them supplied the place of public amusements, and public virtue concealed the defects in the form of government¹.

The Swiss, at this time, continued to possess all the patriotic qualities that gave birth to their republic ; while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of freedom, who acquired its full establishment by greater and more vigorous efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, at length became degenerate and base, dead to all sense of public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The lust of gain extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total

¹ The most striking feature in the political character of the people of Switzerland was the fraternal harmony that so long subsisted, not only between the inhabitants of the several cantons, which were independent of each other, governed by different laws, and professing different religions, but between the citizens of different religions in the same canton.

want of principle prevailed in Holland. Riches, which the stupid possessors wanted taste to convert to any pleasurable use, were equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice was the only passion, and wealth the only merit, in the United Provinces. In such a state, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his hoard, or the glutton his meal; but there the liberal arts cannot prosper, and elegant manners are not to be expected.

Italy acquired new lustre in the eighteenth century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature were encouraged. If painting and architecture continued to decline, music and poetry greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, distinguished from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous incidents and allegorical personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented; as the airs are all sung by real actors, strongly agitated by the passions they express; whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effects, was sung only by cool observers.

But the Italian opera, even in its *most perfect state*, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical, though, I think, very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it what is believed to have happened upon the great theatre of the world. In order, however, to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy, in fond complaining, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical which can prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio.

The state of society in Spain was greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The ladies were no longer excluded from company by an illiberal jealousy. The intercourse of the sexes became more general and easy. A taste for agri-

culture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprise, revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste seemed to extend itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, after the expulsion of the Jesuits. If this taste had ripened into a philosophic spirit, and had broken the fetters of superstition, we might perhaps have beheld a singular appearance in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phenomenon would have overturned the political hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, that states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, necessarily tend to decay, and either experience a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as not to excite envy or jealousy.

In France, as I have already had occasion to show, society attained its highest polish before the close of the seventeenth century¹. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people; and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madame de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbé Fenelon, afterward archbishop of Cambray, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, the author of the *Adventures of Telemachus*, one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex: and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orléans, notwithstanding the accumulated distresses of the nation. And his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal Du Bois, introduced a glaring corruption of manners; a gross sensuality that scorned the veil of decency; an unprincipled levity that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision; and a spirit of dissipation, which, amidst the utmost poverty, prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Louis XV.

But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not prevent the body of the people from seriously attending to their civil and religious rights. And their firmness in this respect deserves to be particularly noticed, as it forms a striking object in the view of society.

A furious dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits, con-

¹ Part II. Letter XIX.

cerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points of theology, had distracted France in the brightest days of Louis XIV. Many able men employed their pens on both sides. But the Jansenists, supported by the talents of a Nicole, an Arnaud, and a Pascal, had evidently the advantage both in raillery and reasoning. The controversy, however, was not to be determined by such weapons. The Jesuits were supposed to be better Catholics; and, as the conscience of the king had always been in their keeping, the leaders of the Jansenists were persecuted, and thrown into prison, or obliged to abandon their country. The Jesuits, in order to complete their triumph, and the ruin of their religious antagonists, at length obtained the king's consent (through the influence of father Le Tellier, his confessor) to refer the disputed points to the pope. They accordingly sent to Rome one hundred and three propositions for condemnation; and the Holy Office, in 1713, declared that one hundred and one of those were heretical.

The bull which condemned the opinions of the Jansenists (commonly known by the name of *UNIGENITUS*, from the word with which it begins), instead of composing the pious dispute, threw all France into a flame. The body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, fifteen other prelates, and many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, violently opposed it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private judgment. But the king, instigated by his confessor, enforced its reception; and the whole kingdom was soon divided into *Acceptants* and *Recusants*. The death of Louis put a stop to the dispute. And the duke of Orléans, while regent, ordered the prosecution to cease, and at the same time enjoined the recusant bishops to accept the bull, accompanied with certain explanations. They found themselves under the necessity of complying. Even the good cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was induced to do violence to his sentiments, 1720, for the sake of peace.

From that time to the year 1750, the bull *Unigenitus*, though reprobated by the people, occasioned no public disturbance. Then it was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; and it was ordered that these notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction, could be obtained. And these consolatory rites were refused without pity to all *Recusants*, and to

such as confessed to Recusants. The new archbishop of Paris engaged warmly in this scheme, and the parliament supported no less warmly the cause of the people. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and those clergymen who refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments, were thrown into prison. The church complained of the interposition of the civil power; and Louis XV. by an act of his absolute authority, prohibited the parliaments from taking cognizance of such points.

These parliaments, as I formerly observed, were only the supreme courts of justice, not the states of the kingdom, or proper legislative body; yet after the abolition of the national assemblies, they acted as faithful guardians of the rights of the people, and endeavoured to check the despotism of the crown, by refusing to register its oppressive edicts, as well as by remonstrating against them¹; and they frequently interposed their authority, with advantage, in matters of religion.

The heads of the parliament of Paris, which ever stood foremost in repressing both regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, took the liberty, on this occasion, to remind the king, that their privileges, and the duty of their station, obliged them to do justice on all delinquents. They accordingly continued in the exercise of their several functions, without regard to the king's prohibition, and had actually commenced a prosecution against the bishop of Orléans, when they received from Versailles a *lettre de cachet*, accompanied by letters patent (which they were ordered to register), commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of obeying these orders, the different tribunals of the parliament presented new remonstrances: and being referred for answers to the king's former declarations, they had the spirit to resolve, "that, whereas certain evil-minded persons had prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remained assembled, and all other business would consequently be suspended." The king renewed his orders, and commanded the parliament to proceed to business; but

¹ No royal edict could have the force of a law before it was registered in parliament; and although the French parliaments could not absolutely refuse to register such edicts, when the royal authority was exerted in all its fulness (that is to say, when the king held personally in parliament what was called a *Bed of Justice*), yet they might, even in that case, suspend the registration, and likewise remonstrate against the edict itself. These remonstrances, and their beneficial effects, deservedly procured to the French parliaments the highest veneration among the people.

all the chambers, far from complying, came to another resolution more bold than the former, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath.

Affairs being thus brought to extremity, the king banished to different parts of the kingdom (in 1753) the members of all the chambers of the parliament, except those of the great chamber; and they, proving no more compliant than their brethren, were also banished. New difficulties and disputes ensued. To prevent the administration of justice from being stopped by this violent measure, Louis erected what was called a *Royal Chamber*, for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal. But the letters-patent, constituting this new court, ought to have been registered by the parliament of Paris, which had no longer an existence. To remedy this difficulty, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which refused to register the letters in question, even after one of its members had been committed to the Bastile, and another obliged to abscond. Intimidated, however, by such a bold exertion of despotic power, the remaining members allowed the king's officers to enter the letters-patent in their register. But they thought proper, on more mature deliberation, to retire from business, leaving on the table an *arrêt* expressive of their reasons.

The royal chamber was now the only court of law in Paris. The judges assembled, but they could find no advocates to plead. They were treated with general contempt; and the suspension of justice threatened anarchy and confusion. Meanwhile the clergy seemed to enjoy their victory amidst the public disorder, and entered into associations for the support of the authority. But the king ceased to countenance them. Being at length sensible of their pride and obstinacy, as well as of the evils it had occasioned, he exhorted them to act with moderation. He also recalled the parliament, which returned in triumph to Paris, in 1754, amidst the acclamations of the people, who celebrated the event with extravagant demonstrations of joy. And the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his country-seat, as were also the bishops of Orléans and Troyes.

A temporary quiet was by these means produced; but it proved only a calm before a more violent storm. The archbishop of Paris, in retirement, continued his intrigues. He was banished to a greater distance from court. But the dispute in regard to the bull *Unigenitus*, which he had revived, did not subside. The clergy persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the civil power

in prosecuting them for such refusal; so that, in those distracted times, the communion was frequently administered by an *arrêt* of parliament!

The king, a second time drawn over to the ecclesiastical side of the question, referred the dispute to the pope. Benedict XIV., though a mild and moderate man, could not retract a constitution regarded as the law of the church; he therefore declared, in a circular letter or brief, to all the bishops in France, that the bull *Unigenitus* must be acknowledged as an universal law, against which none could make resistance "without endangering their eternal salvation."

The parliament of Paris, considering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, suppressed it by an *arrêt*. The king, enraged at their boldness, as well as at their refusal to register some oppressive taxes, resolved to hold a Bed of Justice. He repaired to the hall of the parliament on the 13th of November, 1756, attended by the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed the fourth and fifth chambers of inquest, the members of which had been most firm in opposing the brief. He then commanded that the bull should be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacrament. And he concluded with declaring, that he *would be obeyed*!—Fifteen counsellors of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day. One hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example; and strong murmurs prevailed in the city and throughout the kingdom.

Amidst these murmurs, the desperate fanatic Damien stabbed the king in the manner already related¹; not, as he declared, with an intention of killing his sovereign, but only of wounding him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to order the administration of the sacrament at the time of death:—what effect this declaration had upon the mind of Louis, it is impossible to say; but it is certain that he again banished the archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled, and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

But the grand triumph of the French parliaments was to come. The Jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull *Unigenitus*, having rendered themselves universally odious by their concern in the

¹ Part II. Letter XXXII.

conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power for some fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. As a monk indeed, he must necessarily do so. The parliaments eagerly seized an opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, which the king endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their INSTITUTE; or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, all their effects confiscated; and the king, ashamed, or afraid to protect them, not only resigned them to their fate, but finally banished them by a solemn edict, and abolished the order of Jesus in France.

Elate with this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, the French parliaments attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. Not satisfied with refusing, as usual, to register certain oppressive edicts, or with remonstrating against them, they ordered criminal prosecutions to be instituted against the governors of several provinces, who, acting in the king's name, had enforced the registration of those edicts. But I must not here enter upon this subject, which is intimately connected with the body of history, and would lead us far into the affairs of later times.

Notwithstanding these disorders, and the regal and spiritual despotism that occasioned them, the enlargement of the human mind was very considerable in France, during the century of which we are treating. If poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, should be allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom under the sway of Louis XIV., they did not greatly decline in the reign of his successor: and many arts, both useful and ornamental, were then invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving on copper, which was carried to such a degree of perfection as to rival painting itself; of making porcelain, plate-glass, fine paper, and paper toys; and of counter-

feiting in paste, so ingeniously as to deceive the nicest eye at a little distance, the diamond, the pearl, and all sorts of gems. The weaving of silk was rendered more facile, while its culture was extended ; and a culture of still greater importance to society, that of corn, was considerably improved.

Du Hamel, a member of the French academy, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture, which was attended with very beneficial effects. Nor was that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who turned the eye of philosophy from mind to matter, and from the study of the heavens to the investigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking particularly distinguished French literature in the reign of Louis XV.

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerned their most important interests, we must place the baron de Montesquieu. That penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by discovering the latent springs of government—its moving principle, under all its different forms, and the *spirit of laws* in each—imparted to political reasoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable. His countryman Helvetius, also endowed with a truly philosophical genius, attempted to introduce the same degree of certainty into moral and metaphysical reasoning, though not with equal success.

Helvetius, systematical to a fault, but eccentric even in system, in vain employed his fine talents to convince mankind, that they are all born with equal capacity or aptitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degrees in which they possess them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumstances. But his zealous endeavours to destroy the hydra prejudice, by contrasting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the scorn of different classes in the same kingdom for each other, must tend to humble pride and soften animosities ; and his generous efforts to rescue virtue from the hands of Jesuitical casuists, and connect it intimately with government, by fixing it on the solid basis of PUBLIC GOOD, cannot fail to benefit society ; while his ingenuity in tracing the motives of human action, and in demonstrating the influence of physical causes upon the moral conduct of man, may be pronounced highly useful to poets, historians, and legislators.

While Montesquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating

the political and moral world, and investigating the powers and principles of man, as a member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human character, Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world; in examining the secret cells of generation, animal instinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from a snail and the shell-fish up to man; the organization of the human frame, the original imperfection of the senses, and the means by which they are perfected; and his inquiries were accompanied with such just and sublime reflections, as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

“Much has been written in this age¹,” says Voltaire; “but genius belonged to the last.” Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the *Henriade* is inferior to the *Iliad*, it is at least the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The *Zara*, the *Alzira*, the *Merope*, are equal in diction and pathos to any tragedy of Racine; and the *Mahomet* is, beyond comparison, superior to the famous *Cinna* of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers; and he acquired that superiority by his application to history and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally too free, and are often of a pernicious tendency; yet they have served to promote inquiry, and to enlighten the human understanding. His *Age of Louis XIV.*; his history of Russia, and of Charles XII. of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love of singularity has disfigured his *General History* with many impertinences; but the *stamina* will remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgment. He first connected, with the chain of political and military events, the progress of literature, of arts, and of manners.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. But it is not my purpose to speak of men of genius merely as such; otherwise I should dwell with particular pleasure on the beautiful extravagances of Rousseau, and endeavour to estimate the merit of his wonderful Romance;—I mention them only as connected with the progress of society. In this line I am happy to name D'Alembert and Diderot; to whom French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions,

¹ The eighteenth century.

and the whole literary world for that treasure of universal science, the *Encyclopédie*.

Marmontel, who contributed liberally toward that great work, has further enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux*. More philosophical than the common novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner perhaps superior to every other species of fanciful composition. Nor must I, in speaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire; and the romances of the son are captivating, but dangerous productions, in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and libertine display of sentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, commonly supposed to be original in his manner. Even the idea of the much-admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the *Sopha* of the younger Crebillon.

We must now, my dear Philip, direct our attention to our own island. Here arts, manners, and literature have made great progress since the glorious era of the REVOLUTION; when our civil and religious rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trivial objects, introduced a passion for political reasoning. And the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had highly offended the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the sway of William, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*. These are two of the best prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter: the former is an example of close manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart; the latter, of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court; so that the advance of taste and politeness was very inconsiderable, till the reign of queen Anne. Then the splendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties

from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley, and a St. John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Vanbrugh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in some of the less burthensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independence¹.

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein, several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the *SPECTATOR*; which, by combating, with reason and raillery, the faults in composition, and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both.

Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanbrugh, so justly admired for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance. Even the last pieces of Dryden, then considered as models of elegance, are by no means sufficiently delicate in sentiment. Like all the authors formed under the reign of Charles II., that great but licentious poet represents love as an appetite rather than a passion.

¹ The man who, rolling in riches, could make the following unfeeling remark, deserves no mercy from the candidates for literary merit, none from the cultivators of the elegant arts—from the poet or the painter, whatever admiration he may profess for their labours: “*Want of protection is the apology for want of genius. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection; they can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils.*” (*Anecdotes of Painting in England, Pref. p. vii.*) But who is to afford them a subsistence, till they can finish any ingenious work? and what is subsistence without encouragement? without the animating hopes of fame? which in most minds require the fostering hand of patronage, or protection. Hence the more just and generous sentiment of Gray, in speaking of obscure and neglected bards:

“Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.”

His celebrated tale of *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*, the most pathetic of all his FABLES, is not free from this fault.

"Thy little care to mend my widowed nights,"

says Sigismonda to her father,

"Has forced me to recourse of marriage rites,
To fill an empty side and follow known delights.
Nor need'st thou by thy daughter to be told—
Though now thy sprightly blood with age be cold—
Thou hast been young, and canst remember still,
That, when thou hadst the power, thou hadst the will;
And, from the past experience of thy fires,
Canst tell with what a tide our strong desires
Come rushing on in youth, and what their rage requires."

This may all be very natural in the abstract. Women of certain complexions, the slaves of animal appetite, may be under the tyranny of such desires: but they are surely not common to the sex: and we sympathise as little with those ravenous and inordinate passions, as we do with an immoderate call for food. In the mouth of so accomplished a princess as Sigismonda, such gross sentiments can only excite disgust. They are alike unsuitable to her character, her condition, and her enthusiastic passion¹. Dryden knew nothing of the female heart, and little of the heart of man. Having no sensibility himself, he wanted that sympathetic chord, which alone could conduct him to the bosoms of others, and enable him to raise correspondent emotions².

Prior's *Henry and Emma* is the first poem of any length in our language, in which love is treated with becoming delicacy; if we except those of the epic and dramatic kind, by Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton. I cannot forbear quoting the following lines, though perhaps inferior in poetical merit, as a contrast to the sentiments of Sigismonda. Emma speaks;

"When from the cave thou risest with the day,
To beat the woods and rouse the bounding prey,

¹ The extravagant praise lately paid to this Tale, by a popular critic, has induced me to be thus particular, in order to prevent an indiscriminate admiration, raised by the magic of verse, and supported by such high authority, from corrupting the taste and the morals of youth.

² A stronger proof of this assertion cannot be given than in the sorrow of Sigismonda over the *heart* of her beloved husband; which, instead of drawing tears of compassion down the most obdurate cheek, as might have been expected, must fill every reader of taste and sentiment with contempt. The heart was in a cup.

—————"Though once I meant to meet
My fate with face unmoved, and eyes unwet,
Yet since I have thee here in narrow room,
My tears shall set thee first afloat within thy tomb!"

The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
And cheerful sit to wait my lord's return.
With humble duty and officious haste,
I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast ;
The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
And draw the water from the freshest spring.
My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend,
On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend !
By all these sacred names be Henry known
To Emma's heart ; and grateful let him own,
That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone."

To Prior we are also indebted for the art of telling a gay story with ease, grace, and levity. He was the first English poet who united elegance and correctness. His *Alma* is a delightful performance of the burlesque kind ; and his *Solomon*, though somewhat tedious for want of incident, has great and various merit. It is a school of wisdom, and a banquet of intellectual pleasure.

Our polite literature, in all its branches, now tended fast towards perfection. Steele freed English comedy from the licentiousness of former writers. If he had not all the wit of Congreve, or the humour of Vanbrugh, he was more chaste and natural than either. He knew life well, and has given us in his comedies, as well as in his numerous papers in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, many just and lively pictures of the manners of that age of half-refinement.

Rowe, in like manner, purified our tragic poetry, by excluding from his best pieces all grossly-sensual descriptions, as well as indelicate and impious expressions. Though intimately acquainted with the best models, both ancient and modern, he may be deemed an original writer. His plots and his sentiments are chiefly his own. If he paints the passions with less force and truth than Shakspeare or Otway, he is free from the barbarism of the one, and the licentiousness of the other : and his tragedies exhibit so many noble and generous sentiments, introduced without any flagrant violation of the propriety of character or the verisimilitude of nature, that they continue to give pleasure (after the lapse of a century from the first appearance of some of them) equally in the closet and on the stage. This favourable reception proceeds in some measure from what has been considered as his greatest fault : he is never sublime in the highest degree, or pathetic in the extreme, but always tender and interesting. Terror and pity, the two throbbing pulses of tragedy, are not carried, in his compositions, to a painful excess. His language is rich, and his versification is easy and flowing ;

but it wants vigour. Like most of our dramatic writers, he frequently violates not only the critical, but the rational unities of time and place, to the great injury of the general effect of every piece in which such liberty is taken. I have already had occasion to explain myself on this subject in speaking of the plays of Shakspeare.

Addison's *Cato* has more vigour of versification than the tragedies of Rowe, but less ease. It is, however, a noble effort of cultivated genius; and notwithstanding its supposed want of pathos, because it provokes no tears, it is perhaps our best modern tragedy. Addison has also written verses on various subjects, both in English and Latin, and is generally polished and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a prose-writer.

Swift had given perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious, periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He wrote the most admired papers in the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and other publications of the same kind. In those papers he has discussed a great variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treated each so happily, as almost to induce his readers to think he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him, not only for words and phrases, but for images, than to any other writer in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our prose composition was supplied by lord Bolingbroke; who, in his *Dissertation on Parties*, in his *Letter to William Wyndham*, and in his *Idea of a Patriot King*, has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not possible to carry farther the *beauty* and *force* of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the sinews of his master; and if Dr. Johnson, on some subjects, appears to have greater force than Bolingbroke, he is generally destitute of ease. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words too remote from common use. He wrote like a scholar, not like a gentleman; like a man who had mingled little with the world, or never complied with its forms.

What Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accom-

plished even more fully in verse. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, more especially those who had made use of rhyme: not, as has been invidiously insinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verse, but because rhyme was the prevailing mode of versification, when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taste for the majesty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and classical ear. He seems therefore to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham, and Dryden.

I have not hitherto had occasion to mention Denham. He wrote in the reign of Charles II., but was little infected with the bad taste of his age. His descriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is still deservedly admired. It abounds with natural images, happily blended with moral reflections. His style is close, and his versification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing:

“ My eye, descending from the HILL, surveys
Where Thames among the wanton valleys strays;
Thames, the most lov'd of all the Ocean's sons
By his old sire, to his embraces runs;
Hast'ning to pay his tribute to the sea,
Like mortal life, to meet eternity.
Though with those streams he no resemblance hold,
Whose foam is amber and their gravel gold,
His genuine and less guilty wealth t' explore,
Search not his bottom, but survey his shore.”

Pope was not insensible to the merit of Denham's versification; but he saw the necessity of looking nearer to his own time for a master. And he found such a master as he sought in Dryden, who, to the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, added a compass of verse, and an energy, entirely his own. Pope accordingly made the versification of Dryden his model. And, if his own compositions have not all the fire of the *Alexander's Feast*, the easy vigour of the *Absalom and Ahithophel*, or the animated flow of the Fables of his master; yet the collected force and finer polish of his numbers, a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold, imagery, entitle him to all the praise that can belong to an emulous imitator, not invested with absolute superiority; while new flights of fancy, and new turns of thought and expression, greater sensibility of heart and elevation of mind, with a closer attention

to natural and moral objects, yielded him all the requisites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the pursuit of fame. *The Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloise to Abelard*, the *Messiah*, and the *Essay on Man*, are not only the finest poems of their kind in ours, but in any modern language.

If Pope's versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally confines the sense, and consequently the run of metrical harmony, to the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts and strength to his numbers. It has therefore a good effect in his moral and satirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when frequently repeated, and becomes cloying in long poems, especially in those of the narrative or descriptive kind. A fault so obvious, though committed by himself, could not escape the correct taste and keen discernment of Pope. We accordingly find in his translation of Homer (where such monotonous uniformity would have been inexcusable), as well as in his fanciful pieces, a more free and varied versification often attempted with success. Two examples will be sufficient to set this point in a clear light; to show both his manner of confining his sense to the couplet, and of extending it in compositions of a different species.

" Our humbler province is to tend the fair,
Not a less pleasing though less glorious care;
To save the powder from too rough a gale,
Nor let th' imprison'd essences exhale;
To draw fresh colours from the vernal flowers,
To steal from rainbows, ere they drop in showers,
A brighter wash—" *Rape of the Lock*, Canto ii.

" Thus breathing death, in terrible array,
The close-compacted legions urg'd their way;
Fierce they drove on, impatient to destroy;
Troy charg'd the first, and Hector first of Troy.
As from some mountain's craggy forehead torn
A rock's huge fragment flies, with fury borne,
(Which from the stubborn stone a torrent rends)
Precipitate the pond'rous mass descends;
From steep to steep the rolling ruin bounds,
At every shock the crackling wood resounds;
Still gath'ring strength, it smokes; and, urg'd amain,
Whirls, leaps, and thunders down, impetuous to the plain;
There stops—so Hector," &c. *Iliad*, xiii.

Pope, in a word, if we may judge by the unsuccessful attempts of later writers, has given to our heroic verse in rhyme, all the freedom and variety of which it is capable, without *breaking* its *structure* or *impairing* its *vigour*.

Of the former of these faults examples are numerous among the poetical successors of Pope ; but one, from the writings of a man of genius, whence hundreds might be selected, will serve to illustrate the justice of this remark.

“ And are there bards, who on creation’s file
Stand rank’d as men, who breathe in this fair isle
The air of freedom, with so little gall,
So low a spirit, prostrate thus to fall
Before these idols, and without a groan
Bear wrongs, might call forth murmurs from a stone ?”

Churchill’s *Independence*.

How much inferior to the bold interrogatory of the author of the *Essay on Man* !

“ Who knows but HE whose hand the lightning forms,
Who heaves old ocean, and who wings the storms,
Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar’s mind,
Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind ?”

The latter fault however, *want of vigour*, is more common in this age of refinement. Even such lines as the following, though easy and flowing, contradict the general character of our language and versification, that of comprehending much meaning in few words.

“ Of that enchanting age her figure seems,
When smiling Nature with the vital beams
Of vivid Youth, and Pleasure’s purple flame,
Gilds her accomplish’d work, the female frame,
With rich luxuriance tender, sweetly wild,
And just between the woman and the child.”

Can any one, on reading these admired verses, discern the propriety of Roscommon’s famous metaphor in speaking of English poetry ?

“ The weighty bullion of one STERLING line,
Drawn in French wire, would through whole pages shine.”

They who aspire at a greater compass of harmony, and who are ambitious of continuing unbroken its winding stream, must throw aside the fetters of rhyme.

Born with a strong understanding, a benevolent heart, and an enthusiastic fancy—with all the powers necessary to form a great poet, Thomson perceived that Pope had attained the summit of excellence in that mode of composition which he had adopted.

He was not, however, discouraged. He saw there were other paths to fame; and by judiciously making choice of blank verse, which was perfectly suited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldness of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildness of his poetical descriptions, he has left us, in his *Seasons*, a greater number of just, beautiful, and sublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the works of all other poets since the days of Lucretius.

Akenside, *feelingly alive* to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a truly benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us, in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of the philosophy of taste, unfolded in all the pomp of Miltonic verse.

And Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and, like Akenside, a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a more valuable legacy, in his *Art of preserving Health*; while he has furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, in the same species of versification, than either the *Seasons* or the *Pleasures of Imagination*. After such profuse praise, it will be necessary to give a specimen of the composition of this elegant writer.

“ He without riot, in the balmy feast
Of life, the wants of Nature has supplied,
Who rises cool, serene, and full of soul.
But pliant nature more or less demands,
As custom forms her :—and all sudden change
She hates, of habit even from bad to good.
If faults in life, or new emergencies,
From habits urge you by long time confirm’d,
Slow may the change arrive, and stage by stage :
Slow as the shadow o’er the dial moves ;
Slow as the stealing progress of the year.”

Whilst blank verse was thus attaining its highest polish in the prosperous reign of George II., and descriptive and didactic poetry approaching toward perfection, the lighter walks of the Muse were by no means neglected. Akenside, not satisfied with rivalling Virgil in his most finished work, entered the lists also with Horace and Pindar; and although he has not equalled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the sublimity, fire, and bold digressions of the latter, he deserves great praise for having given us the first classical examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer stanzas in our language, than that which contains

some traits of the character of Alcæus, in Akenside's Ode on *Lyric Poetry*.

“ Broke from the fetters of his native land,
 Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
 With louder impulse and a threat'ning hand
 The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords :—
 Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
 Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
 Ye murd'ers of the laws !
 Though now ye glory in your lust,
 Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
 Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause !”

Collins and Gray have been more successful in imitating the wild enthusiasm of Pindar ; though it must be admitted by their warmest admirers, that the lyric pieces of these two poets owe their celebrity chiefly to a certain solemn obscurity, through which their meaning occasionally breaks with a degree of poetic splendour that overpowers the faculties of the reader, as lightning is rendered more awful by the interposing darkness of a thunder-cloud. In the odes of Collins, however, may be found some truly sublime stanzas ; especially the first stanza in the Ode to *Liberty*, the first in that to *Mercy*, and the first in that to *Fear*. And Gray's *Welsh Bard*, examined as a whole, has great merit, whether we consider the variety and force of the numbers, or the gloomy grandeur of the imagery.

But, among our lyric poets, no one appears to me to have so well imitated the philosophic good humour and good sense of Horace as Akenside. Nothing can be more happily pursued than the whole train of thinking in his Ode on the *Winter Solstice*. After lamenting the destructive rage of the elements, he proceeds thus :—

“ But let not man's unequal views
 Presume o'er Nature and her laws ;
 'Tis his with grateful joy to use
 Th' indulgence of the SOVEREIGN CAUSE :
 Secure that Health and Beauty springs,
 Through this majestic frame of things,
 Beyond what he can reach to know ;
 And that Heav'n's all-subduing will
 With Good, the progeny of Ill,
 Attempt'reth every state below.”

Nor are the Pindaric odes of this poet destitute of dignity, though that dignity consists less in pomp of language than in elevation of sentiment. The character of Milton, in the Ode on

the *Power of Poetry*, addressed to the earl of Huntingdon, is daringly bold.

“ Mark how the dread Pantheon stands
Amid the domes of modern hands ;
Amid the toys of idle state,
How simply, how severely great :
Then turn, and while each western clime
Presents her tuneful sons to Time,
So mark thou Milton's awful name,” &c.

That whole ode breathes a noble spirit of freedom ; such as prevailed, to use the author's own words, in speaking of the Muse,

“ When Greece to her immortal shell
Rejoicing listen'd, god-like sounds to hear ;
To hear the sweet Instructress tell
(While men and heroes throng'd around)
How life its noblest use may find,
How best for freedom be resign'd,
And how, by Glory, Virtue shall be crown'd.”

Since I have touched upon this animating subject, I must transcribe the opening of Collins' *Ode to Liberty*, which has always roused me more forcibly than any thing I ever read in any language.

“ Who shall awake the Spartan fife,
And call in solemn sounds to life
The youths whose locks divinely spreading,
Like vernal hyacinths in sullen hue,
At once the breath of Fear and Virtue shedding,
Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view ?”

The conclusion of the same stanza, containing a description of the fall of the Roman empire, is not less poetical, but is historically false, and consequently of dangerous tendency, as it may communicate an erroneous turn of thinking to the untutored mind.

“ No, Freedom ! no, I will not tell,
How Rome, before thy weeping face,
With heaviest sound, a giant statue fell,
Push'd by a wild and artless race
From off its wide ambitious base ;
When Time his northern sons of spoil awoke,
And all the blended work of strength and grace,
With many a rude repeated stroke,
And many a barbarous yell, to thousand fragments broke.”

Now the truth is, that, long before this event, Rome had not only lost her own liberty, but had basely violated the liberties of other nations; and the whole empire languished under the most enslaving despotism. The description, therefore, though consistent in itself, is false in every point of view, as applied to the Roman empire. And Freedom, instead of weeping at the fall of Rome, may be said poetically to have assisted the sons of the North, in breaking to pieces that *Giant-statue*, or enormous monarchy, in order to emancipate mankind from its degrading dominion and corrupting influence.

About the same time that Akenside, Collins, and Gray, were perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love verses by Hammond; a man of taste and sensibility, who imitated with success the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and imparted to his amorous solicitations a soft melancholy, entirely in unison with the tone of the passion, and a tenderness to which Waller and Prior were strangers. A short extract will illustrate these observations.

“ With thee I hop’d to waste the pleasing day,
Till in thy arms an age of joy was past;
Then old with love insensibly decay,
And on thy bosom gently breathe my last.

“ I scorn the Lydian river’s golden wave,
And all the vulgar charms of human life;
I only ask to live my Delia’s slave,
And, when I long have serv’d her, call her wife.”

This species of versification is happily adapted to such subjects, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary by a learned and dictatorial critic; for although “ the *quatrain* of ten syllables,” in alternate rhyme, is capable of great strength and dignity, though it may be condensed into a solid column, in commemoration of victory, it can also be dilated with more facility than the couplet, into a loose floating veil of mourning, or breathed into a tremulous symphony of fond complaint. It has accordingly been adopted by all succeeding elegiac writers of any eminence; but particularly by Gray, in his celebrated *Elegy in a Country Church-yard*, and by Shenstone, in those excellent moral Elegies, published after his death, which do so much honour both to his head and heart, and form so severe a satire on his want of economy.

Shenstone deserves to be here mentioned on another account.

He has given us a refined species of rural poetry, with which we were formerly unacquainted; and which, if not altogether *pastoral*, is exceedingly *pleasing*. It is, indeed, *something better*; it represents the manners and the sentiments of a gentleman residing in the country, instead of those of a clown. In this respect it does not differ essentially from the pastorals of the polished and courtly Virgil, who would not have been ashamed to own the following elegant lines:

“ Can a bosom so gentle remain
 Unmov'd when her Corydon sighs?
 Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
 Those plains and this valley despise?
 Dear regions of silence and shade!
 Soft scenes of contentment and ease!
 Where I could have happily stray'd,
 If aught in her absence could please.

But where does my Phillida stray?
 And where are her grots and her bowers?
 Are the groves and the valleys as gay,
 And the shepherds as gentle, as ours?
 The groves may perhaps be as fair,
 And the face of the valleys as fine;
 The swains may in manners compare;
 But their love is not equal to mine.”

The zealous and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and sentiment from flowing in other channels. A classical form was given to the *Comic Romance* by Fielding and Smollett, who painted modern manners with great force of colouring, as well as truth of delineation, and gave to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and satire.

Richardson, no less classical, created a new species of fiction, which may be called the *Epic of Civil Life*; as it exhibits, in an extended and artfully-constructed fable, and in a variety of strongly-marked characters, under the influence of different passions, and in different pursuits, the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanness and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumstance, or display of warlike exploits.

The principal productions of these authors, under the well-known names of *Tom Jones*, *Roderic Random*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Clarissa*¹, and *Amelia*, seemed for a time wholly to

¹ Lovelace, the principal male character in this celebrated romance, is evidently a copy of Rowe's *Lothario*, in the *Fair Penitent*. This Dr. Johnson owns, but adds,

occupy the attention, and even to turn the heads of the younger part of the nation. But the histories of Robertson and Hume appeared, and romances were contemptuously neglected. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found, that real incidents, properly selected and disposed (setting aside the idea of utility), and real characters, delineated with truth and force, could more strongly engage both the mind and heart than any fabulous narrative. This taste afterwards gave birth to many other elegant historical productions.

I must now carry forward the progress of arts and of manners, and of those branches of polite literature which are most intimately connected with both.

The immature and unexpected death of queen Anne was friendly to the Protestant Succession; for she certainly intended, as I have had occasion to show, that her brother should fill the British throne. What might have been the character of the reign of James III. it is impossible decidedly to say, as he was never invested with the administration. But there is great reason to believe, from his superstition and bigotry, that his government would not have been favourable either to civil or religious liberty. The reign of George I. was propitious to both, though not very indulgent to genius. Unacquainted with the beauties of our language, and utterly destitute of taste, like most of his countrymen in that age, this prince paid no attention to literature or the liberal arts. Literature, however, made vigorous shoots by the help of former culture and soil; but manners experienced a woeful decline, and the arts made no advance.

In consequence of the timid, but prudent, policy of that reign, the martial spirit was nearly extinguished in England. The heads of the Tory faction kept at a distance from court, as in the reign of William; and truth obliges me to declare, that the Tories have always been the most munificent patrons of genius, as well as the most accomplished gentlemen in the kingdom. The ministers of George I. were Whigs. Many of them were little better than money-brokers, and the South-Sea scheme made

that the imitator "has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. Lothario, with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the reader's kindness. It was in the *power* of Richardson *alone* to teach us at once *esteem* and *detestation*." But Dr. Beattie, another formidable critic, and the friend of Dr. Johnson, is of a very different opinion. "Richardson's *Lovelace*," says he, "whom the reader ought to abominate for his crimes, is adorned with youth, beauty, eloquence, wit, and every intellectual and bodily accomplishment; is there not then reason to apprehend that some readers will be more inclined to admire the gay profligate, than to fear his punishment?" So contentious a science is criticism!—and so little reference have the opinions of the learned, in matters of taste, to any common standard!

them stock-jobbers. The rapid revolution of property occasioned by that scheme, the number of ancient families ruined, and of new ones raised to opulence, broke down the distinction of ranks, gave rise to a general profusion, and produced a decline of decency and respect.

The corrupt administration of sir Robert Walpole, in the reign of George II., when every man's virtue was supposed to have its price, contributed still farther to dissolve the manners and principles of the nation : while the thriving state of manufactures, and a vast influx of money by trade, produced such a deluge of intemperance among the common people, that the parliament was obliged to interpose its authority, in order to restrain the inordinate use of spirituous liquors. And after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, military force was often necessary to suppress the licentiousness of riot ; which under pretence of want, occasioned by dearth of provisions, but really in the wantonness of abundance, long distracted the whole kingdom.

The war which commenced in 1755 united all hearts and all hands in opposing the common enemy. In the course of that glorious war, at first so unpropitious, the relaxation of manners totally disappeared. The national spirit recovered its tone. Wisdom was found in the cabinet, and ability displayed itself both in the senate and the field. Military ardour rose to heroism, and public virtue to the utmost height of patriotism. And although the peace of Paris did not procure us all the advantages we had reason to expect, it yet left the British empire great and flourishing ; with trade considerably augmented ; territory immensely extended ; and a numerous body of brave and industrious people, employed in supplying with manufactures the demands of commerce, or occupied in the labours of husbandry.

In times of such great national prosperity, it might be expected that public spectacles would be numerous and splendid, and that the liberal arts, though neglected by the government, would be encouraged by the public, and patronised by opulent individuals. This was literally the case. Beside a magnificent Italian opera, the capital supported two English theatres ; and those theatres were well supplied with new pieces, the profits of which amply recompensed the labour of their authors.

The comedies of Steele were followed by those of Cibber, who has given us in his *Careless Husband* a finished picture of polite life. The formal style and sententious morality of Addison's *Cato*, in a smaller or greater degree, distinguish all the tragedies of Thomson. Those of Southern and Young are more impas-

sioned, though in other respects no less faulty. Southern, who was intimately acquainted with the human breast, has some exquisitely pathetic scenes. But his stories are too uniformly distressing; and *Oroonoko*, his best piece, is interlarded with low comedy. *Isabella*, written in the reign of George I., has fewer faults, and fewer, yet many beauties. It is a mournful tale indeed!—Young's *Revenge* has great merit. The fable is well constructed, the style is easy and animated; the characters are strongly marked, and the poetic spirit is supported throughout the piece. But it has few of the genuine charms of nature, and too many of those *terrible graces*, which have drawn upon our stage the imputation of barbarism.

The history of the stage is a subject of great philosophical curiosity; as it is in every nation intimately connected with the history of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, there is something to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curiosity. Our tragic performers, before the appearance of Garrick, seem to have had a very imperfect notion of their business. As they could have few opportunities of observing the motions, and still fewer of hearing the discourse of royal personages, especially on great and momentous subjects, or while under the influence of strong passions, they had recourse to imagination; and gave to all the speeches of such exalted characters, and by habit to those of every character, an inarticulate deep-toned monotony, which had small resemblance to the human voice, accompanied with a strutting stateliness of gesture, that was altogether unnatural, but which they mistook for majesty. To acquire only the *tread of the stage* was a work of years.

But no sooner did Garrick set his foot upon the theatre than this difficulty vanished. Having a sound judgment, a just taste, and keen sensibility, with a discernment so acute as to enable him to look into the inmost recesses of the heart; a marking countenance; an eye full of lustre; a fine ear: a musical and articulate voice, with an uncommon power of modulating it to every tone of passion; he rose at once to the height of his profession, and taught the sympathizing spectators, that kings and heroes were men, and spoke, and moved, and felt, like the rest of their species. Other players followed his easy and natural manner, to the great advantage of theatrical representation.

This new style of acting introduced a new taste in writing.

Instead of the rant and fustian of Dryden and Lee, which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his disciples displayed their bewitching power of moving the passions chiefly in the pathetic and awful scenes of Shakspeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. And Aaron Hill, a great promoter of natural playing, having adapted to the English stage several of the elegant and interesting tragedies of Voltaire, gave variety to theatrical exhibitions. In the *Zara* and the *Merope* he was particularly successful. Originals were composed in the same just taste. Among these we still see with pleasure the *Gamester*, *Douglas*, and *Barbarossa*. The *Elfrida* and *Caractacus* of Mason, and the *Medea* of Glover, are equally pregnant with nature and passion. Written in imitation of the Greek drama, and worthy of the Athenian stage, they have all been represented on that of London with applause; but they have not yet made us converts to the ancient manners.

The genius of Garrick, as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In many parts of comedy he was no less excellent; and his taste, and his situation as a manager, enabled him to draw to light several neglected pieces of great merit. The comic muse, however, was backward in her favours for a time. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the *Suspicious Husband*, and Foote those inimitable *sketches of real life*, which were so long the delight of the town, and justly procured him the appellation of the English Aristophanes. At length Colman, in the *Jealous Wife* and *Clandestine Marriage*, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence; and our comedy seemed to be perfected. But a new species of comedy was afterwards imported from France; in which, as often happens in the great drama of the world, ludicrous and interesting circumstances were blended, and scenes of humour interchanged with those of sentiment. Kelly's *False Delicacy*, and Cumberland's *West Indian*, are pieces of considerable merit in this new taste.

Besides its connexion with manners and literature, the stage has an intimate alliance with painting and music. Of this alliance the English stage has not failed to take advantage, or of that which is derived from machinery and architecture. Our whole scenery is perhaps superior to that of any theatre in ancient or modern times, and also our theatrical wardrobe, as our dresses certainly are better adapted to the characters which the actors

represent. Our theatrical directors observe the *costume* more perfectly than those of any other country¹.

The effect of our landscapes and sea-pieces, by the power of perspective and the *extrinsic* help of *illumination* and *obscurity*, is equal if not superior to that of nature ; and these enchanting scenes, in conjunction with music and dancing, give to the *mute drama* an illusive charm, a deception that seems to border on magic.

As dancing claims some remarks on this occasion, it may be observed, that this art has of late been carried to great perfection among us, as well as among our neighbours on the continent ; so as not only to keep time to music in graceful motion, but to be at the same time expressive of a series of action, and a fluctuation of passion. As human beings, however, endowed with the distinguishing faculty of speech, let us not set too high a value upon this light-heeled corporeal language, which it is possible to teach even to so rude an animal as a bear ; and in which, as far as it is mimetic of hunting or war, its two favourite subjects, an American savage is much more perfect than Slingsby, Vestris, or Heinel. Theatrical music deserves more attention.

Music formed an essential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In those of the moderns, and especially in ours, it was long only an occasional auxiliary. Our first successful musical piece, the celebrated *Beggar's Opera* of Gay, is said to have been written in *ridicule* of the Italian opera ; though I am fully persuaded that the author foresaw the pleasure which the *Comic Opera* would afford to an English audience, independent of that circumstance, and only called in the contrast of character, to procure a more ready reception to his new drama. If burlesque had been his chief object, he would have made Macheath and all his gang warble Italian airs.

Gay, on the contrary, adapted the words of his songs to *native* tunes. These tunes had all been heard by most of the visitants of the theatre in early life, when the mind was free from care ; in the scenes of rural innocence, or the walks of gay frolic, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or reposed in the luxury of infantine passion ; while reason was lost in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with illusions of unchangeable love. Every tune recalled some agreeable feeling, or former

¹ This beautiful propriety, which gives so much truth to good acting, we owe chiefly to the classical taste and enlightened understanding of Garrick.

happy state of mind. The effect of the music, therefore, might almost be termed magical ; and it would have been still greater, if the airs had been sung by persons whom the auditors could have loved or respected. But as this was not the case, the *Beggar's Opera*, in consequence of its musical enchantment, had a very immoral tendency. It served to dignify the character of a highwayman, and to familiarize, and even to reconcile, the mind to such flagitious scenes as ought ever to be held in distant abhorrence ; the nocturnal orgies of robbers and prostitutes ; their levity in the cells of Newgate, and their indifference at the prospect of ignominiously paying the debt of justice, on *Tyburn Tree* !—Nor was this all. The author, by putting into the mouths of such wretches not only the tunes, but a parody upon the words of some of our most admired love-songs, threw a stronger ridicule upon genuine passion and virtuous tenderness than upon the Italian opera.

Notwithstanding the great success of this musical piece, we had no other comic opera of any merit for many years. The singularity of the subject, and the continued applause paid to the *Beggar's Opera*, deterred imitation and precluded rivalry. In the mean time the celebrated Handel, who had disagreed with the proprietors of the Opera-house or Italian theatre, brought on the English stage a new species of musical drama, to which he gave the name of *Oratorio*, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and astonishment of the whole musical world. But the *Oratorio*, which has already lost its hold of the public taste, has so many radical defects, as a theatrical entertainment, as must for ever prevent it from being in general request. It has fable and dialogue, but neither action, scenery, nor characteristic dresses.

Dr. Arne, sensible of the imperfections of the *Oratorio*, attempted to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the *Serious Opera*. With this view, he set to excellent music, and brought upon the English stage, a translation of the Artaxerxes of Metastasio ; which was received with the most enthusiastic applause, and is still a favourite performance. Yet, extraordinary as it may seem, we have scarcely any other serious opera that is even tolerated. Musical tragedy is happily little suited to the general taste of an English audience, which requires a more masculine composition.

Our musical comedy made greater progress. It was much refined and improved, by the exclusion of profligate manners, and by the judicious mixture of scenes of sentiment with those

of humour: as in *Love in a Village*, the *Duenna*, and some other pieces of a similar kind, which deservedly met with a favourable reception. Even these, however, appear to be losing ground. Many of our comic operas are already transformed into after-pieces; and, as such, they will always please.

Since the charm of novelty has ceased, the good sense of the people of England seems still to require a standard comedy or tragedy, as their principal theatrical dish:—and music has other walks to occupy. The grand concerts in the capital, and in every considerable town, afford ample scope to native composers; whilst the Opera-house calls forth all the talents of foreign masters, as well as all the powers of execution, both vocal and instrumental, by the most liberal rewards, for the entertainment of the nobility and gentry.

The advances of the other arts considered as elegant, in England, during the eighteenth century, open a wide field for investigation, at which I can only glance. Nor am I required to enter deeply into it by my subject; a general view of improvement being the sole purpose of this letter. The improvements in manufactures and the mechanical arts I have already carried forward by anticipation, in tracing the progress of commerce¹; though perhaps I have not been sufficiently particular in some articles, such as the great perfection to which the printing of linen and of cotton has been carried, so as to surpass in beauty the fabrics of India; or paper for the lining of rooms, which has been taught to imitate velvet and satin, and even to rival tapestry. Nor ought I to omit the taste and fancy displayed in the patterns of our figured silks: or in our carpets, which vie with those of Persia in fabric, equal them in lustre, and exceed them in harmony of colours.

Our sepulchral monuments, at the close of the seventeenth century, were mere masonry, and executed in a very bad taste. The excellent carvings of Gibbon, in wood, excepted, we had properly no sculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and employed himself chiefly on portraits. Rysbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who afterward adorned Westminster Abbey with many sculptured monuments worthy of ancient Greece, were also foreigners. We were more fortunate in native architects.

Inigo Jones found a successor not unworthy of himself in sir Christopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's

¹ Part II. Letter XXVII.

and of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; exclusive of his other great designs—of that of Greenwich Hospital, or the additions to the palace of Hampton Court.

Wren was succeeded by the classical lord Burlington, a liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor, and by the ponderous but inventive Kent; whose plan of Holkham in Norfolk, and whose temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent was greatly surpassed in architecture by sir William Chambers, Wyat, Adam, and others who adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity; who united elegance with conveniency, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne be forgotten, to whom we are indebted for Blackfriars'-bridge, a work to which antiquity can afford no parallel¹.

We had, at the same time, native statuaries of considerable merit. But Bacon and Nollekens produced nothing equal to the Hercules of Rysbrach, Scheemaker's Shakespeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac².

Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copied *low life*, or debased it into farce, and below the best Italian masters, who generally drew exalted characters, and elevated human nature, as far as it was possible for men degraded by civil and religious slavery, he delineated, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of *middling life*; with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpose. They who are in doubt about this point need only consult his *Harlot's Progress*, his *Rake's Progress*, his *Marriage à-la-Mode*, and his *Stages of Cruelty*.

But Hogarth knew nothing of the elegance of design, the de-

¹ Westminster-bridge, not perhaps less noble, though surely less elegant, was executed on the plan of a Frenchman.

² Of these celebrated statues, the most excellent is the Hercules, compiled from various parts of the body and limbs (which the sculptor supposed to be most truly formed) of seven or eight of the strongest and best made men in England, chiefly champions in the amphitheatre for bruising, under the protection of the late duke of Cumberland. The Newton of Roubiliac has also great merit; but the late earl of Orford thought "the air a little too *pert* for so grave a man." Mr. Scott, a man of taste and genius, was of a different opinion.

"Behold; (a prism within his hands)
Absorb'd in thought great Newton stands:
 Such was his brow and look serene,
 His serious gait and musing mien."—ODE TO SCULPTURE.

licacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. These were reserved for English painters of a higher order, who, if they did not attain all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and strength of expression, to be found in the greatest Italian masters, made ample amends by the judicious choice of their subjects. Instead of crucifixions, flagellations, last suppers, and holy families, they gave second life to heroes and legislators. They made public virtue visible in some of its most meritorious acts: they painted as became the sons of freedom. Nor need I be afraid to affirm that Copley's *Death of the Earl of Chatham*, West's *Departure of Regulus*, his *Pennsylvania Charter*, and his *Death of Wolfe*, to say nothing of the *Ugolino* of sir Joshua Reynolds, fill the mind with nobler ideas, and awaken the heart to more generous emotions, than were ever communicated by the pencil of any slave that kneeled at the altar of superstition¹.

Fortunately for the lovers of embellishment, engraving, of which painting may be said to be the prototype, did not make less progress in England during the eighteenth century than the parent art. Historical pictures can only become the property of the rich and great; and they are very liable, beside, to be injured by time or accident. Hence arises the utility of engraving on plates of copper. It multiplies copies at a moderate price; and its representations, if less perfect than those of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our own capital paintings, and also of most of those of the celebrated Italian masters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we must place Strange and Woollet. The former excelled chiefly in copying human figures, the latter in landscape. Both, however, had several formidable rivals in every branch of the art; and the unhappy Ryland was, perhaps, equal to either.

We have yet another flourishing art, deservedly considered as

¹ "Since *affections of every kind* are equally within the painter's power," says Quintilian, "it is of great importance that he should apply himself to *excite* only such as are *subservient to good morals*." (*Inst. Orat.* lib. xi.) And Aristotle, among other instructions, gives it in charge to the governors of youth, "that they allow them to see no pictures but those which have such moral tendency." (*Polit.* lib. viii.) The reason of this caution is founded in the depths of philosophy, in an equal knowledge of human nature and the influence of the arts; for there can remain no doubt, that whatever addresses itself immediately to the eye by an *actual representation of objects*, must affect the *youthful mind*, and indeed all minds, especially the least cultivated, more than any form of words, or combination of *articulate sounds*, significant of ideas merely by convention. Yet we are told by a famed connoisseur (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*), "that pictures cannot adapt themselves to the meanest capacities, as, unhappily, the tongue can."

liberal, and which is of English origin, unless we should allow to the Chinese a share of the honour of the invention; namely, MODERN GARDENING, or the art of *painting a field* with natural and artificial objects, disposed like colours upon a canvass. For this art, which was unknown to the ancients, we are indebted to the taste and genius of Kent. He taught us to *imitate* Nature, or (more properly speaking) *to act upon her plan*, in forming our pleasure-grounds, instead of impressing upon every natural object the hard stamp of art. He taught us, that the perfection of gardening consists in humouring and adorning, not in constraining or disguising nature; consequently, that strait walks, regular parterres, circular and square pieces of water, and trees cut in the shape of animals, are utterly inconsistent with true taste. In a word, the whole secret of modern gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery, wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture, so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground; in judiciously veiling and exposing the surrounding country, in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower, the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake, or artificial sea, with Nature's most sublime object, a view of the boundless and ever-agitated ocean.

Milton seems to have had a distinct idea of this kind of gardening, as far as it regards the particular spot:

“Through Eden went a river large;
Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill
Pass'd underneath ingulph'd; for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden mound, high-raised
Upon the rapid current,—which through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirst updrawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
Water'd the garden.

“From that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
With mazy error, under pendent shades,
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradise; which not nice art
In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain;
Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
The open field, and where the unpierced shade
Imbrown'd the noon-tide bowers.”

This is certainly, to use the poet's own words, “a happy rural

scene of *various view*¹." But Milton, like all the gardeners of his time, or of those which had preceded it, confined his paradise within high boundaries, and consequently excluded distant and rude prospect, the grand charm in modern gardening: for

" the champaign head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket over-grown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied ; and overhead up-grew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm."

The man who first threw down the garden-wall, and sunk the fosse, whether Kent or Bridgeman, may be truly said to have broken the spell that enabled the necromancer Art to hold the fair damsel Nature so long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itself with utility, and grandeur with rustic labour; the pleasure-ground with the pastured and cultivated field; the gravel-walk with the public-road, and the garden-lake with the navigable canal and the sea—that glorious fountain of universal communication among men, which enables the philosopher, the merchant, and the mariner, to visit every shore, and makes all things common to all.

While our countrymen were thus employed with success in extending the circle of the arts, and in embellishing external nature, science was not neglected: they were not inattentive to the motions of the heavens, or the operations of the human mind. Locke and Newton had their successors, as well as Dryden and Milton. Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars; while Maclaurin made great progress in algebra, and Gregory reduced astronomy to a regular system. These men of genius were succeeded by very able mathematicians; but the era of mathematical discovery seems to be past. Greater proficiency has been made in other sciences, with which Newton was little acquainted. The vegetable system of Tull has led to great improvements in agriculture; and the bold discoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be said to have given birth to a new

¹ The resemblance of Milton's *Eden* to a garden laid out in the modern taste was first noticed by the late penetrating lord Kaimes, in chap. xxiv. of his *Elements of Criticism*, printed in 1762. "Milton," says he, "justly prefers the grand taste to that of regularity;" and he quotes part of the above extract, in confirmation of his remark. Yet Horace Walpole, the late earl of Orford, in retailing the same observation, almost twenty years later, seemed to assume the merit of it, and to congratulate himself, as if he had made an important discovery.

science. With the purpose to be served by many of those discoveries, which at present so strongly engage the attention of philosophers, we are yet as much in the dark as in regard to the electric principle itself. But the beneficial effects of electricity in many medical cases, and the invention of metallic conductors, by which buildings and ships are preserved from the destructive force of lightning, entitle it to notice in a view of the progress of society, even if it should otherwise disappoint the hopes of its fond admirers.

Among the successors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the first place; not that his metaphysical inquiries are more acute than those of Berkeley, Baxter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid; but because his discoveries, like those of his great master, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of universal application in science, and closely connected with the leading principles of the arts. His beautiful analysis of the ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS, which he comprehends under three general heads, namely, *Resemblance*, including contrast, *Contiguity* in time or place, and *Cause and Effect*; and his ingenious *Theory of the Passions*, or the COMMUNICATION OF EMOTIONS, immediately laid the foundation of that PHILOSOPHY of the FINE ARTS which was afterwards formed into a system by lord Kaimes, and which has since been illustrated by other elegant writers.

But none of those writers illustrated the principles of Mr. Hume so happily as himself. They may be said, indeed, only to have written commentaries on his illustrations. One example will justify this remark. The subject is *Unity of Action*, about which all critics after Aristotle had talked so much, and to so little purpose, while they *directed* not their *taste* or *sentiment* by the *accuracy of philosophy*. “It appears,” says he, “that in all productions, as well as the epic and tragic, there is a certain UNITY required, if we would produce a work which will give any lasting entertainment to mankind. An annalist or historian, who should undertake to write the HISTORY OF EUROPE during any century, would be influenced by the *connexion* of *Contiguity* in *time* and *place*. All events which happen in that portion of space, and period of time, are comprehended in his design, though in other respects different and unconnected. They have still a species of *unity* amid all their *diversity*. But the most usual species of *connexion*, among the different *events* which enter into any *narrative composition*, is that of *Cause and Effect*; while the historian *traces* the *series* of *actions* according to their *natural order*,

remounts to their *secret springs* and *principles*, and *delineates* their most *remote consequences*."

If Mr. Hume was happy in illustrating his metaphysical system, he was yet more successful in exemplifying it. His Moral, Political, and Literary Essays, are perfect models of philosophical investigation. He is altogether logical, without the logical forms: he unites the plain perspicuity of Locke to the synthetic precision of Wollaston, and the analytical accuracy of Harris. But this great man, who has carried human reasoning to the utmost point of perfection, has endeavoured, by sceptical doubts, to destroy the certainty of all reasoning, and to undermine the foundations of both natural and revealed religion. His attack upon the latter leads to a very curious and important inquiry; the state of Christianity in England during the eighteenth century. I shall endeavour to trace the outlines of the subject, by way of termination to this view of the Progress of Society.

That general toleration, which was the immediate consequence of the Revolution, gave birth to great freedom of discussion in the affairs of religion. The crowd of sectaries, no longer united by the common bond of persecution, or restrained by fear from unveiling the supposed errors of the church, entered into a bold investigation of the sublime mysteries of Christianity; and the apostles of each sect keenly censured the tenets of all who presumed to differ from them on any particular point. Numerous disputes were warmly agitated about doctrines of no importance to the rational Christian.

But this pious warfare was not sufficient to keep alive the fervour of zeal either in the church or among the dissenters, in a state of unbounded liberty of conscience. A general moderation began to prevail, and the more enlightened sectaries seemed ready to join the hierarchy; when certain fiery spirits, filled with indignation at such lukewarmness, and panting for the crown of martyrdom, gave birth to new sects of a warmer complexion, and obliged the heads of the old to enforce their particular tenets, in order to prevent the utter desertion of their followers. Whitfield and Wesley in England, and the two Erskines in Scotland, rekindled in all its ardour the flame of enthusiasm, which raged, for a time, with dazzling brightness, in spite of the utmost efforts of reason and ridicule. But the fuel of persecution, the stake and the fagot, being happily withheld, it has now in a great measure spent its force. Nor have the Methodists yet been able to number one martyr among the multitude of their saints.

The spirit of infidelity (as it always will in an enlightened age) kept pace with that of enthusiasm. As many of the wilder sectaries laid claim to divine illuminations, and in their ravings pretended to prophesy, some men of sceptical principles endeavoured to bring into *suspicion*, and even to destroy the *credibility* of, all *prophecy*; while others called in question the *authenticity* of the *sacred books*, both historical and prophetical. At the head of those sceptical writers, and the most dangerous, because the most agreeable, may be placed Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke.

Tindal, in his *Christianity as old as the Creation*, denied the *necessity* of the *Gospel*; as it promulgated, he affirmed, no principle or precept with which mankind were not formerly acquainted. Hume, in his *Essay on Miracles*, struck directly at its foundation, by attempting to show, that no *human testimony* is sufficient to establish the reality of a *miracle*. And an author no less able or learned than either, has written an historical deduction, to prove that Christianity is of *human origin*.

But these bold attacks have only served more firmly to establish true religion, while they have given a severe check to enthusiasm. They have led divines to examine minutely the proofs of revelation, and rendered them sensible of the propriety of explaining more rationally the mysteries in the Christian system; especially that of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and the miraculous influence of grace upon the human soul. The consequence has been, that all men of *sound minds* and *good morals*, conform outwardly to the religion of their country, and most of them *sincerely believe* it to be of *divine origin*. The debasing doctrine of materialism has been exploded as unfriendly to all that is liberal in the human character, or endearing in the human condition¹: for he who considers this earthly spot as the only theatre of his existence, and its grave, instead of his first stage in progressive being, can never view nature with a cheerful, or man with a benevolent, eye.

¹ A learned divine has attempted to give a new complexion to this doctrine; but his opinions are too whimsical to be generally received.

PART III.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763, TO THE TREATY OF
AMIENS IN 1802.

LETTER I.

A general View of the Affairs and Politics of the Western Division of the European Continent, from the Treaty of Paris to the Close of the Reign of Louis XV.

THE grand outlines of human nature, my dear son, are nearly the same in all ages and nations; but the lights and shades of the picture vary considerably at different periods and in distant regions. The political scenes of one division of the globe exhibit aspects very different from those which are presented in another part of the world; and modern history materially differs from that of ancient times. It bears a less abstract and more relative form; and the feelings of the actors who pass in review before us are more in unison with our own sensations.

A respite from war was more urgently required by the financial distresses of France, and the disorders of her government, than by any embarrassment in the affairs of Great Britain. Louis XV., therefore, considered peace as a desirable acquisition; and he had no wish to break off the negotiation, when he found the British cabinet so ready to smooth the way by concession. Soon after the ratification of the treaty, while he was immersed in sensual pleasures, he was involved in a new contest

¹ The distance of the period at which Dr. Russell closed his History would naturally excite, among his readers, a wish for a continuation of the work; and that desire, it might be supposed, would be invigorated by the extraordinary importance of many of the events and transactions of recent times. The difficulty of compressing, within the narrow limits of two volumes, the History of Modern Europe for sixty-two years, did not deter me from undertaking the task. It cannot be expected that an exact uniformity should prevail between the continuation and the preceding work; for such an idea would border on the visionary doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* or transmigration of souls. Such a general resemblance, in sentiment, manner, and arrangement, as may not exclude particular discrepancy or occasional variance, may be deemed sufficient for every reasonable purpose.—C. COOTE.

with some of the parliaments of his kingdom, on the subject of those taxes which the war had rendered necessary or expedient. When he had ordered the continuance of several imposts which had been professedly confined to the duration of the war, and had also demanded new contributions, the parliament of Paris remonstrated against these exactions; that of Rouen declared, that no tax could justly be imposed on the people of Normandy by any other authority than that of the three estates; and from Toulouse, Bordeaux, Grenoble, and other provincial capitals, similar remonstrances were sent to the throne. The duke Fitz-James, governor of Languedoc, punished the unyielding spirit of some of the members of the parliament of Toulouse by restrictions of their personal liberty, which so incensed the majority, that a vote passed for his imprisonment. After warm debates at a meeting of the nobles in Paris, the offensive vote was annulled.

In this contest, the people encouraged the zeal of the members, because they considered them as patriots. For a different reason, the duke de Choiseul, the chief minister of Louis, secretly supported them against his sovereign, whom he wished to intimidate, by these and other arts, into an adherence to the league with the house of Austria, and a subserviency to that domineering family.

While the marchioness de Pompadour lived, the aspiring duke had not that paramount influence at court which he wished to
A.D. enjoy. The death of the ruling favourite was, therefore,
1764. a very agreeable event to the minister; but it did not appear, though it was openly asserted, that she had been poisoned at his instigation.

Like Charles II. of England, Louis was immoderately and disgracefully addicted to amorous gratifications. Like that prince, he was too frequently governed by females; and, amidst the indulgence of a gross appetite, he forgot the duties of a king, and neglected the interests of his country. Influenced by the dissolute and corrupt marchioness, he had concluded an impolitic treaty, and had thrown himself into the arms of Austria. His inclinations were good, and he was not destitute of sense or judgment; but he had not the spirit to follow the suggestions of his own mind or the dictates of his own heart. He was hurried into acts of folly, rapacity, and tyranny; he connived at flagrant abuses in every branch of the administration; and multiplied the grievances of a people by whom he was formerly beloved.

His son, the dauphin Louis, was a prince of more manly spirit, and of a more respectable character. He lamented the king's weakness, and opposed the misgovernment of the realm, as far as his situation and circumstances would allow. He was unable, however, to check the career of courtly profligacy or ministerial misconduct; and his efforts only served to render him odious to the prevailing party.

The cause of the Jesuits had been favoured by the dauphin, who thought that they were unjustly persecuted. Undoubtedly, that order of ecclesiastics had a greater share of learning than the generality of the clergy possessed, and many of them had evinced political ability; but their intriguing spirit, and their pernicious principles, gradually ruined their credit, and at length deprived them of the good opinion of mankind. The prince wished for a reform rather than an extinction of the society: but the former course was perhaps impracticable.

After the dissolution of this community in France¹, the parliaments of the realm zealously prosecuted their exertions for the repression of the tyranny of their misguided sovereign. That of Paris evinced great firmness, and supported the magistracy of Rennes, or the Breton parliament, in a contest which inflamed the zeal of party. Choiseul had encouraged the latter to attack his powerful adversary, the duke d'Aiguillon, who was accused by M. de la Chalotais and his son, of rapacity and other acts of delinquency, committed in his administration of Bretagne. The two accusers were sent to prison by the advice of the duke A.D. de la Vrillièrre, who, though a member of the cabinet, did 1765. not in this business concur with Choiseul. The king ordered three commissioners to take cognizance of the cause; but the Parisian magistracy so strongly remonstrated against the appointment of these delegates, whose characters were not the most honourable, that the commission was revoked, and the affair left to the decision of the parliament. That body being garbled, the remaining numbers disputed its competency, and the inquiry was suspended.

Amidst these occurrences, the dauphin, whose health had been for some years declining, died at the age of thirty-six years. His wife, a princess of the house of Saxony, who was unfriendly to the administration of Choiseul, did not survive him above fifteen months. The duke was accused by his enemies of having poisoned both these obnoxious personages; but it is unjust to suspect

¹ See Part II. Letter XXXVI.

him, upon mere surmise, of such infernal atrocity. Even those who disapproved his politics are not bound to give credit to such unsupported rumours¹.

A.D. 1766. The duke impaired his interest at court, and also injured his popularity, by his severe treatment of general Lally, the unfortunate antagonist of colonel Coote in India². This gentleman was the son of an emigrant Irish officer, and had distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy; but his ill success in the East, and, in particular, his supposed misconduct at Pondicherry, exposed him to the vehement censures of the French India company. He was tried by the parliament of Paris for having betrayed the interests of the king and the company, although Louis considered that court as an incompetent tribunal for the investigation of military concerns and affairs of state. Choiseul, having overruled the king's objections, procured the condemnation of the prisoner, not for any specific offence, but upon a general charge of criminal misconduct³. He was gagged at the place of execution, that he might not inveigh against his accusers, or expatiate on his innocence. As he had been guilty of extortion in India, three hundred thousand livres were deducted from the great mass of his property, and distributed among the poor inhabitants of Pondicherry⁴.

Louis accused Choiseul of having misled him to the ruin of

¹ M. Soulavie states the presumptions for and against these stories of *empoisonnement*; but he speaks so ambiguously in pretending to give his own opinion, that the reader of his *Mémoires* must judge for himself, without the benefit of this writer's sagacity.

² See Part II. Letter XXXIV.

³ The author of the historical part of the Annual Register (for 1766) affirms, that it was "a general accumulative charge, in which *treason* was comprehended:" what Voltaire properly observes, that the accusation was not intended to include what is denominated in England *high treason*, and in France *lese majesté*.

⁴ His son, Lally Tolendal, honoured the memory of the general by procuring, in the following reign, a reversal of the sentence.—The case of Lally, however, was less unjust than that of John Calas, a protestant of Toulouse, who was broken alive upon the wheel for the alleged murder of his own son. The parliament of Paris, in 1765, cancelled the process against him, on the full manifestation of his innocence. The exertions of Voltaire, in this case, greatly contributed to the exposure of the bigoted cruelty of the magistrates of Toulouse.

The Canadian cause may also be mentioned, as it excited extraordinary attention. Before the English reduced the province, loud complaints of embezzlement, extortion, and varied misconduct, had reached the French court; and, as the intendant, M. Bigot, was known to have acquired great wealth, not by the most correct practices, he was apprehended after his return to France, and confined in the Bastille. A committee of the Chatelet took cognizance of the charges, in which more than fifty individuals were implicated. Bigot, and two officers in different departments, were banished; but some were only reprimanded, and the public did not consider the punishments (including confiscation, to the amount of twelve millions of livres) as adequate to the offences, or sufficient to deter others from similar practices.

an officer who had served him with fidelity and zeal. He also suspected the duke of encouraging the parliaments to impugn his authority, and the philosophers to write against the established system of government; yet, for a long time, he had not the spirit to dismiss him into the obscurity of private life.

While he thus suffered a foreigner (for the duke was born in Lorraine before it became a French province) to sway him against his own feelings and his sense of propriety and policy, a prince of the same family was involved in great danger by his adoption of foreign counsels. Charles III., king of Spain, had conferred on the marquis de Squillacè, an Italian, the post of prime minister; and this nobleman, although he occasionally evinced sense and judgment, was sometimes impolitic, rash, and violent. The king had pleased his people by various regulations, apparently calculated for their benefit; but he did not always consult their feelings or their prejudices. By the advice of the marquis, he prohibited the use of flapped hats and long cloaks; and the edict was enforced with severity, as the disguise had frequently been perverted to mischievous purposes. A young man, dressed in the mode which the court disapproved, was stopped near the palace by a sentinel; and a dispute arose, Mar. 23. which soon became serious and alarming. A great number of persons, not all of the lowest rank, rushed to the spot; but when the soldiery fired, they were so far overawed as to retire. Joined by others, they made an attack upon the guard, obtained the advantage, and hastened to the house of the obnoxious minister. If they had found him, he probably would have fallen a victim to their fury. As he had escaped, they wreaked their vengeance on his house; and, after other outrages, dispersed at midnight. In the conflict with the troops, many were killed on both sides.

Not having obtained a redress of grievances, the rioters re-assembled on the following day, and marched toward the palace to intimate their wishes to the king. General O'Reilly proposed, that military coercion should be employed against such disloyal subjects; but Charles was unwilling to adopt the advice of the bold Hibernian. He patiently listened to a statement of the demands of the people, and even consented to the dismissal of Squillacè, to a repeal of the edict respecting dress¹, a reduction of the prices of bread and oil, and the revocation of a patent

¹ This ordinance was afterwards renewed, but not rigorously enforced. Many years elapsed before it was generally observed in the provinces.

granted for a monopoly of provisions. When he had thus pacified the rioters, he retired with his family to Aranjuez¹. They instantly concluded that he did not think himself safe in the capital; and, exclaiming that their fidelity was suspected, they sent a deputation, requesting his return. He replied, that the best means of accelerating his re-appearance in Madrid would be, the dispersion of all seditious assemblages, and the complete restoration of tranquillity and order. He gratified the people by appointing Don Miguel Mousquiz minister of the finances, and by declaring that he would not revoke the general pardon which he had granted: but he did not return to Madrid before eight months had elapsed from the riots. Disturbances had previously occurred in some of the American provinces of the Spanish empire, particularly in that of Quito; and the insurgents of Madrid, in their remonstrance to his majesty, attributed those commotions to the rash interference of Squillacè in the colonial administration.

The Portuguese could not so easily shake off the yoke of an unpopular minister. The count D'Oyeras, afterwards marquis De Pombal, had long enjoyed the entire confidence of his most faithful majesty; but, by his arbitrary and vindictive spirit, he had rendered himself odious to the nation. He ruled all classes with a rod of iron, and disregarded their hatred while he excited their fear. He might say, with the Roman tyrant, *Oderint dum metuant*. His abilities, however, were acknowledged by those who execrated his tyranny, and he has been compared with cardinal Richelieu by a French writer²; and, indeed, both these ministers were able statesmen, imperious masters, irreconcilable enemies; both were eloquent, both affected wit and literary knowledge; each patronised art and science, and encouraged the general interests of the kingdom.

One part of the count's system of reform was to annihilate, or greatly reduce, that influence which had nearly degraded Portugal into the station of a province of Great Britain. His pride was wounded by this humiliating consideration; and he was of opinion, that the country might flourish without being so closely connected with an heretical nation; he therefore paid little regard to the suggestions of the British minister at Lisbon, and

¹ According to Mr. Swinburne, he thought himself indebted to O'Reilly for his life on this occasion. The general "rode into the crowd of rioters, and shot a fellow dead who had taken up a stone and was going to throw it at the king." *Travels through Spain*.

² Dumouriez, who was sent by the duke De Choiseul to examine the state of the Portuguese realm.

took every opportunity of encroaching on the commercial privileges of our countrymen. He erected new companies, to which he gave an exclusive right over those branches of trade which had hitherto been free. He enacted new regulations, inconsistent with the stipulations of treaties. He encouraged various manufactures, that the demand for English goods might be lessened; destroyed a number of vineyards, that the land might produce corn; and promoted commerce with France, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark¹.

The enmity borne to the Jesuits by this minister and the duke De Choiseul, now began to influence the Spanish cabinet. Some emissaries of that intriguing order were suspected of having instigated the people to the late insurrection at Madrid: but, as the king was not an advocate for clerical or monastic power, and thought, with other princes, that the Jesuits had subsisted too long, he would probably have acted against them even if they had been innocent of that charge. Having formed an intention of seizing their ample property and banishing their persons, he gave secret orders to the count D'Aranda for the execu- A.D.
tion of a bold scheme, which, if attempted in the pre- 1767.
ceding century, might have shaken the foundations of his throne. At night, six houses of Jesuits in Madrid were surrounded by military detachments; and the unfortunate occupants, roused from sleep, were commanded to prepare for a journey to the coast. They quietly submitted to the mandate, and were escorted to Carthagena: and, in other towns, similar violence was exercised. Then appeared "the pragmatic sanction of his April 2.
majesty, for the banishment of the regulars of the company from Spain and the Indies, and the confiscation of their temporalities." Pensions for life were promised to all, except such members as were not Spaniards by birth. Many were conveyed to Corsica, and others found refuge in the pope's dominions. As soon as the royal will was known in the provinces of Mexico and Peru, the Jesuits were seized without tumult; and in Paraguay, where they had long maintained an almost independent empire, by the extraordinary influence which they had acquired over the natives, they were suddenly deprived of all power, and shipped off for Europe.

By the influence of his catholic majesty, the Jesuits were, in the course of the same year, expelled from Naples and Sicily,

¹ Etat actuel du Royaume de Portugal (en 1766), par Dumouriez.—Voyage du ci-devant Duc du Chatelet en Portugal, augmenté de Notes par Bourgoing, tome i.

and sent into the papal territories. His holiness warmly remonstrated against the conduct of the Neapolitan government ; but no more regard was paid to his memorial in this case, than to a brief which he soon after issued against Ferdinand duke of Parma.—These incidents call our attention to the affairs of Italy.

That country, from the time of the ancient Romans to the present moment, has been an interesting object of notice to the rest of Europe. You have some recollection, my dear son, of its early history ; and you are not unacquainted with the chief occurrences of the ages which succeeded the fall of the Roman empire. The remarkable incidents of the first eleven years from the treaty of Paris, of which an Italian prince was the mediator, are not very numerous : but they are calculated to excite various reflections, and exercise the speculative faculties.

Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, had observed a strict neutrality during the war ; and his pacific disposition and patriotic virtues, while other princes were wasting their resources, contributed to promote the prosperity of his dominions. He retained arbitrary power ; but he exercised it with moderation, and tempered it by a regard to justice. He devoted a part of every day to an investigation of the complaints of all ranks of people, and vigilantly inspected every department of the administration. Not forgetful of his territorial rights, he applied to the courts of France and Spain for a confirmation of that article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which granted him a reversionary title to Placentia. He obtained their guarantee soon after the peace of 1763 ; and they sent to the town-house of Turin a sum of money, the interest of which was equivalent to the ordinary revenues of the promised territory.

The Milanese and Mantuan provinces were governed by Austrian delegates, under whom those countries flourished in an equal degree with most of the Italian states or principalities ; but the people did not enjoy the blessings of liberty. The trade of Milan was gradually augmented, and the useful arts were cultivated with success. Attentive also to the advancement of the polite arts and general learning, Maria-Theresa founded in that city, in 1764, an academy for sculpture and architecture, and, two years afterwards, an university.

The archduke Ferdinand, being appointed by the empress to the government of the Milanese, acted in his high station with prudence and humanity. He testified a regard for justice, a spirit of philanthropy and beneficence. When the province

presented him with a sum of money, amounting to 52,500 pounds sterling, on his marriage with the princess of Modena, he consented to accept it only with a view of employing it in the reparation of roads and construction of canals, instead of devoting it (as many princes would have done) to the purposes of luxury and ostentation. He abolished an unjust law, which deprived of the right of succession to the property of relatives, every woman who gave her hand to an inhabitant of another province, or even of another town. On a stated day in every week, he gave audience to all who approached him, and complied with such requests as appeared to be reasonable. He farther gratified the people by the suppression of a formidable tribunal, which propagated hypocrisy rather than true religion, and formerly exercised the most horrible cruelties. You may readily conclude that I mean the Inquisition¹.

The republic of Venice, declining in power, yet maintained an appearance of respectability. Its rulers studiously avoided the miseries of war, and endeavoured, by alleviating the rigours of despotism, to render peace more productive, than it had formerly been, of comfort and happiness. There was some danger, in 1767, of an interruption of this tranquillity; for, beside a rupture with the dey of Algiers, (which, however, soon gave way to a renewal of peace,) an insurrection on the borders of Dalmatia excited alarm. An adventurer, of the name of Stephano, formed a strong party among the Montenegrins, and was encouraged by the monks of the Greek church to assume the designation of the czar Peter III. He subjected to his sway some villages in the Venetian part of Dalmatia, and in the Turkish portion of Albania. Troops were sent to Cataro to check the insurgents, who soon retired from the Venetian territories: but it required the efforts of a numerous Turkish army, headed by the pasha of Bosnia, to subdue the Montenegrins. A mountainous A.D. 1768. fortress was defended against repeated assaults, and a fortified monastery was also attacked in vain; but both were at length reduced, after a great loss of men on each side. Stephano retired among the mountains, and peace was restored, in consequence of the submission of the Montenegrins to the Turkish claim of vassalage.

The Venetian senate concurred with the duke of Parma, and other Italian princes, in restraining the papal power. The duke,

¹ Annales du Règne de Marie-Thérèse, par l'Abbé Fromageot.

having requested Clement XIII.¹ to abridge the exorbitant privileges of the clergy, was so incensed at the pontiff's refusal, that he prohibited appeals to Rome, declared all bulls or briefs from the pope null and nugatory, and ordered that all ecclesiastical dignities in his dominions should be enjoyed only by his own subjects. Clement, who was a friend to the Jesuits, and a strenuous advocate for the supremacy of the church, condemned by a brief the duke's *pragmatic sanction*, and, representing the clergy as exempt from laic or temporal jurisdiction, threatened to excommunicate that prince and all his advisers and abettors. The duke enforced his edict, and still farther defied the pope by expelling the Jesuits from the duchy, and dissolving the society. His cousin Ferdinand, encouraged by the marquis of Tanucci, whom the king of Spain (when he resigned the crown of Naples) had left at the head of the administration, applauded the duke's regulations, protested against the Romish brief, and sent troops to deprive Clement of Benevento and Ponte-Corvo. The French and Spanish monarchs also desired the pontiff to revoke his brief, as it militated against the rights of sovereigns. His holiness disregarded their solicitations, and asserted the supposed rights of the church. The court of Lisbon sent a minister to Rome, to join the representatives of the allied crowns in their remonstrances; but neither the wishes of his most faithful majesty, nor the expostulations of the Venetian envoy, shook the firmness of Rezzonico. He did not trust to temporal but to spiritual arms; yet, when the duke of Modena, not content with attacking him in point of jurisdiction, threatened to seize the duchy of Ferrara on pretence of an old claim, the militia of the ecclesiastical state were embodied and disciplined.

Tanucci stimulated the king of Naples to assail with vigour the pope and the clergy. The nuncio was stripped of his power, the privileges of churchmen were diminished, and the smaller monasteries were suppressed. Troops were at the same time assembled, for the declared purpose of putting Ferdinand in possession of the duchies of Castro and Ronciglione; but this menace was not executed.

The pope's perseverance in his spiritual warfare subjected him to the serious effects of the displeasure of his most Christian majesty. Avignon and the whole Venaissin territory, governed in the pope's name by a vice-legate, who had scarcely any means

¹ Rezzonico, a noble Venetian, who had filled the see of Padua with reputation.

of defence, were seized by a body of French, and retained in defiance of all the remonstrances of his holiness. He solicited the mediation of Maria-Theresa, a more devout catholic than the princes who had attacked his prerogatives; but he derived no benefit from the application. His mental uneasiness impaired his health; and the cardinals were already looking out for a successor to the harassed pontiff.

His Sardinian majesty did not join in the profane assaults upon the spiritual power. He comforted the pope with assurances of his regard and submission, and exhorted him not to despair. Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, was less devoted to the holy see than Charles Emanuel. The government of the young duke was distinguished by a general spirit of reform. He abridged the power of the nobles and the clergy; suppressed the privilege of asylum, which operated as an encouragement to crimes; improved the administration of justice; abolished oppressive taxes; diminished the number of troops, and destroyed unnecessary fortifications; removed commercial restrictions; and corrected inveterate abuses in every department of the state. It was affirmed, that some of his regulations were minute and vexatious; but it was allowed, both by natives and foreigners, that he was a beneficent prince, and a friend to his people. While he filled the ducal throne, Tuscany was the best governed country in Italy; and, if his subjects were not the happiest in the peninsula, they were not sufficiently sensible of the comforts which they enjoyed. This was not his fault; for he promoted with anxious zeal their interest and welfare.

During the contest with the pope, the king of France, being indebted to the Genoese, and looking forward to the eventual conquest of an island which had in early times belonged to the French, consented to assist the republic by securing the fortified towns with seven battalions for four years, without acting offensively against the Corsicans, who, under the command and direction of Pascal Paoli, held the city of Corté, and the greater part of the country, on an independent basis. A general council being convoked, it was resolved by the natives, that all commerce with the intruders should be prohibited, and that no peace should be concluded with the republic on terms inconsistent with the liberty and independence of the island. The four years had not expired, when a body of Corsicans made a descent on Capraia, a neighbouring isle, and subdued it with little difficulty. At the end of the limited period, a new treaty was signed, by which the Genoese ceded their insular kingdom to the French, who engaged

to pay for the artillery and all military stores, and to protect the commerce of the former against the violence of pirates. The people, disdaining to be quietly transferred like cattle to new masters, resolved to defend themselves; and a spirited campaign ensued. A considerable army being transported from France, encampments were formed at Bastia and San Fiorenzo. The invaders, by forcing some posts which the armed natives occupied, opened a communication between the camps. Frequent actions occurred, which were attended with great loss on both sides. The arrival of the marquis De Chauvelin, as commander-in-chief, did not intimidate the islanders; nor did the promises of good government, announced in a royal proclamation signed by Choiseul, soothe them into submission.

At Borgo di Mariana, a remarkable contest took place. The Corsicans approached the town in the evening, and, amidst a furious fire, completed their lines of circumvallation. Chauvelin, eager to relieve the garrison, reconnoitred the lines, and hoped so to enclose the islanders, as to ensure the destruction of the whole party. But Paoli was not so negligent as to suffer this scheme to be successful. He sent a corps to watch the motions of M. De Grande-Maisons, who, while he was advancing to co-operate with the marquis, was so fiercely assailed, that he was obliged to retreat with precipitation. Chauvelin passed a whole day in skirmishes, and the next morning attacked the lines. He forced them in various parts, but received such a galling fire from the houses in which the Corsicans had posted themselves, that he ordered his men to desist. At noon, he renewed the assault without effect. A third attack being likewise fruitless, the commandant surrendered the town. About 1800 of the French were killed, wounded, or captured, on this occasion; and disease also thinned their number.

A. D. 1769. The ensuing campaign was more decisive. The islanders continued to fight with courage; but it could not be expected that they would be able long to withstand the increasing numbers of the enemy. Choiseul, eager to complete the conquest, augmented the French army in Corsica to 30,000 men, and sent the count De Vaux, on whose determined spirit he thought he could better depend than on the less sanguine zeal of the marquis De Chauvelin. He might have been discouraged, if the British court had taken an active part in the war; but the duke of Grafton attended more to internal affairs than to external politics.

The new commander-in-chief incessantly harassed the unfor-

tunate Corsicans, and obtained an important victory near Rostino. French emissaries were at the same time employed in seducing the chieftains from the common cause ; and, as their persuasions were in some instances aided by pecuniary offers, the effect was fatal to the liberty of the island.

After the reduction of the city of Corté, which was not defended with the requisite spirit, Paoli, having scarcely five hundred men under his immediate command, and being in danger of destruction or captivity, exhorted his troops either to cut their way through the ranks of the enemy, and escape to the sea-side, or die gloriously on the spot where they were nearly surrounded. They boldly attacked the invaders, and the greater part retired in safety. Paoli embarked, and reached Leghorn ; and the emigration of many of his countrymen testified their strong disinclination to the French yoke. Those who remained were obliged to submit to the dominion of Louis ; but some years elapsed, and much blood was shed in a desultory war among the mountains, before the island was fully subdued. A new council, subject to the parliament of Provence, was formed ; and other arrangements, calculated to render the island an useful appendage to the French monarchy, were ordered by the sovereign.

The internal state of France was at this time calamitous. The East India company, which had been long declining, found itself unable to avoid bankruptcy ; and a great number of private failures distressed the nation. The prodigality of the court led to a financial breach of faith, injurious to public credit ; and, from the decay of trade, a general poverty prevailed.

The king had lived for some years without an acknowledged mistress. He had, indeed, expressed an intention of relinquishing his habits of incontinence : but such ideas of reform were momentary. He continued to gratify his licentious appetite with women of the court, wives of tradesmen, or girls of low birth ; but they were soon dismissed, and had no influence over him in politics. His *valet de chambre* at length found an attractive object in the person of Mademoiselle l'Ange, who, though meanly born and ill-bred, and nursed as it were in prostitution, fascinated by her beauty the weak monarch, and enslaved him for the rest of his life. He ordered her to be married, *pro forma*, to the brother of one of her paramours, who styled himself the count Du Barri ; and he resolved, in defiance of decency and of all hints or remonstrances, that she should be introduced at court with the usual etiquette. The duchess of Grammont, sister to the duke De Choiseul, had conceived the hope of being mistress to

the king: but her advances being neglected, and the young countess preferred, she felt emotions of keen resentment. The duke, considering his power as too firmly established to be shaken by this new attachment, disdained to court the favourite, and opposed her growing influence by occasional insinuations in the ear of his sovereign. An old lady, however, was bribed to present her; and all who wished to continue in the king's good graces then began to take notice of her. The chancellor Maupeou, more attentive to his own interest than to honour, morality, or patriotism, became meanly obsequious to the profligate mistress, whom he suffered to control his ministerial operations, and pervert his public conduct. He neglected his benefactor Choiseul, and connected himself with the duke D'Aiguillon, who likewise regulated his destiny by an observance of the new planet that glittered in the political horizon¹.

The maladministration of Bretagne by the duke D'Aiguillon, who had acted more like a Turkish pasha than a French governor, had excited such indignation among the provincials, that, if he had not been removed from the government, an open insurrection would probably have taken place. His adversaries Messieurs de la Chalotais, were in danger of suffering death by an illegal sentence; but Choiseul prevailed on the king to relinquish all thoughts of sanguinary violence; and, by letters patent, the affair was declared to be at an end. The two magistrates, however, were not reinstated in their functions, but were subjected to a state of partial exile, although his majesty admitted that their honour was unquestioned. They repeatedly demanded a regular justification; and the states of the province, in a spirited memo-

A. D. 1770. rial, recommended a renewal of inquiry. Louis at length consented to a solemn adjudication of the dispute in the court of peers. The proceedings served to amuse him, until the marriage of his eldest grandson seemed preferably to require his attention.

In pursuance of his favourite system of connecting the courts of Versailles and Vienna by the closest ties, Choiseul had projected a matrimonial union between Louis, son of the deceased dauphin, and Marie-Antoinette, daughter of the empress dowager. He was sensible of the decline of his interest at court, and imagined that a dauphiness, indebted to him for her elevation, would prove to him a strong support. When he was introduced to her at Compeigne, she thanked him for his attention to her

¹ La Vie Privée de Louis XV.

happiness, and requested him to continue his kindness by assisting her youth and inexperience with his sage advice. The most splendid preparations were made for the reception and marriage of the Austrian princess; and large sums were lavished, which might have been better employed in the purchase of corn for the starving poor. But no feelings of humanity touched the heart of the prodigal and profligate Louis. A succession of entertainments, festivities, and spectacles, amused the court, and enlivened conversation; and even a fatal accident, which occurred at the exhibition of fire-works given by the corporation of Paris, did not make a serious impression upon a thoughtless and volatile people. In a street leading to the *Boulevards* or ramparts, where May an illumination was to conclude the public amusements of 30. the day, the unevenness of the ground, various obstructions, and the bustle intentionally promoted by intruding depredators, produced, amidst the conflux of people, such a scene of confusion, that many fell and were trampled to death, while some expired as they stood, and others were bruised, maimed, or wounded by the fury of such as were struggling to rise. About one hundred and thirty persons were taken up lifeless, and a much greater number afterwards died of the effects of the collision and pressure¹.

After a series of diversions, Louis gratified the dauphiness with a display of the arbitrary power of a French monarch. He held a bed of justice with the usual pomp, and ordered an annulment of all the proceedings either for or against the duke June D'Aiguillon, imposing upon every one an absolute silence 27. respecting the troubles of Bretagne. The parliament, disgusted at the king's conduct, declared before the princes and peers, that an accused person could not legally be justified in such a mode; and, in a subsequent meeting, suspended the duke from all the functions of the peerage. The chancellor was so enraged at the boldness of the magistracy, that he tore in pieces the authenticated vote of the decree. Louis, who had already entertained the duke at Marli as a friend, cancelled the offensive act, and defied the spirited remonstrances of the parliament.

The rivalry and animosity between the duke De Choiseul and Maupeou now rose to so great a height, that both could not expect to remain in power. The mistress (Madame du Barri)

¹ *La Vie Privée de Louis XV.*—It is affirmed in that work, that the whole loss amounted to 1100 or more; but this is probably an exaggeration.—Soulavie absurdly pretends, that this catastrophe was a massacre, perpetrated by the enemies of the Austrian alliance.

importuned the king to discard a minister who systematically encouraged the contumacy of the parliaments, and who was even endeavouring to plunge the nation into a new war. The latter charge related to those intrigues which produced hostilities against the English at the Falkland islands, and also to an intention of acting against our India company. Choiseul exerted all his efforts for the recovery of his credit; but the fabric of his power evidently tottered to its foundation.

The parliament of Paris, enraged at the escape of the duke D'Aiguillon from the punishment which he merited, continued to take notice of the affair, notwithstanding the royal prohibition. Some of the provincial parliaments also stigmatized the duke's conduct. The duchess De Grammont was accused by the chancellor's party of having encouraged the magistrates thus to act; and the countess, by inveighing against this seditious boldness, procured from the king, when heated with wine, an order for the dismissal of Choiseul; which, the next morning, he revoked. An arbitrary edict (for rendering all the courts absolutely passive

and subservient to the king's will) being strongly opposed by the parliament, a bed of justice was holden for the purpose of enforcing its registration. Perceiving the duke D'Aiguillon seated among the peers, the magistrates protested against this violation of their late decree, and, with a reference also to the new edict, declared that they could not, while their feelings were thus wounded, continue their functions. Louis commanded them to submit to his pleasure: they repeatedly refused to act¹.

The irritation of this contest decided the political fate of Choiseul. His majesty sent the duke De la Vrillière with a letter to

Dec. the minister, desiring him to retire to his seat at Chan-
24. teloup within twenty-four hours. The duke De Praslin was at the same time dismissed from the naval department. The general odium, under which Maupeou and D'Aiguillon laboured, gave an air of triumph to Choiseul's disgrace. His departure was attended with popular acclamations: his faults were forgotten; and persons of every class seemed ready to acknowledge his services.

At the time of his dismissal, the duke was minister for foreign affairs, secretary at war, and postmaster-general. These offices he was ordered to relinquish, and he voluntarily resigned

¹ La Vie Privée de Louis XV.

the command of the Swiss guards, which had been conferred upon him for life. He was bold, ambitious, and enterprising; quick in conception, and eloquent in persuasion; eager to aggrandize France, even in defiance of justice and humanity; prodigal in his administration, and not sufficiently regardful of the accommodation or welfare of the people. In one of his schemes he proved himself to be a short-sighted politician; for by instigating the Porte to a war with Russia, he only (as the count De Vergennes predicted) rendered more powerful the princess whom he wished to humble. His Corsican project was not the offspring either of justice or of profound wisdom; and the advantages of the union with Austria were at least problematical.

The despotic edict was still resisted by the magistrates, A. D. who were particularly scandalized at its preamble, which 1771. accused them of being decidedly hostile to the constitutional rights of the crown. In consequence of a delusive promise from Maupeou, of withdrawing the edict, they resumed their functions: but, when it was disavowed by the king, their peremptory refusal of confirming the ordinance exposed them to his violent resentment. They were deprived of their employments, which they had purchased with considerable sums, and banished Jan. by *lettres de cachet* to different parts of the country¹. 21.

To supply the deficiency in point of judicature occasioned by this unjustifiable act of power, the chancellor proposed, that the new parliament of Paris should consist of seventy members, to be nominated and pensioned by the sovereign, and that six councils should also be formed, to be holden at Arras, Blois, Châlons, Clermont, Lyons, and Poitiers. This plan was sanctioned by his majesty, registered by the council of state, and ordered to be carried into effect against the general wish of the nation. Maupeou alleged that the administration of justice would become gratuitous, and more impartial, in consequence of the new arrangements; that causes would be sooner determined; that corruption and venality would be banished; that the spirit of faction would be repressed, and that the effect would be highly advantageous to the public and to individuals.

Many of the regular parliaments remonstrated against these illegal proceedings; and the princes of the royal blood loudly joined in the clamour. The latter sent to the king a formal protest against the conduct of the chancellor and all the acts of the

¹ La Vie Privée de Louis XV.—Journal Historique de la Révolution opérée (dans la Constitution de la Monarchie Française) par M. de Maupeou, Chancelier de France: tome i.

pretended tribunals. His majesty reprehended their insubmissive behaviour, and prohibited them from appearing within the verge of the court. So many of the nominated members of the new parliament and councils objected to the disgraceful appointment, that it was difficult to prevail on a sufficient number of persons of respectability to belong to the courtly assemblies.

To pave the way for the execution of the chancellor's system, April Louis held a bed of justice, and commanded the registration of three edicts; one for the abolition of the former Parisian parliament, another for the suppression of the court of aids, and one for the formation of the new parliament. He forbade all discussion that might lead to a remonstrance, and declared in a peremptory tone, that he would never alter his determination. The ordinances were irregularly confirmed, and the murmurs of the people were disregarded by the despot.

The duke D'Aiguillon, who had for some months been a courtier without office, was at length appointed secretary of state for the foreign department. This nobleman, the chancellor, and the abbé Terrai, had the chief influence at court, in concert with the countess Du Barri; and more unpopular men could not easily be found in the kingdom. They ridiculed the idea of an original contract between the executive magistrate and the people, and maintained that the king, holding his crown from God alone, was not accountable for his administration to those whom he governed. Prostitute writers defended this doctrine; but those who took up the pen on the opposite side argued in a more rational and convincing manner.

While this literary war subsisted, edicts for the suppression of other parliaments were carried into effect. At Besançon the duke De Randan intimated, to those members who disapproved the new ordinances, the royal command for their confinement in their country-houses; and the chevalier Du Muy enforced the dissolution at Douai. At Bourdeaux, the maréchal De Richelieu executed the same act of despotism: the count De Perigord acted at Toulouse, the duke D'Harcourt at Rouen, the count De Rochechouart at Aix. These and other suppressions, that of Paris included, were attended with the exile of about seven hundred magistrates; and, to provide for the support of their successors, and the pretendedly gratuitous administration of justice, new and heavy taxes were imposed¹.

¹ Journal Historique, tome ii.

The new fabric, not being supported by the strength of public opinion, was not expected to be durable. Maupeou, conscious of its weakness, was indefatigable in his endeavours to consolidate and establish it. He courted the banished magistrates to enter into his views, and offered the repayment of the money with which they had purchased their appointments. A considerable number accepted the offer; but the mode in which the agreement was adjusted did not prove altogether satisfactory; for a receipt was demanded as if cash had been delivered, and a bond was then given for the particular sum, as if each magistrate had recently lent it to the king. The pretended reimbursement, therefore, was the creation of a new debt¹.

A perfect harmony did not reign among the ministers. The marquis De Monteynard, director of the war department, was thwarted in his schemes by the financier Terrai; and the duke D'Aiguillon endeavoured to find a plausible pretence for his removal, that he himself might have the sole management of military affairs, and enjoy the great patronage arising from that branch of the public service. The chancellor was not on the most amicable terms with M. De Boynes, who superintended naval affairs. The duke De la Vrillière had been so long in office, that Louis had contracted an habitual attachment to him; and he was suffered to remain, although some of his associates aimed at his expulsion. Maupeou strengthened his interest by affecting a regard for religion. He thus insinuated himself into the favour of the king's daughter Louisa, a Carmelite nun, who was at once a devotee and a politician. By her interest he hoped so far to maintain the balance of power, as to prevent the countess Du Barri and M. D'Aiguillon from procuring his dismissal².

The duke did not exert himself with regard to the general affairs of Europe, so as to obtain that influence which Choiseul had possessed in foreign courts. He assisted the king of Sweden, however, in the subjugation of the aristocratic party, by employing in that service the intriguing address of the count de Vergennes. Of the dismemberment of Poland he had little previous intelligence; and he supinely suffered the three combined powers to plunder and oppress a defenceless nation. Louis reproached the minister for his negligence, and exclaimed, "If Choiseul had been still in the cabinet, this disgraceful partition might have been prevented." The French ambassador at

¹ Journal Historique, tome ii.

² La Vie Privée de Louis XV.

Vienna was prince Louis, afterwards cardinal De Rohan (a creature of madame Du Barri), whose supposed inattention to the politics of the day, and imputed want of penetration, exposed him to public ridicule and censure. It is said, however, that the king had early and distinct information upon the subject.

A sanction which the chancellor had long wished for his plan of government was afforded by the versatility of the princes of the blood, who, seduced by his persuasions or those of the duke, were reconciled to the court. The prince of Condé, and his son the duke of Bourbon, led the way on this occasion; the dukes of Orléans and Chartres followed. The dauphin did not interfere in the national business, or in the contests of party. This prince, when he appeared in public, was usually received with loud acclamations. He was hailed as *Louis le Désiré*,—a severe satire on the reigning prince!

Among the reproaches which were lavished upon the ministers, one in particular was less merited than others. It was alleged that they had an intention of re-establishing the order of the Jesuits in France. The duke D'Aiguillon certainly favoured the members of that fraternity: but it was chiefly because they had been strongly opposed by the different parliaments. He had no thought of restoring the order; and the French minister at Rome received instructions from the cabinet to promote the total extinction of the society. The pontiff to whom application was now made for this purpose was not the bigotted Rezzonico, but the prudent and moderate Ganganelli.

Clement XIII. died¹ while the great dispute subsisted on the extent of ecclesiastical power. The papal chair remained vacant above three months, from the difficulty of choice in a time of confusion. At length, the French and Spanish interest procured a majority of votes for Francis Laurence Ganganelli, a man of talents and respectability. He assumed the designation of Clement XIV., as the last pontiff had created him a cardinal. His elevation gave general joy; and he prepared with alacrity for the due discharge of his new functions². He hoped to appease the courts which were embroiled with that of Rome, without derogating from the rights of the holy see.

His first endeavours were directed to a reconciliation with

¹ In February, 1769.

² A Venetian lady, writing to a friend on the subject, thus pompously expressed herself: *Allora tutto il mondo era infervorato, e si credeva che il secolo d'oro ricominciava*. "Then all the world seemed to be transported, and it was imagined that the golden age was going to re-commence."

Portugal. A nuncio was re-admitted at Lisbon ; and the pope's overtures were favourably received by the king. To his most Christian majesty he sent a letter, intimating that, as he was only the administrator of the domains of the see of Rome, he could not lawfully cede Avignon, or any other portion of the ecclesiastical territories ; and that he could not so far yield to the clamours against the Jesuits as to condemn them unheard, but would call a general council to decide the question, whether it would be prudent to continue, or proper to suppress that society. With regard to the duke of Parma, he suspended the effects of the brief which had been promulgated against him, and promised to do him justice. He addressed other princes in a tone of dignified moderation, conciliatory without meanness.

For the cession of the Venaissin, Louis offered to pay six millions of livres ; and it was intimated to the pope that a refusal would be resented. A speedy decision was also desired on the subject of the Jesuitical order : but Ganganelli delayed, above four years, the determination of the important question. After long deliberation in his own mind, and frequent consultations with intelligent individuals, he was disposed to gratify the adversaries of the society. Having prepared the bull of dissolution, the pontiff submitted it to the inspection of the most learned A. D. and enlightened theologians, and sent copies of it to the 1773. majority of the European princes, that he might have their advice for its improvement. When he had received their answer, he still hesitated ; but he at length resolved to put an end to a society which had excited general odium. Alleging the decline of that utility which had once attended the existence of the order, referring to that restless spirit of political intrigue which influenced its members, and lamenting the effects of their pernicious doctrines, he signed and promulgated the memorable edict of July suppression. Malvezzi, archbishop of Bologna, enforced 21. the bull with zeal in his diocese, and other prelates were not slow in secularizing the obnoxious fraternity. All the colleges and seminaries of the Jesuits were seized, and their revenues confiscated ; but pensions were allowed to them, that they might not be reduced to absolute poverty. Ricci, the general of the order, was required to sign circular letters, addressed to the missionaries and dispersed members of the society, intimating that the company had been suppressed with the consent of all the catholic princes, and that it was their duty to obey the bishops of the different dioceses in which they were then resident. He

was very reserved when interrogated with regard to the affairs and the property of the society; and the wealth discovered proved much less considerable than the public supposed it to be¹.

As the Jesuits had been distinguished by their success in the instruction of youth, their places were not easily supplied. Clement, by his advice and authority, laboured to remedy the deficiency. He framed a judicious plan of education, and made diligent search for ecclesiastics and other persons capable of carrying it into effect. New schools were opened; and the universities, particularly that of Ferrara, were improved by new regulations.

The courts which had been hostile to the pope were now reconciled to him. The territories of the church were restored, and Rome was magnificently illuminated on this joyful occasion. Great discontent, however, was excited among the high-churchmen, in Italy and other catholic countries, by the suppression of an order peculiarly devoted to the see of Rome.

Although the king of Naples accommodated his territorial disputes with the court of Rome, he was not willing to relinquish his purpose of acting as head of the church in his own dominions. Nor was he unmindful of reform in affairs of state. He rendered the administration more regular, suppressed some abuses, and improved both his army and navy. His government, however, was too arbitrary, and not sufficiently subject to the control of law. In the island of Sicily he was less popular than in the kingdom of Naples; and, at Palermo, an insurrection harassed his official representative. The causes of the disturbance may thus be traced. The prætor or chief municipal magistrate, in the year 1771, was the prince of Cassaro, who so conducted himself in his public character as to be praised for justice and impartiality, and also acquired popularity by his private virtues. When a great advance in the price of corn was apprehended, the senate of Palermo resolved to purchase a considerable quantity for the use of the inhabitants, before it was enhanced; and, with that view, applied to the marquis de Fogliani, the viceroy, for the loan of a sum of money remaining in the treasury out of the produce of the confiscated property of the Jesuits. The marquis having rejected the application, the prætor borrowed money, and purchased corn at his own risk for general consumption. The

¹ Vie du Pape Clément XIV. par Caraccioli.

people applauded his conduct, and called him their benefactor and their father. He was highly gratified with their good opinion; but the infirm and disordered state of his person prevented him from enjoying his popularity without alloy. He was particularly harassed with the stone, and the viceroy's surgeon extracted the morbid *calculus*; but the painful operation gave the patient so severe a shock, that he did not long survive it. When he was in danger, images of saints and holy reliques were carried in solemn procession to the senate-house, where the populace with tears implored the intercession of the celestial host for his recovery; and multitudes repaired to the shrine of St. Rosalia, to offer up fervent prayers for his safety. As soon as his death was announced, grief was first manifested; but it was quickly followed by clamour and outrage. Exasperated at the conduct of monopolists, who were supposed to have produced, by their selfish arts, the inordinate augmentation of the price of bread and other necessaries of life, the people accused the viceroy of having entered into a combination with the nobility and the rich citizens to starve the poor; and it was even pretended, that he had suborned his surgeon to take away the life of Cassaro. Hence arose, in September, 1773, an alarming riot¹.

The populace opened the prisons, and having released all who were confined, set fire to the buildings. Two pieces of cannon were seized by the rioters, and loaded with old iron and glass; and the great number and firm front of the malcontents, and perhaps an opinion of the reasonable nature of their complaints, induced a regiment of horse-guards to be wholly passive on the occasion, rather than active in the enforcement of submission. The archbishop of Palermo, and some popular noblemen, expostulated with the leaders for some time without effect; but when they were assured that the viceroy would comply with their wishes for his departure, and that the prelate would act as governor until the king's pleasure should be known, they expressed their satisfaction, and retired in peace.

A subsequent report of an order from the viceroy for assembling troops, and manning the fortifications, revived the fury of the people. They took possession of the works and the gates without the least opposition from the soldiery, and then attacked the houses of some monopolists and favourites of the marquis, whose furniture they threw into fires, kindled in the streets. One of the rioters having secreted some valuable articles, suffered

¹ Swinburne's *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, vol. iii. sect. 27.

death on the spot, from the summary justice of his more honourable associates¹.

Proceeding to the palace, the mob searched for the viceroy, who, being rescued from personal injury by the friendly courage of a young nobleman, was attended by the archbishop to the seaside, amidst the execrations of the rabble, and embarked for Cefalu. The prelate then entered upon the administration, and sent deputies to Naples, to solicit a redress of grievances and a general pardon. As the king, however, was not disposed to accede to the demands of the rioters, they continued to disturb the peace of the city, and made choice of a low mechanic for their viceroy, who soon exercised his illegal power in the commitment of many friends of the court to prison. The *maestranza*, or association of tradesmen, disgusted at this arrogance and licentiousness, resolved to oppose the insurgents; and a conflict, not wholly bloodless, tended to check the career of the populace. Some of the leaders were now put to death by the magistrates, and order was in a great measure restored. The viceroy resumed his authority, but kept his court at Messina. Count Corafa was invested with the chief command of the Sicilian forces, in preference to the prince of Villa Franca, whose appointment was desired by the people. Two battalions were sent to Palermo, to prevent the revival of sedition; and this state of affairs continued until the

A. D. summer of the following year, when a complete amnesty
1774. was granted, a less obnoxious viceroy appointed, and the prince permitted to supersede Corafa.

The discontent in France did not, as in Sicily, produce an insurrection. The people still complained of misgovernment and oppression; but a dread of the power of the court kept them in a state of submission. Cabals continued to agitate the cabinet. The marquis de Monteynard was at length discarded, and the duke d'Aiguillon seized the vacant employment. The chancellor began to tremble; but he had the address to maintain himself in power.

A disgraceful reign at length approached its close. The contagion of the small-pox infected the royal person, and aggravated the ill effects of dissipation and libertinism. When the king's life was perceived to be in great danger, a dispute arose among the courtiers whether he should be suffered to receive the sacraments of the church, which could not be canonically administered before the dismissal of his concubine Du Barri. This lady, to

¹ Swinburne, vol. iii.—Annual Register, vol. xvi.

prevent or retard the stigma, desired the physicians to keep the king uninformed of his danger ; but such concealment was found impracticable : and Louis, reminding her that he was the oldest son of the church, expressed a desire of dying like a Christian, if the Almighty should not restore him to health. He ordered her to be privately conducted to the seat of the duke d'Aiguillon ; and then, having confessed his sins, received the *viaticum*. Attended by two of his daughters with affectionate anxiety, he gradually witnessed the approach of death. Even before he expired, the concurrence of two inflammatory diseases had nearly reduced his frame to a state of putrefaction. He died in the sixty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-eight years. Louis, the dauphin, now ascended the throne, with May 10. the general joy of the nation. The deceased prince left two other grandsons,—the count de Provence, and the count d'Artois, each of whom had espoused a daughter of Victor Amadeus III., king of Sardinia¹.

The pontiff, who owed his election chiefly to the recommendation of Louis, did not long survive his royal patron. A Jubilee had been announced by Ganganelli for the year 1775 ; but it was a current prophecy, that he would not live to officiate at the solemnity. He was certainly apprehensive of danger from the animosity of the ex-Jesuits and their numerous partisans ; but it cannot be affirmed with historic truth, that poison was administered to him². He laboured under a lingering disorder, which is said to have originally proceeded from a suppression of urine ; and he died in the sixty-ninth year of his age ; lamented by those who were acquainted with his private Sept. 21. virtues and his modest worth. He was liberal in his ideas, free from pride and arrogance, and unwilling to exercise either spiritual or temporal tyranny. His edict against the Jesuits did not arise from an oppressive spirit, but from his sense of the expediency of suppressing a pernicious society. As he was not blind to all the errors of the Romish system, he was sometimes called the *Protestant Pope*.

It was the wish of the majority of the cardinals to fill the papal chair with a prelate more devoted than Ganganelli to the high claims of the church ; but the difficulty of determining the choice

¹ This prince, in 1773, succeeded the venerable Charles Emanuel.

² If he had been poisoned, the French and Spanish ministers, who were present when his body was opened, would probably, from their hostility to the Jesuits, have endeavoured to substantiate the charge ; but they did not attempt to bring it to the test of legitimate decision.

occasioned a great loss of time. The ministers of France and Spain exerted all their interest to prevent the election of a zealot ; yet, after a long deliberation upon the pretensions of the different candidates, they either did not seem to know whom they should prefer, or could not prevail on the leading members of the conclave to choose that prelate whom they particularly wished to promote.

John Angelo Braschi, who had been introduced into public life by Benedict XIV., enjoyed a fair character, and rather steered between the zealous party and the advocates of moderation, than attached himself to either. No one, at first, thought that he would be the object of choice. Pallavicini was recommended by the court of Madrid ; and Visconti, by that of Vienna ; and Pamphili was supported by those cardinals who regretted the extinction of the Jesuitical order. At length Giraud, who had acted as papal nuncio in France, proposed Braschi, in whose favour Pallavicini waived his pretensions. The ministers of the house of Bourbon were now disposed to promote the election of Visconti ; and, when the majority opposed them in that respect, they consented to the elevation of Braschi, to whose interest the zealots were ultimately brought over by the persuasions of the cardinals de Bernis and Zelada¹.

Favoured, after a delay of almost five months, with the suffrages of the sacred college, Braschi commenced the pontificate under the appellation of Pius VI. He found the management of parties a difficult task. He wished to be on amicable terms with the zealots, but could not listen to them without giving disgust to the French and Spanish ministers, who expected from him an adherence to the system of Clement XIV. His conduct was anxiously watched by both parties : he was alternately overawed by each : and both accused him of duplicity. The Spaniard domineered over him in a way which particularly displeased him ; but he studiously concealed his chagrin. His joy he could not so easily dissemble, when that minister, being created count de Florida Blanca, was recalled to Madrid to act as prime minister.

¹ *Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat*, chap. 2.—The author of this work is said to be the Spanish diplomatist, d'Azara ; and even the vanity with which he speaks of himself does not wholly disprove the assertion ; for such instances of self-praise are not very uncommon, however repugnant to the modesty of real merit. He also speaks of the French government and nation, as if they were his own : but the two states were then closely connected ; and he probably wished to conceal, in this instance, his assumption of the character of an author.

LETTER II.

A Sketch of the History of Great Britain and its Dependencies, from the Peace of 1763 to the Rupture with the Colonial Subjects of that Kingdom.

DURING the war which the Earl of Chatham conducted with such ability and spirit, you must have observed, my dear son, that Great Britain stood upon high ground: but, when hostilities gave way to a treaty, she descended from her elevation, and forbore to insist on the pre-eminent advantages which she might justly have claimed. I do not blame the Tories for their pacific inclinations, but for concluding a less beneficial peace than they might with little difficulty have obtained.

Satisfied with having restored peace, and being at the same time sensible of the want of popularity, the earl of Bute April 8, retired from office. This nobleman, before he commenced 1763. his ministerial functions, had acquired the reputation of honour and probity. Perhaps, also, he was a sincere patriot; but his conduct in various instances proved that his intellects were narrow, and his judgment weak. His desire of peace would not deserve blame, if he had not evinced such eagerness for it as to encourage the arrogance of the enemies of his country. His partiality to the Scots would have been less censurable, if he had only promoted or rewarded men of worth and merit. His attachment to Toryism might have been more readily forgiven, if he had only opposed the licentiousness of the Whigs, instead of inculcating arbitrary and unconstitutional principles¹.

The earl recommended, for his successor, Mr. George Grenville, who was chiefly assisted in the administration by the earls of Egremont and Halifax, the secretaries of state. That these ministers were not always influenced by strict constitutional principles, appeared in a remarkable case.

John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, observing that the ministers were not in favour with the public, and that the king, in consequence of his partiality to the Tories, was less popular than he had been, resolved to commence a career of vigorous

¹ It has been affirmed, that he retained an influence in the cabinet for twenty years after his resignation; but he repeatedly declared to his friends, that, after the year 1766, he never gave advice to the king or to any of his ministers.

opposition, in the hope of profiting by the embarrassment of the cabinet and the agitations of the realm. Boldly attacking the speech delivered by his majesty at the close of the session, he declared, in the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*, a periodical paper, that it contained infamous fallacies, and that the whole was a most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery. A warrant, not particular, or specific, but directed generally against the authors, printers, and publishers, of the abusive paper, was delivered to the messengers of the secretary's office, who, having learned that Wilkes was the writer of the libel, seized his papers, and carried him before the earl of Halifax. He was then sent to the Tower; but, on application to the court of Common Pleas, his privileged character, as a senator, procured his release. From that time to the next meeting of the two houses, this affair was one of the chief topics of conversation. It involved two questions, highly important; the extent of parliamentary privilege, and the legality of general warrants. The lords and commons, after animated debates, denied that privilege extended to the case of a seditious libel; but they left the other point undetermined. Wilkes was expelled for the offensive publication; and as he was then out of the kingdom, outlawry followed his conviction at common law.

The cause of an individual became that of the public. The populace almost idolized the man, who, if not a sincere and disinterested patriot, was willing to extort from the court some important concessions in favour of liberty; and even those who despised his character were ready to support him for the general interest. His name was now familiar to politicians of every class; his person was unpleasing; his obliquity of vision rendered his countenance almost disgusting; and he was not merely gay and dissipated, but profligate and profane. His exertions, however, against an unpopular cabinet, seemed to atone for every deficiency and every vice; and, when he returned to England, he was saluted with acclamations wherever he appeared.

This dispute so occupied the public mind, that the hostilities which arose between the British subjects in North America and the barbarian natives of the country, and also a war which broke out in India, attracted little notice. The savages exclaimed against the English, as encroaching intruders, by whom their hunting-grounds were gradually seized; and considerable parties, marching from the banks of the Ohio to the nearest settlements, destroyed the persons and property of many defenceless families,

and cut off the garrisons of several forts. They defeated one detachment, and thinned the ranks of another; but they A.D. could not gain possession of the principal forts, and were 1764. soon induced to desist from hostilities.

The Asiatic war was of longer duration. Jaffier had been deposed by the English in the year 1760, and Cossim was then placed on the *musnud*. The conduct of this prince, in the third year of his government, furnished his ambitious allies with a pretence for opposing him by arms. They were the aggressors in the war; but they alleged that he was preparing to attack them. They dispossessed him of Patna; but he retook the town with ease, and murdered some English fugitives. A vigorous war was now carried on against him: he was deprived by the disciplined valour of the company's troops, of the whole province of Bengal; and Jaffier was again declared soubahdar. The Mogul, and the nabob of Oude, took arms in defence of Cossim; but their efforts were so unsuccessful, that they were glad to purchase peace by concessions¹.

The consideration of the increasing prosperity of the North-American colonies suggested a scheme of taxation, which, at their expense, would tend to the relief of the mother-country. The members of the cabinet did not reflect on the impropriety of taxing, in parliament, an unrepresented country; nor did they sufficiently consider the free spirit which had descended as an inheritance on the northern provinces, and which, it might be supposed, would also appear in the south, in case of any palpable violation of the privileges of British subjects. They affected to think that nothing was more reasonable than the proposition, and they were ready, if it should be resisted, to call forth all the terrors of government. They would not, however, carry the scheme into immediate execution, but announced it in a vote of the house of commons, as an object of future enactment. The Americans of the higher classes instantly perceived the unconstitutionality of the proposal, and were by no means inclined to submit to it; and their writers studiously propagated through every province a strong aversion to the arbitrary project. Mr. Grenville and his colleagues, however, obstinately per- A.D. sisted in it; and stamp-duties on a multitude of articles 1765. were imposed by statute.

¹ In 1765.—A new war arose, in 1767, from a wish to check the ambition of Hyder Ali, the usurper of Mysore. It was attended with various conflicts, in which the English chiefly prevailed; but, as they concluded peace when Hyder was almost at the gates of Madras, they could not enforce such favourable conditions as they expected to procure.

Disgusted at the conduct of the parliament, the Americans called a congress, and voted strong remonstrances. All the provinces, indeed, did not depute representatives to this meeting: but it was more from want of opportunity than of inclination, that four had no delegates. Not only the northern colonies were in a state of irritation and alarm; but the middle and southern provinces were also in a ferment. One of the last (namely, South Carolina) had recently received an accession of industrious inhabitants, by the arrival of about six hundred German emigrants, who, having been inveigled into England by a soldier of fortune, under a promise of settling them on the islands of St. John and La-Croix in North America, had been left by him to general charity, and were liberally rescued from the danger of perishing by want. These colonists were soon animated with the same spirit which actuated the other inhabitants.

The ministers having endeavoured to emancipate themselves from the influence of lord Bute, he advised the king to make a new choice; and, after repeated attempts to draw Mr. Pitt into the cabinet without giving him full sway, it was resolved that the marquis of Rockingham and his friends should be intrusted with the administration. This nobleman accepted the office of first commissioner of the treasury; and general Conway and the duke of Grafton were appointed secretaries of state.

Sensible of the impolicy of the stamp act, the marquis recommended an abrogation of it: and his majesty, not without A. D. reluctance, assented to a bill which the two houses had 1766. passed for that purpose. At the same time, the advocates for the high claims of the legislature were gratified with an act, declaring that "the king and parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatsoever*."

A regard for the constitution influenced the premier to promote the enactment of a bill against general warrants; but he could only procure a vote of the commons, who pronounced them to be illegal in every case except where they were allowed by an act of parliament. In other points, also, he attended to the complaints of the people.

As the absence of Mr. Pitt from the cabinet seemed to weaken the administration, the court requested him to propose such arrangements as might give strength and stability to the government. By his advice, the duke of Grafton was named successor to

the marquis of Rockingham, and the earl of Shelburne was authorized to act as secretary of state with general Conway. Mr. Pitt, with the title of earl of Chatham, obtained the office of keeper of the privy seal; and to his respectable friend, lord Camden, the great seal was delivered. Mr. Charles Townshend succeeded Mr. Dowdeswell as chancellor of the exchequer; and he soon manifested his want of judgment, by introducing a bill for the exaction of new duties from the Americans, on pretence of the mere regulation of commerce, but, in reality, to raise a revenue disposable by parliament.

Mr. Pitt, or rather the earl of Chatham, did not long A.D. congratulate himself on the success of his arrangements. 1765. Even *his* authority could not produce harmony in the cabinet; and being disordered in his bodily frame, and uneasy in his mind, he could not attend to ministerial duties. Townshend, who was a man of wit and eloquence, and had also a spirit of ambition, now courted his sovereign, that he might rise to the plenitude of power; but he did not live to become prime minister. Lord North succeeded him in his financial employment, which he accepted at the particular desire of the princess of Wales.

The new chancellor of the exchequer was, in appearance, a heavy mass of dulness; but he was an able speaker, and understood the business of the treasury, though he did not evince the talents of a great minister. He was too obsequious to the king, and too ready to submit to that secret influence of which the earl of Chatham complained. He was a promoter of the practice of ministerial corruption; connived at abuses in every department; and hated the very name of *reform*, long before the French revolution rendered it generally odious.

The eloquence of lord North had already been displayed to the prejudice of Wilkes, who, having now returned to England, was sentenced to a long imprisonment, after he had been A.D. elected member for Middlesex, at the general election. 1768. When the parliament assembled, a sanguinary riot arose from the wish of the populace to attend the prisoner to the house. He was, in all probability, pleased at the zeal of his partizans; but he did not encourage them to release him. He expected to profit, ultimately, by suffering in what he termed the cause of liberty.

The Americans were not less hostile to the court than Wilkes and his friends were; and riots broke out at Boston, where a

convention was formed by deputies from the different towns of Massachusetts Bay, and a petition voted to his majesty for a redress of grievances. Both houses reprobated the conduct of the provincials, and, instead of conciliating them by fair promises, menaced them with signal vengeance.

Deliberations upon the former guilt and the renewed delinquency of Wilkes, who had arraigned the cruelty of ministers

A. D. 1769. for having employed the soldiery against the people, produced a vote for his expulsion. His constituents rechose him without hesitation: the incensed commons pronounced him "incapable of being re-elected to serve in that parliament;" he was again chosen, and the election was again declared null. Colonel Luttrell having offered himself to represent the county, when a new writ was sent to the sheriffs, the interest of the court procured a few votes for him; but Wilkes was gratified with a repetition of popular choice. The house, without regard to the rights of the freeholders, annulled the votes which had been given for Wilkes, and ordered the colonel to take his seat. This arbitrary vote reflects disgrace on the commons of that day. It was *vindicated* indeed by Dr. Johnson; but none of his arguments could *justify* it. It gave occasion for various remonstrances from counties and corporations, and formed the chief object of attack in some of the spirited letters of the unknown Junius.

The conduct of the court toward the Americans not being A. D. altogether agreeable to the duke of Grafton, he resigned 1770. the employment of first lord of the treasury, for which the king selected lord North, whose appointment did not promise a happy termination of the disputes with the colonies. Lord Camden had been previously dismissed for having condemned the late proceedings of the commons; and he retired with the reputation of abilities and integrity. The earl of Chatham had, long before, resigned his office; and he now exercised his eloquence in defence of the rights of electors, of the bold remonstrances of public bodies, and of the American pretensions to the right of internal taxation. Mr. Grenville, the ex-minister, was also numbered amongst the opposers of the court; but he did not concur in all the objects of that party. He distinguished himself at this time by framing a salutary bill for the settlement of disputed elections.

Although it could not be expected that the colonists would be content with a repeal of the chief duties imposed by the late

act of revenue, while one remained, lord North introduced a bill which only left the tax upon tea. This act was a futile attempt to pacify the provincials.

A rumour of war now arose. The jealousy of Spain with regard to colonial territory, has frequently been productive of dispute and sometimes of hostility. Even the occupancy of one of the inhospitable Falkland islands, by a small number of British subjects, exposed the colony to insult and violence. A Spanish officer from a neighbouring island warned the English of the danger of continuing at the settlement; and an armament from Buenos Ayres dislodged them from it. The British court remonstrated against this outrage, and ordered a fleet to be equipped. The Spanish monarch, at first, refused to make the least concession: but he at length consented to a restitution of the territory. This favour, however, was only granted A.D. in consequence of an intimation given at the time of 1771. treating, that the settlement, after being restored *pro formâ*, would not be retained. The ministry, on this occasion, evinced a greater regard for the honour of Spain than for that of Great Britain. A spirited cabinet would have insisted on full restitution and indemnification, without giving the smallest hint of any future intention of relinquishing the settlement.

After having accommodated this dispute, the ministers were involved in what they deemed a more ignoble contest. On a complaint of misrepresentation of speeches delivered in parliament, orders were issued for apprehending some printers and publishers; and, as the mayor and one of the aldermen (Crosby and Oliver) resisted the execution of these orders in the city, they were sent to the Tower by the house of commons. Wilkes, who had concurred with his fellow-magistrates, refused to obey the requisition for his attendance. From that time, the parliamentary harangues have been regularly communicated to the public in the newspapers of the succeeding day. It is proper, indeed, that not merely the result but the progress of the deliberations of the senate should be known as soon as possible by the people.

The citizens, in a petition to the king, complained of the insult offered to their magistrates and representatives, and of other proceedings of the house of commons; and requested the dissolution of an odious parliament. His majesty expressed his concern at seeing them so misled and deluded, as to renew in offensive terms a solicitation which he had repeatedly rejected.

A society had been formed in the city, professedly in defence

of the Bill of Rights, but more particularly for the support of Wilkes, for the payment of whose debts, contracted by a dissipated course of life, the members liberally subscribed. Dissensions having crept into the society, Mr. Horne moved that it should be dissolved; but the majority voted for its continuance. Thanks were, at the same meeting, voted to the imprisoned mayor, for "his upright and intrepid conduct in defending the undoubted liberties of the subject."

After an interval in which nothing worthy of particular A.D. notice occurred, the parliament re-assembled; and the 1772. most important deliberations of the session were those which related to ecclesiastical affairs, and the marriages of the royal family.

The demand of subscription to the articles of the church being injurious to the feelings and the consciences of many clergymen, they prepared a petition for the non-enforcement of that requisition, in concert with other members of the learned professions. The commons were not inclined to gratify the petitioners; but, when the protestant dissenters applied for a similar indulgence, as the articles were those of a church to which they did not belong, and from which they derived no benefit, the house passed a bill for their relief; to which, however, the lords refused their assent¹. Marriages, supposed to be degrading, had been contracted by two of the king's brothers. A bill was therefore enacted, after warm debates, precluding the relatives of his majesty from marrying without the consent of the sovereign or (after the age of twenty-five years) of the parliament.

The effects of a nine-years' peace were at this time manifested by the flourishing state of the nation. But the prospect, as far as trade was concerned, was overcast by the failure of some eminent bankers and merchants, whose bankruptcy drew inferior tradesmen into the gulf of temporary ruin. The shock chiefly arose from speculations in the funds, and the inordinate extension of paper currency. The progress of the mischief was checked by seasonable arrangements, by prudent and judicious measures, adapted to the restoration of declining credit.

The American colonies also prospered during peace: but the claims of Great Britain were still productive of discontent. A committee being formed at Boston, a declaration was voted, claiming the sole right of legislation. Between the governor and

¹ Seven years after this application, the dissenters obtained their wish. At both times, their cause was supported by the prime minister.

the general assembly of Massachuset Bay a warm dispute arose respecting the grant of salaries to the judges and officers of the crown. The provincials alleged that the acceptance of such allowances from the crown would produce a servile dependence on the court, and lead to the oppression of the people ; and that the grant of this money out of a revenue arbitrarily raised, was an infringement of their chartered constitution. The assembly, therefore, voted the salaries, according to the former practice. The vote was reluctantly confirmed by the governor ; but, when it was proposed to be extended to the close of another year, he declined his assent.

While the Americans clamoured against British oppression, and were supported by the orators of opposition, the grievances in the administration of India seemed to the ministry to be more proper subjects of attention than the complaints of the former. Lord Clive had been accused of extortion and rapine : but the consideration of his services saved him from parliamentary censure. Many subaltern plunderers and petty tyrants also escaped punishment. To check abuses and mal-practices, new regulations were necessary ; and a bill of reform was now prepared, which the two houses sanctioned. It imparted A.D. to the governor and council of the Bengalese province 1773. (who were to derive their appointments from the parliament) a superintending power over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay ; and while it tended to rectify the political system, improved the judicial administration by the erection of a new tribunal. It rendered the deliberations and elections at the India-house less democratic, by only suffering those proprietors to vote who had stock to the amount of one thousand pounds ; and it contributed to extend the influence of the crown over the company. It was strongly opposed by some distinguished speakers, but was applauded by others as a judicious measure.

The disgust conceived by the India company at the enactment of this bill, was allayed by the favour of a loan from government, and by a permission to send tea to any part of the world without the payment of export duty. The latter indulgence occasioned the exportation of a large quantity of that article to North America ; and lord North weakly imagined, that as this favourite commodity could now be sold at a very reasonable rate, the provincials would be tempted to purchase it, and would no longer object to the payment of a small duty chargeable on importation.

When his majesty closed the session, he said to the commons, "I see with pleasure, that notwithstanding the ample provision which you have made for every branch of the public service, and the effectual relief and support which you have afforded to the East India company, you have been able to make some progress in reducing the national debt." The company certainly obtained some relief and support; but abuses, mismanagement, and oppression, still continued to prevail in Hindostan; and with regard to the other point, I may observe that the scheme of reduction was, in a great measure, delusive and nugatory.

The colonial agitations were not supposed by the court to portend mischievous consequences: but they now assumed a more serious aspect. At a time when the king was amusing himself with a naval review at Portsmouth, the assembly of Massachuset Bay, resenting the arbitrary advice given to the ministry by the governor¹ and his deputy (in letters that were not intended for the public eye, but which fell into the hands of the popular party), stigmatized those courtly officers as betrayers of their trust and enemies to the colony, and desired that such unworthy men might be speedily dismissed from their employments.

The discontented colonists resolved that no tea should be imported, and that no revenue should be insidiously drawn from them; and, when the ships arrived, they threw the tea overboard. For this and other irregular acts, the parliament

A.D. passed bills for shutting up the port of Boston, and 1774. altering the constitution of the Massachuset colony. This treatment, and the manner in which it was received by those whom it affected, foreboded an open rupture.

Hancock, Deane, and other leaders of the Bostonian malcontents, fanned the rising flame of indignation; and a spirit of association against Britain prevailed, not only in the northern and middle provinces, but also in the southern colonies. The violence of the mother-country had no other effect than that of cementing the union of the provincials: instead of striking terror, it seemed to diffuse spirit and energy.

The opposition to Great Britain was certainly promoted by some factious and seditious men, who were eager to fish in troubled waters: but other leaders were influenced by more honourable motives, by a sense of insulted dignity, and a manly disdain of oppression; and the generality of the people, not

¹ Hutchinson, who succeeded sir Francis Bernard.

being more ignorant or unenlightened than their brethren in Great Britain, would not so readily have concurred in resisting the claims and the proceedings of the parent state, if they had not felt a regard for colonial honour, and had not been convinced that those claims and those proceedings were unjust and unconstitutional.

The disputes between Hutchinson and the assembly continued without the least abatement of asperity; and he at length ordered a dissolution. On his resignation of his unpleasing employment, it was conferred upon general Gage, who, during a long residence in the province, had acquired the esteem of the inhabitants: but he was soon involved in a contest with the assembly, whose address on his appointment he refused to receive, because it censured the conduct of Bernard and Hutchinson. When he had put an end to the regular meeting of the representatives, they assembled in another place, and voted resolutions in recommendation of a congress.

While the governor was employed in vain attempts to secure general obedience, the congress met at Philadelphia. Its deliberations and resolutions were spirited without intemperance; bold, without licentiousness. A manly petition Sept. 5. was voted to the king, for a redress of multiplied grievances. It was signed by Samuel and John Adams, deputies for the province of Massachusetts Bay; George Washington, one of the representatives of Virginia; Jay and Livingston, members for New York and New Jersey; and forty-six other delegates. The colonists, said these petitioners, had been treated in various instances more like slaves than freemen. Their money had been taken without their consent; their trade had been arbitrarily restricted; the courts of vice-admiralty had exercised an oppressive jurisdiction; the provincial assemblies had been frequently debarred from meeting; the rights granted by charter had been repeatedly invaded; and there seemed to be an intention, on the part of the ministry, of establishing despotic power with military aid. Thus insulted and injured, they claimed the rights of Britons; and by nothing but irresistible force would they be induced to forego the claim. An appeal to a sovereign who gloried in the name of Briton, would, they hoped, be so far successful, that a dangerous contest might be avoided. "Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery," they said, "the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit: but, thanks to His adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our

right under the auspices of your royal ancestors. Your majesty may justly rejoice that your title to the crown is founded on the title of your people to liberty ; and, therefore, we doubt not, your wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence. We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety."

In imitation of the authors of the English Revolution, the congress voted a declaration of rights, preceded by a detail of grievances. An address to the people of Great Britain, one to the inhabitants of Canada, and one to the great mass of provincials represented by the assembly, were also voted ; and an association was framed, binding the subscribers to "a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement," until those grievances should be redressed, which "threatened destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects in North America."

After these spirited proceedings, the congress dissolved itself ; but, during the recess, the popular leaders were not idle. They organized the militia in the different provinces, and studiously promoted every manufacture which could supply the wants either of soldiers or citizens. They did not scruple to take by force even the arms and stores of the government, which, they said, would otherwise be employed in the destruction of colonial liberty.

The petition of the congress was not received by his majesty, as such condescension to an illegal assembly was deemed degrading. A. D. 1775. Dr. Franklin wished to give evidence to the commons, on the subject of the grievances stated in the petition : but, when a motion was made for that purpose, it was rejected as an insult¹. The philosopher, being apprehensive of personal danger, returned soon after to his native country, and invigorated by his presence the confederacy which he had promoted in his absence.

¹ This was the first session of a new parliament ; and, unfortunately, the majority testified an early inclination to side with the ministry, not only in American affairs, but in questions of every description.

LETTER III.

A Survey of the Affairs of the Northern States of Europe, of Poland and Turkey, and also of Germany and Holland, from the Treaty of Hubertsburg to the Peace of Kainargi, concluded in 1774.

FROM the time of Peter the Great, Russia began to take the lead in the north of Europe ; and, after the death of Peter the Third, the influence of that empire became still more considerable and imposing. The bold czarina, who seized the throne of her husband, had a great genius for government. Having reformed the interior administration, and improved the resources of the country, she increased its weight and respectability in the scale of European power ; and, not content with the ample dominions which the empress Elizabeth had ruled, she ambitiously aimed at territorial aggrandizement. She particularly cast a longing eye on Poland and Turkey ; but, as peace was for a time desirable, she postponed her intended encroachments.

Usurpers have reason to apprehend conspiracies and commotions. The government of the new empress was soon endangered by the schemes of malcontents ; but she found means to escape the perils with which she was threatened. Her vigilance detected intrigue ; and her prudence and spirit promised to secure general tranquillity.

Although the Prussian monarch had not lost any territories by a war which seemed at one time to have brought him to the verge of ruin, and though he had supplies in the treasury for another campaign, yet his people severely felt the effects of long hostility. Ravaged provinces, towns nearly annihilated, lands lying uncultivated, peasants starving, disorder and anarchy prevailing, formed a melancholy picture, which impressed the king with the most afflictive sensations. He was conscious of the imputability of these mischiefs to the original sin of his ambition ; and he knew that it was his duty to remove or allay the evils which he had contributed to produce. He ordered the ruined towns and villages to be rebuilt ; purchased corn for general subsistence ; caused marshes to be drained, and canals to be cut ; employed in agriculture the horses which had been used for military purposes ; and encouraged, by pecuniary grants, the

revival of manufactures and commerce. That his finances might more effectually answer these useful purposes, he became rigidly frugal in his court and household. He also re-established a regular police, and restored the energy of law. He satisfied the public creditors, restored the coin to its former standard, and erected a bank, which proved very convenient and beneficial both to the government and the nation¹.

While he thus provided for the relief and accommodation of his subjects, he still found means to keep up, for the defence of the realm, a very considerable army, which he supplied and recruited in a mode less oppressive than the former practice. He did not consider 150,000 men as too numerous a force even for a time of peace; and these were frequently exercised in the evolutions and manœuvres of war, that they might be constantly ready for actual service. He knew that he had ambitious neighbours, against whom it was requisite for him to be ever upon his guard.

During many years of peace, Frederic sedulously endeavoured to improve the state of his country. He was still arbitrary, and fond of power; but he qualified his despotism by a conciliatory demeanour and a moderate administration. He was employed in these patriotic pursuits when the vacancy of the Polish throne called his attention from internal arrangements to foreign concerns.

Oct. 5, 1763. This vacancy was occasioned by the death of Augustus II., king of Poland. You have already been informed of the misfortunes which this prince drew upon himself by his entrance into the confederacy against the king of Prussia. He returned to Dresden after the conclusion of the peace of Hubertsburg, and never more revisited Poland, where he was merely the shadow of a king. The constitution allowed him little power; and from his want of mental vigour and an enlightened understanding, he did not make a proper use of his limited authority. He deserves our praise, however, for his liberal encouragement of the arts. His son succeeded him in the electorate, but was unable to procure the crown of Poland. Indeed, the new elector died before the end of the year; and the empress would not listen to the solicitations of the house of Saxony. She reserved her interest for a Polish nobleman, whom she had in-

¹ He had grossly adulterated the coin during the war. This, he allows, was a violent measure; but, without the addition of this expedient to the exactions in Saxony and the annual subsidy which he received from Britain, the state, he says, could not have been supported. *Œuvres Posthumes de Frédéric III.*

dulged with criminal gallantry, and upon whose subserviency she thought she could depend. This was the count Poniatowski, a man of insinuating talents and an amiable disposition.

The courts of Versailles and Vienna might perhaps have opposed with success the election of this candidate; but neither Louis nor Maria-Theresa thought proper to arm in the cause; and the king of Prussia, being desirous of an alliance with so powerful a princess, as he was not on cordial terms with his Britannic majesty, promised to support the pretensions of her favourite. His envoy, the count de Solmes, was kindly received at Petersburg; and a treaty was signed, providing for a Apr. 11, mutual guarantee of dominion and a free commerce. By 1764.

a secret article it was stipulated, that Poland should be maintained in its right of free election, and that no one should be suffered either to render the crown hereditary or to make himself absolute. Before the meeting of the diet, a Russian army entered Warsaw, to secure the *free* choice of a sovereign. Twenty senators, and forty-five nuncios or deputies, protested against the interference of foreign troops; but the Russians ridiculed such idle fulminations, and, when some of the nobles had recourse to arms, the invaders quickly triumphed over them. Thus supported, Poniatowski was chosen king by the diet. He Sept. 7. assumed the appellation of Stanislaus Augustus, and began to reign in as much tranquillity as if he had succeeded to the throne by hereditary right¹.

Catharine did not think herself safe on the Russian throne while a prince lived who had a just claim to it. Some of the malcontents had openly mentioned the name of prince Ivan or John, as the lawful heir to the crown; and there was reason to apprehend that his claim might excite commotions. To extinguish his pretensions, she is said to have employed Basil Mirowitz, an officer in her army, in a pretended scheme for the release of the young prince from his confinement at Schlusselburg². This account, although it is controverted by Mr. Coxe, a writer of ability and merit, is more probable than the supposition that Mirowitz spontaneously engaged in a plot to rescue Ivan, and maintain his right against all the power of the usurper. The governor of the fortress had been ordered to put the prince to death, if any attempt should be made for his liberation; and

¹ Tooke's Life of Catharine II., chap. 4.

² Vie de Catharine II., par Castéra, tome i.

therefore, when Mirowitz had forced his way into the castle, two officers of the guard prepared to gratify the czarina by the murder of an unoffending youth, who had formerly enjoyed the imperial dignity¹. Awakened by the noise of fire-arms, and observing the menacing looks of the guards, Ivan implored mercy; but, when he found that his entreaties did not in the smallest degree soften their ferocity, he derived energy from despair, and boldly resisted those who were ready to overwhelm him. He seized the sword of one of the assassins, and broke it; but he was finally pierced with many wounds. He was a youth of a fine person, but was necessarily ignorant and uninformed, from continued solitary confinement; yet not (as Catharine represented him in a memorial) totally destitute of reason and understanding. The two murderers fled into Denmark, but soon returned to Russia, and were promoted for their villany. Mirowitz was tried as a perturbator of the public peace. He faced his judges with coolness, from a confident expectation of pardon: and, after he had been condemned to decapitation, he walked to the scaffold with the same appearance of unconcern. He was then miserably disappointed; for no reprieve was announced. Above fifty of the soldiers who had followed his instructions were punished in various modes, but not capitally².

While the plot against Ivan was in suspense, the empress, with all her affectation of composure, could not conceal her uneasiness and impatience. But when the death of the prince and of the deluded Mirowitz had freed her from alarm, she resumed her cheerfulness and gaiety, and pursued with zeal her schemes of reform.

Her friend and *protégé* Stanislaus thought less of reform than of pleasure and dissipation. He did not sufficiently attend to the concerns of government, or to the weighty business of the state. Three parties, at that time, divided the court. The two princes Czartoriski, the king's uncles, headed one party; his three brothers directed the movements of the second; and the ladies of the court guided the third. The first association would have given him the best advice, if he had been disposed to take it; but he was more willing to be influenced by female politicians. He certainly wished to promote the general benefit of his country; but his indolence and want of vigour checked his patriotic

¹ See Part II. Letter XXVIII.

² Tooke's *Life of Catharine*, chap. 4.

efforts ; and he was thwarted and controlled by a licentious aristocracy, while the bulk of the people remained in a state of degradation and insignificance¹.

The contests in Poland, between the catholics and *dissidents* (or dissenters from the established religion), gave the empress a pretence for interfering in the concerns of that country. The Polanders of the Greek church applied to her for protection, as guarantee of the treaty of Oliva, by which their privileges, both civil and religious, were secured ; and those of the different protestant persuasions solicited the mediation of the Prussian, British, and Danish courts, that they might not be oppressed by the zeal of the catholics, by whom they were illiberally molested and cruelly injured. Their complaints produced memorials from the four powers, addressed to the diet. Some of the bigots in that assembly insisted on the superior claims of the Romish religion, and on the incompatibility of the pretensions of the dissidents with the fundamental laws of the realm ; and it was proposed that all the acts against them, instead of being repealed at their desire, should be solemnly confirmed. The king, by recommending moderation, exposed himself to obloquy and invective ; and, when the hall was filled with tumult, he retired from the scene. In a subsequent meeting, the proposal was adopted ; but, at another sitting, the remonstrances of the mediating powers drew some concessions from the assembly. The czarina, not satisfied with these grants, demanded a complete equality of rights for the dissidents, and encouraged them to form confederacies against the government. Into these associations even many catholics entered ; and the malcontents, being supported by Russian troops, conceived strong hopes of obtaining whatever they desired. In various parts of the kingdom, hostilities arose from the animosity of the contending parties. Stanislaus was no bigot ; but he thought himself bound to concur with the Romanists ; and, in politics, he seemed desirous of shaking off the Russian yoke. He retained a sense of gratitude to the princess from whose favour he had procured a crown ; but he deemed it disgraceful to be her slave. He was so situated, however, that he had not the power to act as a monarch. Her general domineered over him with barbarian insolence, and exercised the chief sway in the con-

¹ Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna, in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779.—Vol. ii.

A. D. 1767. vulsed kingdom. He arrested some of the bishops, and other persons of distinction, who had opposed the claims of the dissidents; and they were sent into the wilds of Siberia, "for having attacked the purity of the disinterested, amicable, and salutary intentions of the empress in favour of Poland." Former acts which favoured the dissidents were now put in force; and by an extraordinary commission, new laws were enacted for their gratification¹.

The king of Prussia, not content with protecting those whom he was bound by treaty to defend against catholic intolerance, supported the empress in her arbitrary proceedings, in the hope of eventual benefit. From motives of self-interest, he condescended to be subservient to her ambition and rapacity. Instead of maintaining the independence of the Polish state, he resolved to profit by its weakness.

The conduct of Frederic and of Catharine was viewed by the French court with disgust; and the duke de Choiseul endeavoured, by the intrigues of ambassadors and emissaries, to counteract the views of the enemies of Poland. But the efforts of the French were unsuccessful; and the allied potentates continued their ambitious career.

The czarina, at the same time, employed her talents at home for the public good. She promoted the cultivation of every art, and the study of every science; invited foreigners to instruct her people; and established a variety of useful institutions. Though arbitrary in her disposition, she lightened the load of despotism, and introduced a government more regular than that which had prevailed under the empress Elizabeth. She even aimed at the glory of a legislatrix, "which (said the Prussian monarch, in a long letter addressed to her,) no woman had hitherto enjoyed." She desired all the provinces to send deputies to Moscow, opened the meeting in person, and communicated her ideas on the subject of a new code of laws. But the dread of an emancipation of the peasants disturbed the tranquillity of the assembly; the debates became violent; and the delegates were dismissed.

Under the sway of the empress, the disorders of Poland, after an interval of quietude, rose to an alarming height. The catho-

A. D. 1768. lics, disgusted at her encouragement of the dissidents, and at the tyranny of her officers, entered into armed confederacies, to restore the independence of their nation. They

¹ Vie de Catharine, par Castéra, tome i.

loudly called for the dethronement of Stanislaus; but he was protected by the Russian troops. Some fierce conflicts occurred between these intruders and the natives; and at Cracow the confederates sustained a siege, until the town was taken by storm. In pursuing a Polish party, the Russians encroached on the Turkish territories, burned Balta, and committed dreadful outrages. This hostile intrusion was soon followed by a denunciation of war on the part of the grand signor¹.

The war which thus arose draws our attention to the affairs of the Turks. Their sovereign, Mustapha III., had studiously preserved peace in his dominions from the time of his accession, in 1757, to the commencement of sanguinary disturbances in Poland. His disposition seems to have been more humane than that of the majority of the Turkish princes; and his general government has been praised as more resembling that of an equitable and moderate prince, than that of a capricious tyrant, though (like all his predecessors) he suffered his ministers and officers to perpetrate horrible cruelties. On the present occasion, indeed, he acted with a precipitancy which, from his love of peace, could scarcely have been expected. Stimulated by the persuasions of the French court, and alarmed at the dangerous influence of the Russians in Poland, he repeatedly desired the empress to recall her troops from that country; and, on her refusal, declared war against her, notwithstanding the admonitions of his Prussian majesty, who advised him not to threaten before he was able to strike. The sultan seemed to think that he could strike with vigour and effect, when he considered the great military resources of his empire. Numerous armies were levied in his Asiatic as well as European territories: artillery and ammunition were provided in abundance; and the zeal of the people seconded the exertions of the government. A vizir who was no friend to the war was discarded, and the pasha Hamzey was promoted to that office, which, however, he soon resigned. Another prime minister was immediately appointed, who was supposed to be better qualified for the arduous station. This was the pasha Mohammed Emin, who diligently superintended the preparations for war.

The contest was stigmatized by the king of Prussia as the war of the short-sighted against the blind. The empress, you may suppose, did not thank him for the sarcasm, although she had

¹ Geschichte des Türkischen Reichs.—Tooke's *Life of Catharine*.

the advantage in the comparison. He had no wish to engage in the war; but, as the Turks were deemed the aggressors, he was bound, by his defensive alliance with Catharine, to assist her either with men or money. Keeping his troops at home, he promoted her success by an annual allowance¹.

A.D. 1769. The Turks of the Crimea, under their khan Gherai (who had been authorized by the grand signor to supersede Mahsoud Gherai, as being better qualified for military operations), undertook an expedition against the Russians, in concert with a Bessarabian force and other troops. They crossed the Ingul on the ice; but before they entered New Servia, above three thousand of their number perished from the rigours of the season. Many towns and villages in that province were burned; and, in one of them, one thousand two hundred persons lost their lives amidst the flames. The invaders passed beyond the bounds prescribed by the khan, and extended their ravages and depredations into the Polish Ukraine; but by punishing some of the marauders, future respect to the territories of the friends of the Porte was insured. After a regular division of the spoils, Crim Gherai repaired to Bender, where he died, greatly lamented. He was a prince of some talents, active and spirited; and evinced a regard for justice. He was succeeded by Dowlat Gherai, who was less esteemed than his predecessor².

On the banks of the Niester, the Turks were fiercely attacked by prince Gallitzin; yet being assisted by a brisk fire from the fortress of Choczim, they maintained their ground, and repelled their adversaries. Another of the sultan's armies compelled general Romanzoff to retreat, when he had assaulted the entrenchments near Oczakoff. Gallitzin, having again encountered the Turks near Choczim, so far prevailed, as to be enabled to commence the siege of that town; but he was obliged, by the spirited efforts of the enemy, to repass the Niester with a force considerably diminished. After an interval of inaction, the Turks were clamorous for a general engagement; and Ali Moldovani, who succeeded the incapable vizir Emin (beheaded for disobedience), encouraged the impatience of the troops. They boldly crossed the river, and attacked the Russian prince with great impetuosity; but they made little impression upon the hostile ranks, and were routed with great slaughter. Being defeated

Sept. 9.

¹ Gillies' View of the Reign of Frederic.

² Mémoires du Baron De Tott.

in another conflict, they were so discouraged, that they abandoned Choczim, and a great part of the vizir's army quitted his banners¹.

For the extension of maritime power, and the excitation of a revolt among the Greeks, who though less oppressed by Mustapha than by former sultans, still had various grounds of complaint, Catharine sent a fleet from the Baltic to the Archipelago. The first appearance of the Russian flag on the shores of Greece flattered her pride, and nourished her hope. In the vista of futurity, she seemed to look forward to the expulsion of the barbarian votaries of Mohammed from the classic country, and the establishment of a new empire for the descendants of Ruric.

A respectable fleet, commanded by Alexis Orloff and Spiritoff, sailed toward the Grecian coast, and filled the Porte with alarm. Many of our countrymen served in this fleet, and instructed the Russians in naval discipline and evolutions. When the armament had reached Cape Matapan, a descent was made at Maina; and a great number of natives of the Morea, having received promises of protection, joined the invaders. Thus encouraged, the Greeks gave way to the excesses of sanguinary revenge, and massacred the Turks with merciless ferocity. Several towns of the peninsula were reduced by the Russians; but, while they and their new associates were besieging the castle of Patras, they were attacked by a body of Turks and Albanians, and put to flight. The Greeks were now slaughtered in their turn; and the victorious party, advancing against an army of Mainotes, killed 2000 of the number. From the walls of Modon, the allies were driven, chiefly by the valour of the Albanians; and the Russians were unable to acquire a firm footing in the Morea.

A naval engagement soon after occurred, by which the Turks were reminded of the battle of Lepanto. In the channel of Scio, the two fleets met, not upon equal terms; for the Russian commander had only ten sail of the line and five frigates, while the capitan pasha had fifteen ships from 60 to 90 guns, beside smaller vessels, advantageously stationed. The flag-ships of Spiritoff and the Turkish admiral commenced a very close conflict; and, as volleys of grenades set the Turkish ship on fire, the flames were communicated to the opposing vessel. Both blew up, with the loss of almost the whole crew of each; but the two commanders escaped. The horror of the scene so appalled the combatants in the other ships, that the conflict ceased for a time.

¹ Annual Register, vol. xii.

Being renewed, it was protracted to the close of the day. The Turkish admiral then retired into the narrow bay of Chesmé, where some of his ships ran aground. Here he flattered himself with the idea of security; but the gallant Britons, vice-admiral Elphinston and rear-admiral Greig, convinced him of his error. Four fire-ships were prepared for service; and, when Greig's division had attacked the enemy at the mouth of the harbour, lieutenant Dugdale rushed in and affixed a fire-ship to the nearest vessel, which was soon involved in flames. The conflagration, spreading among the rest of the fleet, made signal havoc; and all the ships of war were destroyed, except one that was captured, the command of which was given to the intrepid Dugdale by Alexis Orloff¹.

Before the intelligence of this disaster reached Constantinople, it led to a dreadful massacre at Smyrna. The populace, enraged at the loss of so many ships and seamen, ran about the town, accusing the Greeks of disaffection. Ibrahim, commissioner of the customs, an inhuman enthusiast, ordered the assassination of all the Greeks who were employed in that department; and, in all the squares and streets, the atrocious example was followed with unrelenting zeal. Of those unfortunate subjects of the Porte, about 1500 were murdered before the Janisaries could quell the sanguinary riot².

In consequence of the triumph of the Russians, Orloff was complimented with the surname of Chesmenskoi, to which his exertions or his counsels did not entitle him. His imperial mistress attributed to him the scheme of burning the ships; but the praise was due to our countrymen. Joy and festivity, on this occasion, pervaded the Russian court; and an edifice, called the palace of Chesmé, arose in honour of the victory. The Porte felt a proportionate depression. The loss of so considerable a fleet was poignantly regretted by Mustapha; and he ordered the capitan pasha to be put to death for disgracing the Ottoman name. The sultan and his ministers trembled even in the capital, the defence of which, and the improvement of the fortifications of the Dardanelles, they committed to baron de Tott. The brave Hassan, who had acted as captain of the admiral's ship in the late engagement, was appointed capitan pasha: and he so zealously superintended the renovation of the Turkish marine,

¹ Vie de Catharine II., par Castéra, tome ii.—Remarques de M. de Peyssonnel sur les Mémoires du Baron de Tott.

² Remarques de Peyssonnel.

that a respectable fleet was equipped with extraordinary despatch. He also acquired reputation by driving the Russians from the island of Lemnos, where they had besieged the chief town for four months.

The exploits of the Russians on the continent corresponded with their maritime success. General Romanzoff, advancing into Moldavia, found about eighty thousand Turks and Tartars entrenched near the Pruth. For three weeks, they eluded all his endeavours to draw them into action: but, when he made a feint of retreating, a fourth part of their number sallied from the camp, and fiercely attacked him. He repelled the assailants with little difficulty; and, after a respite of three days, marched toward the entrenchments. These works were defended with spirit; but the vigour and perseverance of the Moscovites at length dislodged the enemy, who fled in extreme confusion. The victorious commander, in the pursuit of the fugitives, met the grand army of the Ottoman empire. The bey Halil, a new vizir, to secure troops whose superiority of number might have been expected to command success, ordered three entrenchments to be formed: but he did not wait for his whole force to be attacked within that barrier. He detached some Aug. 2. strong bodies of soldiery to assault the Russians in front and flank; but the latter advanced in defiance of every obstacle, and, after a long contest with artillery and musketry, forced the first entrenchment by the terrors of the bayonet. The other works were stormed by a continuance of the same resolute exertions; and the vizir fled to the Danube, when twenty thousand of his men had been killed or wounded¹.

The siege of the strong town of Bender employed the Russians about two months; and count Panin then ordered a general assault. A mine of a new construction was tried; and, at the time of its explosion, three nocturnal attacks were hazarded. During ten hours, the rage of conflict was incessant: the town was fired; and, after a horrible carnage, the Moscovites became masters of the place. Akerman and Ismail were also reduced; and the whole province of Bessarabia submitted to the invaders. The greater part of the territory of Walachia was likewise seized, after the conquest of Ibrailow; and the Moldavian province was completely subdued².

The affairs of Poland were still in extreme disorder. The

¹ Annual Register, vol. xiii.

² Geschichte des Türkischen Reichs.

czarina had compelled the king and the senate to declare war against the grand signor; and thus a prince who wished to act as the friend of the Poles, found himself constrained to become their enemy. Their miseries were aggravated by a pestilence, which arose from their proximity to the Turkish territories. The contagion extended itself into Russia, and made dreadful ravages at Moscow.

The Turks did not tamely acquiesce in their territorial losses.

A.D. 1771. They retook Giurgewo in Walachia, and gained a considerable advantage near Bucharest: but Mousson Oglou was afterwards defeated near that capital; and the Russians were victorious in several other engagements, not only in that province, but also in the Crimea.

The success of the Russian arms excited the jealousy of the court of Vienna. On the conclusion of the treaty of Hubertsburg, that court, weary of war, began to cultivate with zeal the arts of peace. The emperor Francis, fond of pleasure, indolent, and unambitious, did not eagerly desire the farther aggrandizement of the powerful family with which he was connected by marriage. He preferred peace to the turmoils of war, and the calm occupations of science to the bustle of politics. His favourite pursuit was chemistry; but he was so weak as to mingle a propensity to alchemy with his researches; and his philosophical spirit was not accompanied with a taste for literature. While Maria-Theresa was employed in the task of government, he did not repine at being thrown into the shade: he did not presume to dictate even to his own wife. In the year which followed the peace, his eldest son Joseph was elected king of the Romans without opposition, to the great joy of the empress. Leopold, his second son, was appointed to succeed him in Tuscany. When he had assisted at the marriage of this prince with a daughter of the king of Spain, Francis was seized at Inspruck with an apoplexy, and died (in August, 1765) at the age of fifty-seven years. Joseph now obtained the imperial dignity, while his mother remained the only sovereign of the Austrian dominions. Being an admirer of the character of Frederic, and having a strong tincture of ambition, he wished to meet the Prussian hero (when the latter had proposed an interview), and concert measures of aggrandizement: but the caution of the dowager-empress, and of her chief minister prince Kaunitz, prevented for some years the intended visit.

On the death of the king of Poland, Maria-Theresa had endeavoured to secure to the house of Saxony a continuance of that dignity: but, being unsupported by the French court, she

contented herself with encouraging the Anti-Russian party, after the elevation of Stanislaus. By fomenting the troubles of the country, she hoped to obtain opportunities of considerable advantage. She sent arms and money to the catholic confederates, and kept the contest alive by indirect interference¹.

The danger of the Russian encroachments on the side of the Danube alarmed the Austrian princess, who, although she had formerly declared that no consideration whatever should induce her to enter into an alliance with Frederic, was now inclined to court his friendship, with a view of counter-balancing the ambition of the politic czarina. The effect of this change of sentiment I shall soon have occasion to notice.

While Catharine was gratifying her ambition in Poland and Turkey, the Danish and Swedish courts did not presume to assist her adversaries, although they knew that the increase of her power would detract from their independence. The former court and nation had enjoyed a long peace, which had furnished the means of domestic improvement. Frederic V. was a prudent and patriotic prince; and his wisdom was manifested in the choice of able ministers. He died on the 14th of January, 1766, in the forty-third year of his age; and, when his son, Christian VII. was proclaimed king, the people cried out, "May he not only live long, but reign well like his father!"

Christian, before his father's death, had made proposals of marriage to Caroline-Matilda, one of the sisters of his Britannic majesty; and, the offer being accepted, the nuptials were solemnized after he had ascended the throne. The amiable manners of the young queen soon rendered her popular in Denmark; and she seemed to enjoy high favour with the king: but the regard of a prince of his character was not likely to be permanent; and when, from a love of dissipation rather than from motives of laudable curiosity, he entered upon his travels, he did not permit her to accompany him. He remained two months in this country, where he was liberally entertained; he then visited France, where he was received with equal politeness.

He was a prince of confined understanding and a narrow mind; was incapable of steady attention to business, addicted to pleasure, and prone to dissipation. When he returned to Denmark, he seemed to have improved his mind; but all hopes of his reform were delusive. He found the affairs of his kingdom deranged, the finances low, and trade declining; yet he did not

¹ Coxe's History of the House of Austria, chap. 39.

devote his attention to the interesting concerns of government, but threw the burthen entirely upon his ministers or his favourites. Count Holck, at this time, enjoyed the greatest share of his regard; and his physician Struensee, the son of a Saxon ecclesiastic, was rising into notice. The queen, with whom the count was not in favour, encouraged Struensee to supplant him; and, by the aid of the insinuating physician, she recovered the confidence of her husband, and procured the banishment of Holck and his sister from court. Bernstorff was soon after dismissed from his office; and Matilda and Struensee triumphed over all opposition. The council of state was suppressed; a body which, since the revolution of the year 1660, had proved (like the parliaments of France) the only remaining check upon the royal authority; and a foreign adventurer ruled the king, the nobles, and the people with despotic sway¹.

The new minister projected various plans of reform, some of which were calculated for the benefit of the country. He shook off the domineering influence which Russia had exercised over the Danish cabinet, and thus gave greater dignity to the crown in the eyes of foreign powers. He introduced economy into the expenditure both of the court and the state, encouraged arts and industry, granted freedom to the peasants, and improved the general condition of the people: but, in endeavouring to establish his power, he overlooked the rules of prudence and caution. Having been ennobled, and appointed secret minister of the cabinet, he was empowered to commit the king's verbal orders to writing, to issue them even without the royal signature, and to give instructions to the different official departments. This dangerous height of power exposed him to envy and odium; and a law ordaining the liberty of the press, by which he hoped to render himself popular, had a contrary effect, as it furnished his enemies with numerous opportunities of exposing his presumptuous ambition, and vilifying his character.

The exorbitant power of the favourite seemed at length to require restraint; and the nobles, whom he had depressed, began to associate against him. Juliana Maria, the king's step-mother, and her son Frederic, fomented the rising disgust, and endeavoured to form a party sufficiently powerful to drive him from the helm. He was aware of their enmity; and their machinations increased the panic excited in his bosom by a mutiny of

¹ Elucidation of the History of the Count Struensee and Brandt, and of the Revolution in Denmark.

Norwegian seamen, who complained of a law which he had refused to soften or suspend. He even thought of retiring from Denmark; but the queen insisted on his braving the storm. An order for disembodysing five companies of foot-guards, and dispersing the men among other regiments, promoted the views of the adverse party. They refused to obey the degrading mandate; a sanguinary tumult arose; and the populace sided with the guards, who demanded and obtained a full discharge from the service.

The president of the war office, count Rantzau, was one of those nobles whom Juliana particularly wished to gain over. He had contributed to the elevation of Struensee, but disapproved some of his measures, and was therefore expected by the queen-dowager to be ready to desert him. He at first declined an adoption of the schemes of that princess; but when he had in vain exhorted the minister to act in a more circumspect and politic manner, and warned him of his danger, he joined the party of Juliana. A conspiracy was now formed, and a day fixed for the arrest of Struensee and his chief associates.

After a splendid ball, at which Matilda danced with her usual gaiety, colonel Koller, whose regiment kept guard for the night about the palace, tutored his officers, on pretence of orders from the king, for the execution of the conspiracy. Juliana, her son, and count Rantzau, pretending a desire of rescuing their sovereign from the danger of an insurrection, prevailed Jan. 17, 1772. upon a page to unlock the door of the royal apartment. The count, having papers ready for signature, declared to the terrified king, that nothing but his confirmation of their contents could save him from the fury of the people. Christian, with tears in his eyes, and a trembling hand, signed the orders. Koller, in the mean time, seized Struensee, and sent him to the citadel. Count Brandt, who had been employed, during his friend's administration, to amuse the imbecile king, was also arrested and imprisoned, with other partisans of the reigning queen¹.

Matilda was reposing, unconscious of her danger, when Rantzau, with colonel Eichstadt and some other officers, approached her chamber. The count having pleaded the king's authority in defence of his intrusion, she begged that Struensee might be called; and, when she was informed of his imprisonment, she exclaimed, "I am betrayed, undone, lost for ever!" She de-

¹ *Elucidation, &c.*—Wraxall's *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna*, Letter ii.

clared that she would not obey orders which had been extorted from the king, and demanded an interview with him ; but Rantzau, justly apprehending that her influence over her husband might mar the conspiracy, directed the officers to seize her. Her resistance being fruitless, she was carried off, and confined with her infant daughter in the castle of Cronenburg.

Now a prisoner in the hands of Juliana and Frederic, Christian was led through the city as a state pageant, that the people might suppose him to have readily acquiesced in this change of affairs. A general illumination gratified the mob ; and the nation tamely submitted to the queen-dowager and her son, who, assisted by the restored council of state, usurped in effect the royal authority.

Sir Robert Murray Keith, the British minister at Copenhagen, had advised Struensee to resign his power before the explosion took place ; but the minister turned a deaf ear to this opportune counsel. While the queen's fate was in suspense, sir Robert remonstrated against all violation of her security, denouncing the vengeance of his court in case of insult or personal injury.

Struensee and Brandt were tried by a special commission, and condemned to death. Beside the charges of an assumption of inordinate power, and of multiplied mal-administration, the former was accused of a criminal intercourse with the queen ; and, amidst the agitation of his mind and the fear of torture, he confessed that this imputation was founded in truth. The charges against the latter were not so weighty as to induce even the prejudiced commissioners who tried him, to condemn him to death, except one, which was, that he had bitten his majesty's finger, in revenge for a sarcastic remark.

When Struensee's confession was intimated to the queen, she boldly denied her guilt ; but when the baron Schak informed her that the offender, if he had falsely arraigned her honour, would not be suffered to escape an ignominious and cruel death, she said, " If I confess that what he has declared is true, may he hope for mercy ? " He bowed assent, and gave her a paper to sign. She began to write her name ; but suspecting that the baron had deceived her, indignantly threw down the pen. Schak put it between her fingers when she had nearly fainted, and guided her hand so as to finish the signature. An extraordinary tribunal now took cognizance of the cause, and divorced her as an adulteress. She was from that time less closely confined ; and her enemies were not so daring as to wreak upon her the extremity of vengeance. Her two friends, however, were brought to

the scaffold. Brandt seemed to flatter himself with the hope of pardon; and when he found himself disappointed, April 28. he submitted with great fortitude to the execution of his sentence. Struensee was less patient, and force was necessary to make him bear the dreadful stroke. Each had the right hand cut off before decapitation; and the remains of both were for some time exposed to public view. The people appeared to be disgusted with this scene of cruelty; and the death of Brandt, in particular, was deemed an act of inhuman tyranny ¹.

The unfortunate Matilda, being released from Cronenburg, was conveyed by captain Macbride in an English frigate to Stade, whence she was conducted to Zell by the British envoy. She there had a household and court, but lived in comparative obscurity. Her person and manners were pleasing, and she was not deficient in the usual accomplishments of her sex. If not a faithful wife, she was an affectionate mother, a kind mistress, and a benevolent friend ².

After the expulsion of Struensee from the helm, the queen-dowager governed Denmark for many years in the king's name with the assistance of prince Frederic. The intrigues of the Russians in that kingdom were now renewed; and Bernstorff, nephew to a nobleman who had distinguished himself in the cabinet, was elevated by their interest to the station of prime minister. Being a true patriot, he promoted the advantage of his country in every mode that he could devise, as far as was compatible with the retention of his office, under a princess who was less devoted to the same object. He alleviated the yoke of despotism, diminished the burthen of taxation, provided for the impartial administration of justice, encouraged the arts and sciences, favoured commerce, and studiously preserved peace.

In the contest of parties at Copenhagen, the court of Stockholm had rather favoured than opposed Struensee; and by the medium of baron Sprengporten, expostulated with count Rantzau on his factious schemes. In the preceding year, the death of the Swedish king had made way for the accession of his son,

¹ *History of Struensee and Brandt.*

² She died at Zell, on the 10th of May, 1775, before she had completed the twenty-fourth year of her age. A report arose that she was poisoned by an Italian domestic, who had been bribed by the Danish court to perpetrate that atrocious act; but there were no real grounds for this suspicion. She complained of an inflammation in her throat, to which she was constitutionally subject; the disorder increased in malignity; cutaneous eruptions afterwards appeared; and a putrid fever threatened her with dissolution. The skill of Zimmermann could not restore her to health; and she expired after an illness of six days.—*Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna*, Letter ii.

Gustavus III., an ambitious prince, who was too fully occupied with a revolutionary scheme at home to take an active part in the broils of another kingdom.

Before I treat of the revolution to which I allude, I will give you some information respecting the affairs of Sweden. You may recollect that the sister of Charles XII. and her husband were obliged to submit to such limitations of the royal power as rendered the government more republican than monarchical. The succeeding prince (Adolphus Frederic) acquiesced for a time in this system; but by the advice of count Brahe and baron Horn, he endeavoured to procure a greater degree of power, and to shake off that pernicious influence which the Hats, or the French party, had obtained in the diet. The scheme proved abortive; and the two noblemen, with others who belonged to the party styled the Caps, were beheaded. The ruling faction at the same time precipitated the nation into a concern in the seven years' war, which seriously injured the state. Of the annual subsidy which France had engaged to pay for this service, the arrears were so considerable to an indigent government, that frequent demands were made for liquidation: and it was at length declared, that, if the court of Versailles should not speedily execute its engagements, a British minister would be received at Stockholm. During the war no envoy from this country had been admitted, on account of the alliance between our court and that of Berlin: but sir John Goodricke was now sent to Sweden in a public character. In concert with the Russian minister, he opposed the Hat party with zeal and success; and in 1766, procured the assent of the Swedish ministry to a new treaty, not of alliance, but of amity and commerce¹.

The king was not remarkable for consistency or firmness. Sometimes he sided with the Caps, at other times with the Hats. His queen (Ulrica of Prussia) influenced him to concur with the latter, when they promised to obtain for him an inordinate augmentation of power. A conspiracy for this purpose being detected by the Caps, they resolved to impose new restraints upon the royal authority; and the diet agreed to their proposals.

An extraordinary scheme was afterwards projected by the leaders of the French party. They stated, as a pretence for desiring the convocation of a new diet, that Adolphus wished to resign the exercise of royalty. They intended, however, that

¹ *Account of the Revolution in Sweden*, by Charles Francis Sheridan.

he should be requested to resume it; and they hoped, by corruption and intrigue, to prevail in the assembly. When the king proposed that the states should be re-assembled, only one of the senators voted as he wished. Count Lowenhjelm was then the chief of the Caps; but he died soon afterwards, with the reputation of an able statesman. His death weakened and discouraged his party; and it was now concluded that the Hats would fully recover their influence. The king sent a letter to the senatorial body, lamenting the distress of the nation, and expressing an intention of relinquishing all concern in the government. His resignation was then announced to the public; but the senate continued to make use of his name in its decrees and regulations. The people drew various conclusions: many were surprised at the intelligence, while others suspected the artifice.

The senate having in vain remonstrated against the resignation, and finding that some of the principal *colleges* (or public offices) were unwilling to obey its orders, consented to convoke a diet, and, after an interval of confusion, the states assembled ¹. The senators who were devoted to the British and Russian interest were now deposed; and the Hats seized the administration. They had formed three schemes: by one, the king and the senate would be enabled to conclude alliances and make war without assembling the states; the second was, to unite the Swedish and French courts in a close confederacy; and the third was, to draw the former into a war with Russia. But they failed in all these views: in the first, as it was a flagrant breach of the constitution; in the other two, chiefly because there was little prospect of the payment of the French arrears ².

It was then proposed, in the secret meetings of the partisans of France, that force should be used to subvert the constitution of Sweden; but the king's moderation would not suffer him to countenance such a scheme. It therefore remained unattempted at the time of his decease. He died suddenly in the sixty-first year of his age, and in the twentieth year of an unquiet reign ³. If the spirit of party had been less violent under his administration, his want of energy would have been less noticed, and he would have been more generally respected.

Gustavus, the eldest son of Adolphus Frederic, had undertaken a journey to France, with views both of pleasure and politics. He procured a promise of the annual payment of a million

¹ In April 1769.

² Sheridan's *Account of the Revolution*.

³ February 12, 1771.

and a half of livres, and of strong support against the aristocratic party. Hastening back to Sweden, to take possession of the throne, he practised all the means of conciliation and all the arts of popularity. He assured the higher classes of his regard for the constitution, and of his acquiescence in the limitations of royalty. He courted the lower orders by affability, by listening to their complaints, and granting or promising redress.

His professions of constitutional submission were not universally believed; for, when plausible promises are lavished, grounds of suspicion may arise. The Caps exerted all their efforts in counteracting his supposed views, and promoting an alliance of Sweden with Great Britain and Russia. At the opening of a new diet they had a majority among the clergy, burghers, and peasants, while the Hats prevailed among the nobles. A dispute arising not only on the disposal of high offices, but also on the engagements to be signed by the king before his coronation, Gustavus affected an earnest desire of promoting concord, but secretly fomented disunion, according to the pernicious maxim, *Divide et impera*.

After a long contest, the Caps gained one of the points at which they aimed, by making an addition to the royal stipulations. They then deposed the senators of the opposite party, and resolved to exclude their rivals from all trust and employment. This all-grasping spirit disgusted the Hats, and prompted many of them to concur with the king, while others retired from the diet.

The British and Russian ministers endeavoured to accelerate the proposed alliance, by representing it as the only measure which could save the constitution, and secure the triumph of the Anti-Gallican party. But, as they would not agree to an annual subsidy, they could not prevail on the Caps to complete the treaty.

In the mean time, the king's emissaries were employed in propagating disaffection to the states, and encouraging complaints of their inattention to patriotic duties, of the venality and factious spirit of the members, and the dissensions which obstructed the reformation of the government. As these seditious intrigues seemed to threaten a revolt, measures of precaution were taken; and, while general Rudbeck was sent into Scania to overawe the adversaries of the states, Pecklin was commissioned to preserve the tranquillity of the capital.

Having matured the scheme of revolution, Gustavus imparted the secret to Hellichius, an officer of great courage and address,

who, tutored by him, excited a revolt at Christian-stadt, which furnished Charles, the king's brother, with a pretence for assembling some provincial regiments, and marching at their head, without waiting for orders from the executive committee, composed of national deputies. Rudbeck having informed the committee of this revolt, troops were sent to invest the fortress, and Stockholm was guarded with peculiar vigilance. But the king gained over the cavalry of burghers, who patrolled the streets; secured the subserviency of some officers of the guards; and, by his insinuating manners and complacency of demeanour, strengthened his interest among the people.

When farther delay seemed dangerous, the bold prince prepared for the execution of his arbitrary project. One detachment of the guards being on the point of retiring to make way for another, he called the officers of both into the guard-room, harangued them with artful eloquence, and prevailed on all except three to take an oath for the promotion of his views, which, he said, were just and patriotic, as he wished to put an end to the disorders of the realm, banish corruption and foreign influence, establish genuine freedom, and revive the lustre of the Swedish name. He then made his appearance on the parade, and, in a plausible speech, urged the privates to support him. They readily concurred with the majority of the officers; and the king, thus abetted, posted a guard upon the assembled senators¹.

Intimidated by this act of power, the members of the executive committee instantly separated. His majesty continued his course, and drew the troops to his side in every quarter of the city. He sent orders to stop the march of those regiments which had been commanded by the committee of the states to advance toward the capital; and general Pecklin, who was preparing to oppose him, was arrested by prince Frederic.

The silence of the ensuing night was disturbed only by the orderly movements of the soldiery. In the morning Gustavus addressed the people in a spacious square, asserted the purity of his intentions, and promised to be a patriot king. He ordered the states to re-assemble; but, like a military despot, stationed troops with artillery near the place of meeting. A new display of his eloquence was followed by the production of fifty-seven articles, composing that form of government which he wished to establish. The four orders acquiesced in a change which they

¹ Sheridan's *Account*.—*Vie Publique et Privée du Comte de Vergennes, par M. de Mayer.*

could not effectually resist, and the rival parties were equally enslaved¹.

Thus, without the loss of a single life, that constitution which had been obtained at a favourable moment, on the sudden death of an arbitrary monarch, was forcibly annulled by a bold, politic, and popular prince. His friends affirmed, that he established a better government than that which he subverted. I do not approve or vindicate the aristocratic tyranny which had long prevailed in Sweden: but you will allow, my son, that the erection of a system of monarchical despotism was not calculated for the genuine or permanent reformation of the government. Gustavus affected to be solely influenced by a desire of promoting the welfare and happiness of the people; but he was rather actuated by selfish ambition than by true patriotism. An upright and moderate prince would merely have endeavoured to circumscribe the power of the aristocratic leaders within regular limits, and rescue himself from degradation and impotence—not have reduced the representatives of the nation to a state of weakness and insignificance.

This revolution was very displeasing to the empress of Russia, who ordered her minister at Stockholm to take measures for re-establishing the Swedish aristocracy; “a form of government (says Dr. Gillies) so well calculated to bridle the activity of the king, and to distract or enfeeble the exertions of the state.” She expected the co-operation of the king of Prussia in the same cause, as he was bound, by his treaty with her, to support the system which Gustavus had overturned. But his own fondness for power would not suffer him to censure with acrimony the ambition of the young Swede; and, being uncle to this prince, he wished to act as his friend. He therefore earnestly dissuaded Catharine from all acts of violence against the advocates of the new system: the court of Vienna also endeavoured to allay her disgust, and soften her indignation; and the rising storm subsided².

The Danish court being hostile to his assumption of power, Gustavus resolved to invade Norway; and he led an army to the frontiers, for that purpose; but his impetuosity soon yielded to the remonstrances of his uncle and the suggestions of prudence. An accommodation was concluded between the courts; and the Swedish prince directed his attention to the affairs of his own

¹ Some of the articles, indeed, contained limitations upon the king's authority; but, upon the whole, he had sufficient power to elude those restrictions.

² Gillies' *View of the Reign of Frederic*, chap. vi.

kingdom. The apprehensions of famine spread dismay among his people ; but his regulations and arrangements contributed to allay the evil. In other respects, likewise, he seemed anxious for the general welfare.

In the concerns of the Polish state he did not interfere. He could not effectually protect that country ; and he had no hope of profiting by its convulsions. The Russians continued their career of oppression and cruelty ; and the calamities of civil war were added to the mischiefs of foreign hostility. Amidst these commotions, a daring attempt was made upon the person of Stanislaus. Kosinski, and other members of an Anti-Russian association, were instigated by count Pulaski to seize that prince, and conduct him to the camp of the confederates, or take away his life if he should endeavour to escape. He was wounded by these assailants, and led into a forest near Warsaw ; but Kosinski, moved by his expostulations and entreaties, saved him from farther violence¹.

The continuance of these disorders furnished a pretence for the execution of a scheme of dismemberment, which the Prussian monarch and the czarina had for some time entertained. The iniquitous scheme originated in the mind of Frederic. Having added Silesia to the dominions which he inherited from his father, he was also desirous of extending his territories by the seizure of a considerable part of Poland. Peace was the chief wish of his heart, as he was now in the decline of life, and was no longer inflamed with the martial *furor* ; but he concluded, that the disorders of Poland would afford him opportunities of rapine without the necessity of actual war. While he was amusing his fancy with this interesting prospect, he was alarmed at the progress of the Russians in Moldavia, and began to fear that his ambitious ally might be enabled to domineer over him, as she did over the Poles. The emperor was equally apprehensive of danger, and therefore did not scruple to make advances to a prince with whom his mother had long been at variance. He visited Frederic at Neiss, in Silesia (in 1769) ; and a confidential interchange of sentiments took place between the monarchs. They engaged to unite for the maintenance of peace in Germany ; and it was hinted by the Prussian potentate, that, if the czarina could not easily be brought to reason, a threefold partition of Poland might remove all difficulties. Joseph was not so disinterested or so just as to resist or condemn the pro-

¹ Coxe's *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*

position, which, however, was for a time kept secret. In the following year, the two princes had another meeting; and prince Kaunitz also had long conferences with the king, to whose interest he promised to attend. Prince Henry repairing to Petersburg on pretence of amusement, disclosed the scheme to Catharine, by whom it was not disapproved. As she still insisted, however, on extravagant terms of peace, Maria Theresa and her son ordered military preparations; and an armed party, entering Poland, seized the lordship of Zips¹.

This invasion accelerated the adjustment of the treaty of partition. Frederic drew the outlines of a plan; but Catharine, in her *contre projet*, demanded a much greater portion of the spoils than he was willing to allow, and exacted new terms of alliance, more favourable to herself than to her royal confederate. These requisitions delayed the settlement; but it was at length agreed that the king should seize Polish Prussia, or the territory between Eastern Prussia and his possessions in Pomerania, with the exception of Dantzic and Thorn; and that the empress should take possession of a great part of Lithuania. Maria Theresa was invited to accede to the treaty, and take a share of the spoils of a convulsed country. She wished for so many

Aug. 5. palatinates, that Frederic and the czarina affected to be shocked at her rapacity. After a mitigation of her demands, the treaty of division was concluded.

The great power of the three allies removed all doubt of the acquiescence of the diet of Poland in their unjust requisitions. Every patriotic Pole, and all men who had a sense of honour and justice, condemned either openly or in their hearts, the conduct of the profligate invaders of national rights; but what means of effectual resistance had the diet or the people? Submission was expedient; and the combined powers succeeded in their aims. Without waiting for the assent of the diet, they seized the territories which they had allotted to themselves, and defied the resentment of the king and the nobles.

This partition has been represented as the first great breach of that system which provided for the balance of power; but it seems to have left the balance nearly as it was before. The Polish state had long been so weak, that it held a very low rank among the European nations, and had scarcely any concern in the adjustment of the balance; and the addition of its exterior provinces to the dominions of the three confederates left those

¹ *Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.*

powers in no very different predicament, with reference to each other, than that in which they had recently stood. We may, therefore, leave this supposed breach of system out of the question, and consider the act as an arbitrary spoliation, not essentially different from former instances of daring rapine, and not defensible on any sound principles of justice or equity. Indeed, the conspiring potentates, by their awkward attempts for the vindication of the measure, manifested their sense of its injustice. If they had been sincerely desirous of providing for the political welfare and happiness of the Polish nation, they might have promoted such a settlement of its affairs as would have humbled the aristocracy, and have combined the freedom of the people with regular government. But this was not their wish; ambition was their motive, and rapine their object.

In the new arrangements, Warsaw, the modern capital of Poland, Cracow, the ancient metropolis, and the territory extending from Silesia in the west, to the river Berezina in the east, from the province of Samogitia in the north to the palatinate of Chelm in the south, and to the Black Forest in the south-east, were left to the natives.

The old capital was, at this time, garrisoned by about 1500 Russians; but so great was their contempt of the Polanders, that they were extremely negligent in keeping guard. Observing their want of vigilance, M. de Choisy, a gallant French officer in the service of the confederates, undertook the task of surprising the citadel. He sent a young Frenchman, with a small party of volunteers, to a sewer near the wall; and, after wading up to their arm-pits, they found their way at night to the castle, killed or secured the few soldiers by whom it was occupied, and admitted at a postern Choisy and his followers, who immediately sallied out against the Russian troops in the city. With only 270 men, the officer kept the enemy at bay for two hours, anxiously expecting the promised appearance of the main body of the confederates; but being disappointed in his hope of aid, he retreated into the citadel, and defended it above two months against all the attempts of the Moscovites. For want of ammunition and provisions, he then resigned it to the besiegers. Even after the partition had been effected and confirmed, Cracow was garrisoned by Russians, for whose protection of the city the degraded inhabitants were obliged to pay¹.

¹ Wraxall's *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna*. Letter xvii.—This writer attributes the scheme of partition to the "deep and capacious mind" of prince Henry of Prussia, who persuaded his brother to adopt it.

In a manifesto promulgated by the confederate powers, benevolence, generosity, and public spirit, were represented as the motives of the three despots for their acts of rapacious violence. They lamented the dissensions and disorders of Poland, the neglect of law, the insecurity of persons and property, the decline of agriculture and commerce; and affected to dread the total ruin of the state, if seasonable precautions should not be enforced. Nothing, they said, was more urgently required, than the application of an immediate remedy to those evils from which the neighbouring nations had already experienced the most disagreeable effects, and which, if not opportunely checked, might produce such changes in the political system of that part of Europe, as might be fatal to the general tranquillity. They had therefore resolved, with one accord, to take the most efficacious and the best combined measures for the re-establishment of good order and security in Poland, and the settlement of its ancient constitution, and national and popular liberties, upon a solid basis; and as the harmony and friendship now subsisting among the three powers might not always continue, they would not only take the present opportunity of preventing, by their interference, the ruin of the state, but each would also insist on the recognition of particular claims to various territories, which they did not wish to expose to the hazard of future contingencies. These claims would be submitted to the consideration of a diet legally assembled: and it was hoped that tranquillity would be restored by these measures and by concomitant acts¹.

A spirited answer to this arrogant declaration was published at Warsaw, in the name of the king and the senate. In this reply, the prevalence of anarchy in Poland was acknowledged; and it was admitted that the discord and divisions of the people had partly occasioned the mischiefs and evils which every good citizen deplored; but the licentiousness of foreign troops formed the chief cause of those calamities. The engagements of the three powers to promote the restoration of peace and order would have been regarded by his majesty with the most lively gratitude, if the threat of dismemberment had not followed, to excite the greatest surprise and the most profound grief. The alleged claims were wholly unsupported. The rights of the republic to all her provinces had every mark of authenticity, being confirmed by uninterrupted possession for many ages, sanctioned by the most solemn treaties, and guaranteed even by the powers that

¹ Appendix to the *Annual Register*, vol. xv.

now advanced very different pretensions. The titles urged as grounds of partition could not be admitted, without undermining the rights of every state and shaking the foundations of all thrones. The allied courts had vindicated their seizures by affirming, that they had no prospect of obtaining justice in the ordinary mode or course, on account of the extraordinary situation of the republic; but, said the king, that situation was accidental and temporary, and it was in their power to change it. By their consent the republic might be restored to the free exercise of its sovereignty. Their claims might then be fairly and temperately discussed. Their present proceedings not being of this tenor, he could not avoid protesting against the unjustifiable violence of the confederate spoliators of the Polish provinces: he appealed to the potentates who were connected with his country by solemn treaties, and implored redress at the tribunal of the King of kings, the supreme Judge of nations.

An appeal to justice and equity only served to give offence to the combination of despots. The three courts replied that their dignity, and regard for justice, would prescribe bounds to their moderation; that the essential interests of their crowns would not suffer them to renounce their claims; and that, if the king had any compassion for the people, he would not, by delaying to convoke a diet and enter upon a negotiation, expose them to violence and injury. To remove all pretences for aggravating the evils which afflicted his country, Stanislaus now gave orders for a full meeting of the senate; and that assembly, in fixing a time for a diet, requested that all foreign troops would retire from the territories of the republic. To this request no attention was paid. Three powerful armies obstructed the freedom of election, and overawed the deliberations of the diet. A.D. The majority, for some time, resisted this terrific influence, 1773. which had also, in many instances, been aided by promises of favour and by pecuniary distribution: but at length the senate, or upper house, sanctioned the dismemberment by a plurality of six votes, and the assembly of nuncios (54 appearing May. against 53) acceded to the inglorious measure. Commissioners were named, to whom full powers were granted for the adjustment of the terms of partition. All the articles were dictated by the ministers of the allied courts; and a third part of the country was divided among the *friendly* neighbours of Poland¹.

¹ Coxe's *Travels in Poland*, &c.—This partition, though Maria Theresa was so intimately concerned in it, and received so valuable a share of the spoil, is not even

Being reproached, by some of the members of the diet, for that connexion with Russia, and that tameness of acquiescence, which had led to the dismemberment and ruin of Poland, Stanislaus rose from his seat, threw his hat on the floor, and said, "Gentlemen, I am disgusted at your behaviour. The obnoxious partition, and the misfortunes which you deplore, can only be attributed to your factious spirit and your continual dissensions. For my own part, if no greater extent of territory than this hat would cover should be left to me, I should still be, in the eyes of all Europe, your lawful but unfortunate king."

To facilitate a future division of the Polish dominions, the three courts proposed a *reform* of the government of that portion of territory which they condescended to leave to the rightful possessors. The chief feature of the plan was the erection of a permanent executive council, which was strenuously opposed by the delegates of the diet. It was so constituted as to diminish the royal authority, (which was before too weak and ineffective,) and afford, to foreign powers, opportunities of sinister influence. The dissidents were excluded from the council; as they were from the diet: but they obtained, in other respects, a confirmation of their rights and privileges.

In dividing the spoil, the Austrians seized a much greater share than they had engaged (in the previous concert with their allies) to take. The Prussian monarch, who watched all the movements of his neighbours, observed with a jealous eye the rapacity of Maria Theresa, and thought himself justified in adding to his acquisitions, that the balance of spoliation might be maintained. The czarina loudly remonstrated against this injustice, and insisted on a restitution of the towns and lands recently seized. Frederic, after some hesitation and delay, complied with her desire, either wholly or for the greater part. The Austrian princess was much more unwilling to yield: but the respective allotments were at length adjusted nearly on the preconcerted basis¹.

The improvement of the newly-acquired country was now the great object of Frederic. He had wished to incorporate with his dominions the commercial towns of Dantzic and Thorn; but his confederates would not suffer them to be included in his share. As he had the command, however, of the navigation of the Vistula, he encroached on the trade of those towns, and levied arbi-

mentioned by the abbé Fromageot, in his annals of the reign of that princess—a striking instance of negligent omission or of wilful suppression.

¹ Gillies' *View of the Reign of Frederic*, chap. vi.

trary imposts. He found his new territories in a disordered state. By grants from his treasury, the towns and villages were repaired, the marshes were drained, and manufactures were established. He also erected schools, and provided for the regular administration of justice. Catharine likewise attended to these objects: nor was Maria Theresa wholly negligent of the improvement of her acquisitions.

Pleased with her success in Poland, the czarina gratified the king of Denmark with a surrender of Ducal Holstein, in return for a transfer of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst to her son, the grand duke Paul, by whom they were ceded to the bishop of Lubeck, a relative of her deceased husband. The exchange was particularly advantageous to the Danes, who thus became masters of the whole Cimbric peninsula. They now formed, among other schemes of internal improvement, the plan of a canal from Kiel across Holstein, which, by connecting the Baltic with the German ocean, proved highly useful for the purposes of trade.

During these transactions the Russians continued the war with the Turks. While their fleet domineered in the Archipelago, both parties professed a wish for peace, of which the Turks were more sincerely desirous than the Russians. The king of Prussia, whose judgment had foreseen the disasters which the war would entail on the Porte, had exhorted the grand signor to take the earliest opportunity of concluding peace. His mediation, and that of the emperor Joseph, were accepted in form by Mustapha; and, when notice was given to the czarina of the wishes of the interposing powers, it was hinted that, if she should reject the present offer, the Turks would probably solicit an interference which she would highly disapprove—that of the court of Versailles. She at first declined the mediation of the two courts, alleging that she had already refused that of Great Britain: but in an interview with prince Henry of Prussia, she declared her acceptance of the offer, and promised to state, in a letter to his brother, those terms of pacification to which she would accede. Her proposals, however, were so unreasonable, in the opinion of Frederic, of Joseph, and Mustapha, that she condescended to alter and qualify them.

This negotiation rendered the campaign of the year 1772 so inactive, that instead of mentioning its unimportant incidents, I will call your attention to the history of the bey Ali, a distinguished adventurer, who, if he had been strongly supported by the Russians in his revolt from the Porte, might have promoted

their views in Greece, and have effected an important revolution in Egypt and Syria. He was the son of a priest of the Greek church; but, being taken by a party of freebooters, he was sold as a slave to an officer who acted under the pasha of Egypt, and was obliged to embrace the religion of Mohammed. After passing with honour through various employments, he was created a bey, or lord, and became at length chief of the beys. A strong party being formed against him, he was twice constrained to retire from Egypt; but, recovering his station and power, he ruled for some years in tranquillity. When the war broke out between the Turks and Russians, he was employed in raising an army of twelve thousand men for the service of the grand signor. An order, however, was sent by that prince for his decapitation, in consequence of his being accused by his enemies, of an intention of co-operating with the troops of the czarina. Exasperated at the intended violence, he renounced all subjection to the Porte, and courted an alliance with Russia. Being supported by the majority of the beys, he levied a great military force, and sent a part of it to reduce Palestine, Syria, and Arabia Felix, while he attended to the correction of abuses, the due administration of justice, and the promotion of commerce and arts. His chief general was the bey Mohammed Abou-dahap, who, elate with his success, conceived the hope of supplanting his benefactor Ali. Returning to Cairo, the ambitious and ungrateful bey declared his intention of seizing the government; and, when a considerable army had been added to his force by the treachery of the bey Ishmael, his superiority of number promised success to his pretensions. Ali now solicited immediate aid from Alexis Orloff, and retired with his treasures and a small army to Acre. He and the sheik Daher took Gaza, and formed the siege of Jaffa; but the garrison bravely defended this town, and the Russians gave very little assistance to the besiegers. It was, however, at length reduced; and Ali, with the friendly sheik, prepared for the recovery of Egypt. He routed the troops of Abou-dahap near Salahieh, but was defeated in the next conflict, and wounded in his tent. A fever, which had seized him before the engagement, concurred with grief to render his wounds incurable¹.

The conferences between the Russian and Turkish plenipotentiaries being unproductive of peace, the war was renewed on the banks of the Danube. The Turks obtained occasional advan-

¹ Lusignan's *History of the Revolt of Ali Bey*.

tages in desultory actions; for their chief commander, the vizir Mousson Oglou, avoided a general engagement. The chief conflicts occurred near Silistria, on the Bulgarian side of the river. Romanzoff having sent his van-guard to assault an encampment on a hill near that town, the artillery dispersed the Turkish cavalry; but the post was so gallantly defended by the Janisaries, that the Russians could not avoid recoiling, and even commenced a retreat. The Turks, elate with the hope of victory, rushed from their camp, and pursued with disorderly eagerness. Some Russian regiments then ascended another part of the hill, and took possession of the entrenchments, while the enemy retired into the town. The general gave orders for an attack of the place; but spirited sallies baffled his views; and, when the advance of the vizir threatened an interception of retreat, the assailants hastened back to the northern side of the river, not without considerable loss. The empress, dissatisfied with these incidents, wrote to Romanzoff for a reason for his not routing the enemy in a general conflict. He replied, that the army of the vizir trebled that of her majesty. She observed in answer, that the ancient Romans did not trouble themselves with inquiring into the number of their enemies, but merely wished to know where they could be found, that they might bring them to a decisive engagement¹.

Re-crossing the Danube, the Russians besieged Silistria for some weeks, losing a multitude of men by the fire from the works and by the sallies of the garrison. A part of their army, in the mean time, advanced toward the Euxine, and endeavoured to take Varna by a *coup de main*. The brave seraskier Hassan drove the enemies of his country from the former place; and the attempt upon the latter was frustrated by the spirit of the garrison.

The vizir now employed himself in a hazardous service. The discipline of the army had been relaxed; and licentiousness and neglect of duty pervaded the camp. Not finding remonstrances efficacious, the minister made some new regulations, and strictly enforced them. The soldiery became, for a time, more orderly and submissive; but many of them cherished a keen resentment against the vizir for his reformatory zeal.

The next campaign was more pleasing to the ambitious czarina than the warfare of the preceding year. Before 1774.

¹ Tooke's *Life of Catharine II.* vol. ii.

it commenced, the grand signor died; a prince who deserved to reign over less barbarous subjects than the Turks. As his son

Jan. 21. Selim was then too young to govern, Abdul-hamed, brother of the deceased sultan, was appointed his successor. The new sovereign, instead of putting his nephew to death, according to the ancient practice, not only protected him, but treated him with friendly regard. A party of mutinous Janisaries wished to place Selim on the throne; but they were quickly reduced to obedience.

Both courts made extraordinary preparations for the campaign; but, at the desire of his Prussian majesty, Catharine consented to a renewal of negotiation. She found her finances at a low ebb: her armies had been thinned by pestilence; and some of her provinces were convulsed with rebellion. Yet she would not so far mitigate her demands, as to promote the conclusion of a treaty before her troops were ready to take the field. Romanzoff having forced the passage over the Danube, various conflicts arose; in one of which, general Soltikoff triumphed by valour and perseverance. Kamenski and Souvoroff had less difficulty in routing another army; for a spirit of mutiny was so strong and general among the men, that they fled instead of fighting, and left their camp and artillery. They deserted in large bodies; and many thousands, hastening to Constantinople, filled that capital with disorder and confusion. The mutual animosity of the European and Asiatic troops hurried them into sanguinary collision; and they became more formidable to each other than to their foreign adversaries. The vizir remained encamped with a different army, unable to preserve order or secure obedience. His convoys were intercepted; and, his camp being surrounded by the Russians, he was reduced to the necessity of capitulating for safety, or cutting his way through the hostile ranks. As he preferred negotiation, he desired a parley, and peace was soon concluded at Kainargi.

It was agreed, that the Russians should enjoy a freedom of navigation in the Euxine, and in other seas of which
July 21. the Turks claimed the dominion, with a proviso of their having only one armed vessel at a time in the Constantinopolitan seas; that Azoph, Taganrok, Kerch, Jenickala, and Kinburn, should be ceded to the empress, who should also possess the territory situated between the Bog and the Nieper, and receive four millions and a half of roubles toward defraying the ex-

penses of the war; and that the Crimea should be no longer dependent on the Ottoman empire¹.

These articles were reluctantly signed by the *kiaya* of the vizir. The pride of Mousson Oglou would not suffer him to appear at the conferences; he therefore feigned illness, and sent a deputy. As soon as the grand signor had received intelligence of the treaty, he convoked an extraordinary divan; and, however displeasing were the conditions, it was resolved that the peace should be ratified.

The treaty was advantageous to Russia, both in a commercial and political point of view. The Levant trade was opened to the subjects of the czarina; and that aspiring princess, while she restored the greater part of her conquests, extended her sway over the Polish Ukraine, and, by the stipulation respecting the Crimea, gave herself a chance, not very distant, of acquiring full possession of that peninsula. The peace was celebrated with general rejoicings for eight days; and the joy of the court was evinced in the release of prisoners (except those who were confined for high treason), and the recall of exiles from the wilds of Siberia.

The suppression of the rebellion enlivened the joy of pacification. The government of Catharine, though it was administered in general with imposing art and politic address, was not universally agreeable to the nation. The clergy complained of violated privileges; and the peasants were disgusted at the rigours of military conscription. Amidst these discontents, a bold adventurer offered himself to public notice, and excited an alarming revolt. This insurgent was Ikhelman Pugatcheff, a Cosack of the Don, who had served with reputation in the Russian army. In his person he strikingly resembled Peter III., and was therefore advised by some Polish monks of the Greek church, with whom he remained in concealment after he had deserted the camp, to assume the designation of that emperor. Retiring into Little Russia, he was protected and encouraged by those sectaries who considered the Greek religion as corrupted by the general practice, and deemed themselves professors of the pure and genuine faith. He afterwards made his appearance on the banks of the Yaik, and formed a strong party among the Cosacks, who, being heretics in their notions, and in a state of irritation on account of the disputed rights of fishery, were easily persuaded to take arms against the government. Being suspected

¹ Tooke's *Life of Catharine*, vol. ii.

of treasonable views, he was imprisoned; but he soon made his escape; and, having assembled his partisans in the territory of Orenburg, erected the standard of revolt¹. Many clergymen of the established church concurred with the sectaries in favouring his cause; and the flame spread through the provinces of Casan and Astracan. He formed the siege of Orenburg, relinquished and resumed it; but he could not take the place, though his men, during the siege, obtained various advantages over the loyal troops. As his success increased, so did his ferocity. He murdered many captured officers, and a great number of the gentry; and even women and children were put to the sword by this inhuman rebel.

General Bibikoff, being sent against him with a respectable army, first employed some officers in checking his career, and then personally engaged him; but was defeated and slain. Prince Gallitzin, eager to revenge the death of his commander, attacked the rebels near Kargaula, and routed them with great slaughter. Their chief fled, almost alone, to the mountains; but he soon re-assembled the fugitives, and having received some accessions of force, risked another engagement, in which he was unsuccessful. He again took refuge among the mountains. Suddenly re-appearing, he marched toward Casan, burned the suburbs, and invested the citadel. He was not, however, suffered to prosecute the siege with effect; for colonel Michelson, approaching with a gallant *corps*, drove him from the walls, pursued him for three days, and then encountered him in a close contest, which terminated in the flight of the rebels.

Pugatcheff was not yet so discouraged as to desist from his revolt. The malcontent tribes still flocked to his banner; and he conceived the hope of reducing the second city of the empire. While the war continued with the Turks, he might have taken Moscow with ease; but he neglected the opportunity; and, when he now began his march toward that city, he was informed of the conclusion of peace. Expecting that it would at this time be well defended, he altered his course, retired to the Volga, routed several regiments, and reduced some forts.

The chief honour of quelling the revolt is due to Michelson. He pursued the rebels with indefatigable zeal, in trackless deserts, amidst the rigours of winter; and, in the heats of summer (for in that climate there is little spring), he continued to harass and annoy them in every mode, until famine and ruin

¹ Dr. Gillies says, that he "pretended to be *accompanied* by the czar Peter III.;" but that was not his pretence; for he did not scruple to announce *himself* as the czar who was supposed to have been murdered.

hung over them. At length they ceased to resist, and dispersed. Three of them were induced, by a promise of pardon, to betray their leader. When he had discovered their intentions, he began to defend himself; but they bound him, and delivered him up to a guard sent by Souvoroff. He was tried at Moscow, condemned as a traitor, and beheaded. Four of his chief accomplices were also punished with death: eighteen were subjected to the torture of the knout, and banished to Siberia. A general pardon was then granted; and peace was fully restored to the empire. The effects of the rebellion, however, did not immediately vanish. Many towns in the disordered provinces, and a great number of villages, appeared in ruins: trade was at a stand; and famine long prevailed¹.

The peace of the European continent was undisturbed for some years after the treaty of Kainargi: but the ambition of princes or of ministers, and the military spirit of the principal governments, seemed to prognosticate that it would not be of very long duration. In the mean time, every nation endeavoured to profit by it.

In my next letter, I will take a general survey of the affairs of Europe to the inauspicious æra of the alliance between the French court and the American provincials; an alliance which led to disastrous consequences, by its tendency to the propagation of revolutionary ideas in France. But, before I enter upon that survey, it is proper to advert to the republic of the United Provinces, which, during the period comprehended in my late review of politics, remained a tranquil spectator of the transactions of other states.

In the war which was closed by the treaty of Paris, the Dutch had no concern. They were excused by the British monarch from the obligation of assisting him against his enemies; but, as their merchants favoured France by a conveyance of her colonial produce to Europe, their ships were occasionally seized for this breach of neutrality. The burghers of Amsterdam and other trading towns loudly complained of what they termed piratical violence, and of the partiality of prince Louis of Brunswick, guardian of the young stadtholder, to the British interests. The French took advantage of this discontent to strengthen their influence, which had been nearly subverted in Holland by their invasion of the territories of the republic in the year 1747. But the disputes of party, for many years, did not very seriously disturb the tranquillity of the United Provinces.

¹ *Vie de Catharine*, par Castéra, tome ii.

William V., prince of Orange, having completed his eighteenth year in 1766, was declared to be of proper age for the personal exercise of government; and he entered upon the functions of stadtholder, captain-general, and high-admiral, amidst demonstrations of general joy. He was dull and heavy in his appearance, but was not deficient in sagacity or in good sense. He is said to have been quick in the discernment of character; had an excellent memory; and was well acquainted with the history and constitution of that republic which he was destined to guide. In his disposition he was mild rather than imperious; and, from his habitual attention to the advice and instructions of his guardian, he had contracted a diffidence of himself and a distrust of others. Hence he became, in general, a wavering and irresolute politician. His attachment to prince Louis induced him to solicit a continuance of the public services of one who had been accustomed to govern. The prince, therefore, was not only continued in the office of field-marshal; but, without being enrolled as a member of the council of state, which was thought degrading to a person who had been at the head of the government, he had the privilege of giving advice whenever it was desired by the stadtholder¹.

When the prince of Orange was inclined to marry, he made a judicious choice of a wife. Wilhelmina, niece to the king of Prussia, united domestic virtues and the usual accomplishments of her sex with the bold spirit of her family; and an union with this princess promised additional strength to the republic. The prince repaired to Berlin, where the nuptial solemnity was followed by courtly festivity; and general joy pervaded the Dutch provinces.

The prince, for some years, enjoyed a great degree of popularity; and his administration, being supported by the British and Prussian interest, seemed to bid defiance to the intrigues of the French party. This faction disapproved his intention of augmenting the army, as it tended to increase his influence; but he effected his purpose, and also gave renovated strength to the navy. The troops were put in motion in 1770, when a dispute had arisen with the elector Palatine, on the subject of duties claimed by the Dutch upon the Lower Rhine: but hostilities were prevented by the acquiescence of the elector in the fair demands of the republic.

The commerce and the colonial power of the Dutch were still considerable. In the East Indies, they improved the condition of

¹ *History of the Revolution (in 1787) in the Dutch Republic.*

their settlements, particularly in Java and Ceylon. In the latter island, being desirous of rendering the king of Candy more subservient to their views of interest, they penetrated into the heart of his dominions, and gained possession of his capital: but they were afterwards driven from it. They continued to harass him, until he agreed (in 1766) to a treaty which conduced greatly to their advantage. He ceded a very considerable extent of territory, and gave them a monopoly of the produce of the island, on their promising to acknowledge him as emperor, supply him with salt *gratis*, and pay him a tribute¹.

Where their interest is supposed to be concerned, the Dutch are not remarkable for an adherence to their stipulations. They neglected the payment of the tribute, and did not strictly execute the rest of the treaty, although persons less avaricious and narrow-minded would have considered it as a point of policy to conciliate the barbarian prince by an observance of the laws of honour and good faith.

In the western hemisphere, the tyranny of the planters of Surinam nearly occasioned the loss of that colony to the republic. The negroes, finding that their laborious services did not procure them that humane treatment to which they were entitled, resolved to take vengeance upon their oppressors, and commenced an insurrection near the river Cottica. Several plantations were ravaged by the slaves who had cultivated them; the houses were set on fire, and the inhabitants murdered. The insurgents then retired into the woods with their families, while the terrified colonists flocked to Paramaribo for protection. The colonial military establishment not being deemed sufficiently powerful, the governor formed a regiment of free negroes who had been slaves; and application was made to the prince of Orange for a reinforcement. The rebels had fortified with palisades, and with loaded swivels, a spot that was well defended by nature, and which was only accessible by private paths under water. They had another post still more difficult of access; and from these coverts they used to sally in the night for the purposes of depredation. Troops being sent against the former station, some weeks were spent and many lives lost in a fruitless attempt to throw a fascine bridge over the marsh by which the post was surrounded. The besiegers were on the point of returning to the capital, when a party of black rangers discovered the paths of communication. The swamp was then crossed, and the fortress taken by a *coup de main*; but

¹ Percival's *Account of the Island of Ceylon*.

Baron, the leader of the rebels, escaped into the woods with the greater part of the garrison. Soon after this success, colonel Fourgeoud, a Swiss, landed at Paramaribo with above five hundred men from Holland, to assist in quelling the insurrection: but these soldiers were long inactive, as tranquillity seemed to be restored. A fresh alarm being excited by intelligence, importing that a small party had fallen into an ambuscade, and had been cut off in the midst of a swamp, a party of Europeans under captain Stedman were sent to cruise up and down the Cottica. These men suffered severely from fatigue and the climate, while the negroes were renewing their ravages. The colonel afterwards began his march in quest of the enemy, who, however, eluded pursuit. He destroyed their habitations, circumscribed their quarters, and ravaged their fields¹.

This desultory war long continued to agitate the colony. Fourgeoud, having received a reinforcement from Holland, renewed his operations against the revoltors. He and his men were frequently obliged to wade through morasses in very heavy rains, when the water nearly reached their breasts. In one of these *aquatic* expeditions, the Europeans were suddenly attacked and defeated with loss: but the chief diminution of their number arose from disease, generated by fatigue and an insalubrious climate. Having forced their way to a small town, to which the enemy set fire, they were encouraged to proceed until a retreat became difficult and dangerous. They effected it, however, and had a respite from the turmoils of war. Hostilities again arose; but peace was at length restored, on the emigration of the greater part of the rebel host from the Surinam colony to that of Cayenne².

LETTER IV.

History of Great Britain, including an Account of the American War; with a general View of the Affairs of Europe, to the Commencement of the War with France, in 1778.

As some of the most unnecessary and unjustifiable wars have been commended or vindicated, you will not be surprised, my

¹ Stedman's *Narrative of a Five-Years' Expedition* (from 1772 to 1777) *against the revolted Negroes of Surinam*, vol. i.

² Stedman's *Narrative*, vol. ii.

dear son, when I inform you that the war into which Great Britain was now on the point of rushing, although particularly horrible in being a civil war, was pronounced to be just and necessary, not only by legislators, but by many of the professional teachers of a mild and pacific religion. For this perverseness of sentiment we may in some measure account, by reflecting on the influence of a court, and on the connexion between the state and the church. From public assemblies we are induced to expect a greater attention to policy than to justice: but, in this instance, both those objects seem to have been sacrificed to the wantonness of despotism or the malice of resentment. The intentions of the court soon appeared, in the application of the minister to the commons for an address that favoured coercion. It was voted by that house, after a spirited debate; and the lords, notwithstanding the prophetic warnings of some of the members who harangued them, agreed to (what was in effect) a declaration of war. The address stated, that "a part of his majesty's subjects, in the province of Massachuset Bay, had proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the supreme legislature; and that a *rebellion* actually existed within the said province." It declared the readiness of the two houses to pay attention and regard to any *real* grievances, which should, in a *dutiful* and *constitutional* manner, be laid before them. "At the same time," they said, "we consider it as our indispensable duty humbly to beseech your majesty, that you will take the most effectual measures to *enforce due obedience* to the laws and to the authority of the legislature."

A conciliatory bill, framed by the earl of Chatham, was rejected by the peers; and the commons treated with contempt a scheme offered by Mr. Burke with the same view; but a resolution proposed by lord North was adopted, promising to desist from all taxation except commercial imposts, whenever any one of the colonial assemblies should vote a reasonable sum, as a revenue to be appropriated by the parliament. Not trusting to the efficacy of this offer, (which, indeed, the colonists deemed insidious and evasive,) the minister introduced two bills to debar nine of the provinces from all foreign commerce. Those which were not thus restricted were, New York, the three Delaware counties, North Carolina, and Georgia.

These bills were strongly opposed, not only in various petitions, but by many of the best parliamentary speakers; and the whole conduct of the court, with reference to America, was indignantly

condemned. Mr. Wilkes, who then presided in the civic chair, took a decided part in some of these debates; and his influence procured a spirited remonstrance from the liverymen of London, justifying resistance on the part of the provincials, and earnestly beseeching his majesty to "dismiss immediately and for ever from his councils" those ministers and secret advisers who were "enemies equally to his title and to the liberties of his people¹." The king, in his answer, expressed the utmost astonishment at finding any of his subjects capable of encouraging, or inclined to vindicate, the rebellious disposition evinced by the Americans; and he declared that, as he had a full confidence in the wisdom of his parliament, he thought himself bound to enforce submission to its authority.

Soon after the delivery of this bold address and this spirited answer, actual hostilities arose in New England. A detachment of the king's troops, observing near Lexington a party of Americans, April 19, can militia, ordered the *rebels* to disperse. The latter 1775. began to retire; and "several guns were then fired upon the royalists from behind a stone wall and some houses," according to the account given by general Gage; but I am not fully disposed to believe that the cautious provincials would thus attack a force superior both in number and discipline. The skirmish ended in the death of some of the Americans. At Concord a more sanguinary conflict took place; and, before the troops of the government returned to their head quarters, above sixty of their associates, and fifty of their antagonists, were killed².

These skirmishes inflamed the animosity of both parties to the height of rancour; and, in the progress of the war, both committed cruelties for which no reasonable apology can be made. The occasional inhumanities of the provincials, however, were not altogether so inexcusable as those of the British troops; for the former had obviously greater provocation, and thought it their duty to *defend* themselves against violence and oppression,

¹ When Wilkes appeared at court with this address, it was intimated, by one of the lords in waiting, that the king would not have any conference with him. The popular magistrate coolly replied, that he neither expected nor desired that honour. The lord chamberlain Hertford, soon after, wrote to my lord mayor, to inform him that his majesty would not again receive, upon his throne, any address from the livery. The citizens now voted a warm remonstrance; and when the king declined receiving it in the former mode, the two sheriffs presented to him, at a levee, some resolutions asserting the right of petitioning and of being heard, and condemning the unconstitutional advice which had induced their sovereign to behave so imperiously.

² London Gazette of June 10, 1775; compared with the American Account.

while the latter acted *offensively* for the enforcement of arbitrary claims.

The earl of Sandwich, and some other ministerialists, conscious of their own want of courage, had represented the Americans as a set of cowards, who would run away at the sight of a battalion of English regulars: but, if those speakers had any sense of shame, the battle of Bunker's-hill convinced them of their calumnious folly. The provincials having fortified that eminence, and erected a battery to cannonade Boston, general Gage sent two thousand men to dislodge them. The attack was vigorous, and the defence resolute. During the engagement, Charlestown, a populous and flourishing place, June 17. separated from Boston only by a narrow river, was burned to the ground. The Americans fought with such spirit, that the king's troops were immediately driven back; but at length the works were forced, though the advantage was purchased with a loss considerably greater than that which was sustained by the defenders of the post¹.

Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the officers of the government, a new congress had assembled before the late battle; and the members acted with as much firmness, and dignity, as if their authority had been unquestioned, and their proceedings sanctioned by strict legality. They attended, with coolness and wisdom, to the varied concerns of war and policy, and enacted judicious ordinances for the benefit and welfare of the confederate colonies. Of a commander of their troops they made a fortunate choice. Mr. Washington was selected for that high and arduous station; and every voice approved the appointment. He declared himself unqualified for the due discharge of the office; but his modesty was not suffered to plead an admissible excuse.

While the general and his officers were organizing the army, the congress, under the presidency of Hancock, issued a manly declaration, asserting the necessity of taking arms to resist oppression and avoid slavery, but disclaiming all ideas of independence. A petition to the king, for peace and reconciliation, evinced equal spirit.

The armies of Gage and of Washington remained on the defensive for the remainder of the year; but some military operations, not unimportant, occurred in Canada. General Montgomery entered that province with a small force, proclaim-

¹ British and American Accounts.

ing the wish of the congress to secure to the inhabitants all the rights of British subjects, instead of the ungracious and arbitrary enactments with which their feelings had been lately insulted. However strong was the disgust that was felt by a considerable part of the Canadian community at the act to which he alluded, few of the inhabitants joined him: yet, when he had taken two forts, he boldly advanced to the capital. He hoped to surprise the garrison: but the troops, though not numerous, were prepared for his reception. Amidst the rigours of winter, he led his men to an assault. In this dangerous service, he lost his life. As his character and merit rendered him worthy of a longer existence, sincere lamentation attended his fate: but his friends consoled themselves with reflecting, that he died on the field of honour and in the cause of liberty. Courtiers, indeed, called him a traitor and a rebel; but their invectives did not injure his fame.

Colonel Arnold, who was as brave as Montgomery, but was less esteemed, attempted to take the town by a *coup de main*: but he was unsuccessful; and the invaders retired with considerable loss. So far the Americans were unfortunate; but the spirit of the congress was undiminished, and the troops were encouraged by the hope of better fortune.

A war so impolitic, on the part of Great Britain, was condemned by every reflecting court in Europe; and the ministers were considered as rash and unskilful pilots, unfit to guide the helm of a great monarchy. France and Spain, however, did not grieve or repine at the rise of a contest which threatened to weaken and disgrace a haughty enemy. The court of Vienna, closely connected with that of Versailles, felt no gratitude for the assistance received from George II., and did not lament the difficulties in which his grandson had involved himself. The king of Prussia, resenting the desertion of his interests in the peace of the year 1763, exulted in the embarrassments of the British court, and satirized the folly of the ministers; and the Russian empress, envying the maritime power of this country, wished for its humiliation. Yet our sovereign and his advisers persisted in their resolutions of military enforcement, and hoped to subdue the presumptuous and refractory provincials.

The new king of France was a moderate and well-disposed prince: but he was occasionally influenced by sinister counsels, and led into arbitrary measures. His queen had too great a sway over him, and too frequently counteracted his patriotic views. Nursed in a despotic court, and finding the established

government in France unfettered and unchastised by a regard for the rights of the people, she rather opposed than promoted that relaxation of the rigours of authority to which Louis was naturally inclined.

The recall of the count De Maurepas to court, by the young monarch, was a measure which seemed, at the time, to give general satisfaction. He was not reinstated in the office of marine minister; but, as a mere member of the council of state, he became the chief director of the national affairs. The count Du Muy and M. Turgot were likewise favoured with the royal confidence. At the same time, the countess Du Barri was exiled from a court which she had disgraced, being ordered to retire to a convent near Meaux. The queen wished for the immediate recall of the duke De Choiseul: but the king, recollecting the aversion of the late dauphin to that minister, withheld his assent. The known politics of his father also influenced Louis to forbear the manifestation of any wish for the re-establishment of those parliaments which his grandfather had suppressed; for, although the dauphin disapproved the general government of the late king, he was of opinion that the spirit of the magistracy required occasional checks.

M. De Maupeou and his associates were suffered to retain their offices for some time: but the advice of Maurepas prevailed over all the suggestions which they offered in council. The duke D'Aiguillon, to avoid the disgrace of expulsion from the cabinet, resigned both his employments. He was succeeded as minister of war by the count Du Muy, and in the department of foreign affairs by the count De Vergennes, an *élève* of the celebrated politician and diplomatist Chavigni. On the dismissal of M. De Boynes, whose neglect of the navy proved him to be unqualified for the post which he held, M. Turgot became minister of the marine. This philosopher understood the theory of his ministerial duty better than the practice. He was more *au fait* in the management of the finances, and was therefore highly pleased at his removal to this branch of office, on the disgrace of Terrai. When the chancellor was commanded to quit the court, M. De Miromesnil was appointed keeper of the seal.

As the people anxiously wished for the restoration of the parliaments,—a measure which the count De Maurepas also strongly advised,—the king was at length induced to relinquish his objections. Before he had sufficiently revolved the subject in his mind, he received a long memorial from his brother the count De Provence, tracing the contests between the parliament of Paris

and the crown from the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV.; condemning the arrogant pretensions of that body, its false principles, and turbulent spirit; and protesting against the suppression of the new courts, which the late king had wisely erected for the maintenance of his lawful authority, and the improvement of the judicial administration. The removal of the new magistrates, distinguished by their disinterested zeal and enlightened minds, would, said the memorialist, be a source of great affliction to the friends of the monarchy and to all true patriots, if their places were to be filled with ambitious and refractory subjects, who had systematically assailed the royal authority with open hostilities, had exercised an arbitrary control over the provincial states and all classes of the community, persecuted the church in its sacraments or its ministers, prolonged causes with views of private interest, and rarely, if ever, attended to the public good. The return of such men to power would fill the realm with confusion. Elate with the supposed necessity of their services, and bursting with vengeance for their proscription, they would take advantage of the king's youth, and perhaps annihilate his power¹.

Other remonstrances were made on this important subject; and that of the existing parliament of Bretagne was particularly strong and pointed. Louis observed, that the arguments adverse to the old parliaments were plausible; but, as it was the general wish that they should be re-established, he was desirous of procuring by such a measure the affection of his people.

A bed of justice being proclaimed², the king declared his intention of recalling and reinstating the former magistrates; and, as he thus condescended to gratify his subjects, he expected from them, in return, a due submission to his authority. Nine edicts, and an ordinance of discipline, were then read. The first provided for the return of all the magistrates and officers, composing the late parliament of Paris, to their functions and power. Another ordained a dissolution of the councils formed by Maupeou; and the remaining seven were connected in detail with the new system of the court. The regulations of discipline were more accordant to the spirit of the obnoxious chancellor than to the liberal ideas of a patriot king. They tended to give to the great chamber the exclusive power of registration, to make the first president despotic, divide the head from the members,

¹ *Journal Historique du Rétablissement de la Magistrature.*

² Nov. 12, 1774.

check the facility of remonstrance, and multiply the grounds of removal and confiscation, of which a new tribunal, or *cour plénière*, would arbitrarily take cognizance. This mode of *discipline* excited the murmurs of the assembly; and the edict for the re-establishment of the great council, as a ready substitute for a refractory parliament, was warmly reprobated by the duke De Chartres, who, with his father, the duke of Orléans, had been recently banished from court, for refusing to accompany Maupeou's parliament at the performance of obsequies in honour of Louis XV.¹

Great was the joy of the capital at the restoration of the Parisian magistracy; and, as it was followed by similar concessions to the other parliaments, exultation was diffused over the whole kingdom. Louis was compared with the patriotic Henry IV.; and happy times were fondly expected. In Bretagne, the display of satisfaction was particularly marked. M. De la Chalotais made a triumphal entry into Rennes, preceded by above two hundred young men on horseback, and followed by a train of *noblesse* in coaches; and fire-works, illuminations, and festivities indicated the prevailing joy.

The lower classes of people would have rejoiced more cordially on this occasion, if the difficulty of subsistence had not abridged their comforts. The new administrator of the finances endeavoured to relieve the poor in this respect. He repressed the injurious system of monopoly, and took other measures for reducing the exorbitant price of corn. But his efforts were not immediately successful. It was even pretended, that his allowance of a free trade for corn in the interior of the kingdom had increased the general distress, while it proved advantageous to individuals. The farmers-general, whose rapacity he had checked, augmented by their arts the popular irritation, which was also embittered by the spirit of party. Riots, in various provinces, alarmed the friends of order. At Dijon, many lives were lost in a conflict between the soldiery and the populace. The metropolis was not free May. from commotion. The parliament passed an *arrêt* on the occasion; but the king discountenanced the spontaneous interference of that body, and adjusted with his ministers the means of repressing tumult. Troops were posted in the districts where disorder was most prevalent: all who had corn in their possession were desired to dispose of it at a moderate price: a bounty was

¹ *Journal Historique.*

allowed upon importation ; and a pardon was offered to all, except the principal and most active disturbers of the peace. Some of the rioters were punished with death ; and the continued diffusion of military terrors concurred with an increasing supply of corn to restore tranquillity¹.

An act by which Louis and Turgot deserved and acquired public applause, was the suppression of the *corvée*, or compulsory reparation of the highways ; a service for which the labourers received no pay. The continuance of that oppressive usage in Bohemia and Moravia, added to a scarcity of provisions, produced at this time an insurrection against the Austrian government. The first measures of the court were lenient : but rigour was subsequently exercised ; and, after a considerable effusion of blood, the riots were quelled. By a new edict of Maria Theresa, the odious service was reduced from four days to three ; and the poor peasants were obliged to be content with this concession.

The situation of the French protestants interested the feelings of the king and his benevolent minister. Turgot strongly recommended the grant of complete toleration to those sectaries : but the catholic clergy opposed the favour, and the count De Maurepas refused to agree to it, alleging that it might be dangerous to the church. Even Louis, while he wished to relieve the protestants from some disabilities, objected to Turgot's proposal, as hazardingly extensive.

The American contest already excited the attention of the French cabinet. It was debated among the ministers, whether the king should take an open and active part in support of the injured colonists. Such an interference was then deemed precipitate ; and Turgot contended, that it would be both imprudent and unjust. His catholic majesty was equally observant of the progress of the new war : but he waited the ultimate decision of France on the subject. At present he was involved in a contest, not indeed of very high importance, but one which called for considerable supplies of men and money. The emperor of Morocco, in concert with the dey of Algiers, had threatened to dispossess the Christians of all their settlements on the northern coast of Africa ; and the war commenced with the siege of Ceuta. Melilla was afterwards invested : but the attacks of the besiegers made little impression on the works ; and, after a great loss of men, the Moorish prince retired.

¹ *Vie de M. Turgot.*—*Annual Register*, vol. xviii.

For an attack of the Algerine capital, the Spanish monarch made such formidable preparations, that many politicians suspected him of intending to embark in an European war. Fifty-one ships of war (six of which were of the line) were equipped, and well provided with stores; and twenty-six thousand men, exclusive of sailors and marines, composed the force destined for the enterprise. The chief naval commander was don Pedro de Castijon; and the count O'Reilly was generalissimo, the choice of whom was more an act of partiality than of judgment. Before a descent was made, some of the ships attacked three batteries to the eastward of Algiers, but could not dismount a single gun belonging to any one of them. The disembarkation was delayed by dissensions among the principal officers. At length, the first division of the troops gained the shore, and instead of waiting for the rest, inconsiderately marched forward, encouraged July 8. by the retreat of a body of Algerines in apparent disorder.

A hill which commanded the landing-place might have been secured; but that object was neglected: and the invaders were entangled in a close country, in which the enemy advantageously posted kept up a very brisk fire. The grenadiers and light infantry were repelled; but the advance of a part of the second division with artillery, protected the march of the former. Attempts were now made to dislodge the Algerines from their enclosures; and hopes were entertained of triumphing over barbarian infidels. This prospect, however, was soon overcast. The increasing superiority of the enemy discouraged the Spaniards; and confusion spread among their ranks. They no longer obeyed their officers: some continued to advance and fire, while the greater number commenced a retreat. The wounded conjured their comrades not to leave them: but there were few who could obtain the favour of being conveyed to the entrenchments which the troops of the third disembarkation had hastily formed. A well-directed fire from these works, as well as from some frigates, rendered the retreat less dangerous. The Algerines lost many of their countrymen by venturing too near the entrenchments; and, in the course of the day, above five thousand of their number were slain. The Spanish court did not deny, that twenty-seven officers (of whom one was the marquis de la Romana), and five hundred and one common soldiers, lost their lives, and that two thousand two hundred and seventy-nine were wounded; but it is supposed that the loss was considerably greater. All the wounded, who were not carried off, were massacred by the incensed barbarians. General Vaughan proposed, that the attack

should be renewed on the following day ; but the other members of a council of war exploded the suggestion¹.

General O'Reilly had long been unpopular ; and this unfortunate expedition augmented the odium under which he laboured. After his return to Spain, multitudes watched his movements, with a seeming intention of wreaking their vengeance upon his person ; but he escaped all violence, and was removed by the king from the government of Madrid to that of the Andalusian province.

A. D. The war with the Moors and Algerines languished into 1776. petty naval hostilities : but the Spanish monarch continued to increase both his army and navy, as if he meditated some other enterprise. He sent troops to the frontiers of Portugal, as the Brazilian subjects of that realm had encroached on the Spanish territories in Paraguay. The limits of dominion being ill-defined in that part of South America, frequent disputes had occurred. In this instance the Portuguese appear to have been guilty of injustice and outrage.

His Britannic majesty, as well as the king of France, interposed between Spain and Portugal ; and the rising storm was suspended. The former prince also endeavoured to accommodate his own disputes with the irritated colonists of North America ; but, as he did not take proper steps for that purpose, the war was continued with animosity.

The question of supporting the Americans being again discussed in the French cabinet, it was resolved that hostilities should yet be avoided. The count de Vergennes agreed with Turgot on this occasion. Both ministers apprehending that an immediate junction of force to the rising power of the colonies might lead to a reconciliation between the provinces and the mother country, by prompting the court to offer satisfactory terms, proposed that, for the present, indirect aid should be afforded in occasional supplies of useful articles, and that, by every practicable exertion, the French navy should be re-established.

While Turgot was employed in restoring order to the finances, and in promoting economy as far as it was consistent with the intention of strengthening the marine, he was exposed to the arts of ridicule and the intrigues of cabal. His coldness, formality, and want of address, his novelties of opinion, his pride and obstinacy, and supposed incapacity for business, were

¹ Appendix to Major Dalrymple's Travels through Spain and Portugal.

frequent topics of courtly censure and sarcasm; and the clamours of the clergy aided the arts of courtiers. His fall was promoted by the freedom of his animadversions on the prince of Conti, whom he accused of having instigated or encouraged the late riots. Being dismissed from his post, he was succeeded by M. de Clugny, an unprincipled spoliator of the revenue. M. de Taboureaux was afterwards appointed to the same office; but he soon acknowledged his incapacity. An assistant had been given to him under the denomination of director of the royal treasury. This was M. Necker, a native of Geneva, an eminent banker, and a commercial and political philosopher, who, while he opposed the unbounded freedom of trade, recommended by Turgot, was a friend to the public interest, and to general liberty. Pleased with his ideas of financial reform, Louis soon elevated this popular foreigner to the post of supreme director of the finances¹.

Turgot had been cordially assisted in his various reforms and innovations by M. de Malesherbes; and their sway was termed the philosophical administration. One part of their plan was to establish democratic municipalities and provincial meetings, and a popular assembly for the whole nation; but the king would not listen to such a scheme. They wished to abolish all remains of the feudal system, and diminish the wealth and power of the clergy. These reformers had recommended a person who was less upright and moral than they were, but equally fond of innovation, to succeed the maréchal du Muy in the war department. This was the count de St. Germain, first a Jesuit, afterwards a soldier of fortune, then military superintendent in Denmark. He soon commenced in France a career of reform. He disbanded the companies of black and grey *mousquetaires* and horse grenadiers; reduced the number of life-guards and light-horse; and degraded the soldiery by ordering the infliction of corporal punishment, in imitation of the German practice. He thus diminished the strength and splendour of the throne, with an inconsiderable retrenchment of expenditure; and propagated discontent among the defenders of the state. He remained in office after the dismissal of his two friends, and at length resigned when he found that Maurepas had resolved to discard him².

The next campaign in North America was not remarkably sanguinary; but it involved the erection of a new state among

¹ *Mémoires de Marmontel, écrits par lui-même*, livre xii.

² *Mémoires du Règne de Louis XVI.*, par Jean Louis Soulavie, l'Aîné.

the powers of the world. As soon as the season for action commenced, general Washington hoped to dispossess the English of Boston ; but he was unwilling so far to comply with the desire of young and rash officers, as to risk an assault. He chose a new position with his usual judgment, and suddenly fortified an eminence which commanded the town. General Howe now prepared for a retreat. Mutual forbearance was manifested on this

Mar. 17. occasion ; for, while one commander left the town uninjured, the other suffered the army to retire unmolested.

The recovery of the Massachuset capital was celebrated with festivities, and commemorated by medals. But, when the Americans witnessed the extraordinary preparations of their adversaries for a decisive campaign, they had apparently little reason to rejoice. Of the army which had been assembled for the defence of the country, almost a fourth part suffered the inconveniences of illness, and mere militia formed a great proportion. The effective force, also, was so divided, as not to present a very strong front to the enemy at any one point.

While the British troops were inactive, the directors of the provincial affairs meditated a striking change. To give vigour to the contest, repel danger by decision, and encourage foreign powers (who might be inclined to aid them) by the firm countenance of an independent state, they proposed that the colonies should assume the form of a distinct republic. The measure was deliberately canvassed in each province, and disapproved by many respectable men ; but the zeal of its advocates triumphed. Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher who explained the theory of lightning, had promoted with the utmost zeal the spirit of opposition to Great Britain. By his persuasions, the bold became still more determined ; the wavering were encouraged ; and many who seemed ready to submit to the government, were drawn over to the side of liberty ¹. The proposal of independence offered to minds thus influenced by Franklin and other popular writers and speakers, received the sanction of the congress, at a time when the Americans were almost without money, without a fleet, without allies, and could only trust to the courage of an undis-

July 4. ciplined army, and to the effects of a rising spirit of freedom. The determination was announced in a manifesto written with force, rather than with neatness or elegance ².

¹ Alluding both to his scientific and political exertions, Turgot said of him, *Eripuit cælo fulmen, mox sceptrâ tyrannis* : that is, He snatched the lightning from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.

² *Life of General Washington*, by the chief-justice Marshall.

An attempt to conciliate the offended provincials proved abortive. Their commander, in a conference with adjutant-general Paterson, observed that the British commissioners seemed to be only empowered to grant pardon, not to negotiate, or to discuss terms; and added, "that they who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon¹."

The new republicans were discouraged by the ill success of their endeavours to defend Long Island and save New York. They were attacked near Brooklyn, and defeated. Sullivan, who commanded them in this action, was made prisoner, with about a thousand of his men; and fifteen hundred lost their lives or were wounded. Washington then quitted his lines, and hastened to New York. Some entrenchments in the vicinity of that town were evacuated by the troops, on the approach of a party of royalists. The general meeting them in their flight, was unusually agitated; and he almost despaired of the preservation of the infant republic. Resigning New York to his exulting enemies, he posted himself at Kingsbridge; and, recovering his habitual coolness, waited patiently for the event².

Some brisk skirmishes, in which the English had the advantage, were followed by the reduction of two forts, and the temporary subjugation of the province of New Jersey. Washington now became a fugitive; and the congress sought refuge in Maryland.³ A change of scene, however, soon occurred. Howe had not formed a proper estimate of the character of the hostile general, or of the republican assembly. He imagined that he might finish the war at his leisure, with a relaxation of effort. Washington, circumspect and vigilant, observed with joy the distribution of the English forces in distant cantonments, and exclaimed, "Now is the time to clip their wings when they are so spread." Thus impelled by hope, he surprised a body of German subsidiaries at Trenton, and, by attacking some battalions at Princeton, recovered New Jersey³.

The suspended war in South America broke out while the British and provincial armies were in winter quarters. The island of St. Catharine, on the Brazilian coast, was the scene of hostility. Here it may be observed, that an alarming insurrection, four years before this war arose, had convulsed the northern parts of Brazil. In the province of Maranhao, the descendants of the original natives, and the negro slaves, took arms against the Por-

¹ *Life of Washington*, by Dr. Ramsay.

² Marshall's *Life of Washington*.—British Accounts.

³ Ramsay's *Life of Washington*, chap. 3.

tuguese, by whom they had long been harshly treated. They fought with spirit ; but, not being well armed or disciplined, they were repeatedly routed by the troops of the government¹. The colony was free from internal commotions, when a Spanish armada A.D. 1777. ment approached the southernmost province, and a considerable force landed on the above-mentioned island. The Portuguese made a feeble defence ; the forts were quickly taken ; and some settlements near the river de la Plata were also reduced.

Peace was restored by a change in the administration of Portugal. Joseph, sovereign of that realm, died after a reign Feb. 24. of twenty-six years, at the age of sixty-two. A pompous eulogium has been bestowed upon him by one of his subjects² ; but it is the effusion of partiality rather than of truth. This prince was entitled to little praise ; he possessed spirit, and had the sense to shake off some prejudices both in politics and religion : but he was deficient in true wisdom, and did not sufficiently regard either the laws of justice or the dictates of humanity. He was succeeded by his daughter Maria, whose character was more suited to the government of a convent than of a kingdom. She pleased her people, however, by the first measures of her reign, particularly by the dismissal of the execrated marquis de Pombal, and the liberation of state prisoners. Among these were two brothers of the late king, who had given offence to the proud dictator. The queen was solicited to punish the marquis with death ; but she respected in him the friend of her father. The ministers by whom she was chiefly guided were Ayres de Sa, Martin de Mello e Castro, and the viscount de Villa Nova. These politicians advised her to accommodate all disputes with Spain, as Great Britain was unwilling or unable to assist her ; and a treaty was concluded, by which she ceded the district of the Holy Sacrament, near the river de la Plata, Oct. 1. and (in Africa) the isles of Annaboa and Fernando Po, and procured restitution of the isle of St. Catharine³.

The resumption of hostility in North America was at first favourable to Great Britain, and afterwards to the infant re-

¹ *Annual Register*, vol. xv.—It is remarkable that not the least mention is made of this rebellion by Antonio de Moraes Silva, a native of Brazil (who translated from the English that history of Portugal, which forms a part of the *Modern Universal History*, and continued it to the year 1809), or by Dr. Grant, who, in 1809, published an historical and geographical account of that extensive and valuable colony.

² Antonio de Moraes Silva.

³ *Voyage du ci-devant Duc du Chatelet en Portugal*, tome i.

public. Washington, suspecting that sir William Howe aimed at the acquisition of Philadelphia, marched against that general, and, with an inferior force, hazarded a battle near the Brandywine. Two of his divisions did not display that energy Sept. 11. which the danger required; and all the efforts of the other corps could not prevent a defeat. About 1250 of his men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners, and a farther loss was sustained in a subsequent conflict. The English now seized Philadelphia; and when their post at German-town was attacked by Washington, they defended it so effectually, that the republicans were routed with great loss¹.

For these disasters the congress soon received compensation. General Burgoyne, having reduced Ticonderago, advanced to the southward to join Howe's army. He moved slowly, on account of the difficulties which the nature of the country and the efforts of the enemy threw in his way; but after losing many of his men in skirmishes, he reached the heights of Saratoga, and pursued his course to Freeman's-farm, where he was attacked by colonel Arnold, whom he could not easily repel. General Gates now approached with a considerable force, with a view of surrounding the diminished army of Burgoyne, who being in want of provisions, and not being joined by colonel St. Leger, found himself in an unpleasing and hazardous predicament. Having in vain waited for assistance from Howe, he resolved to force his way, if possible, through the ranks of the enemy. A detachment being ordered to advance, did not long contend before a retreat became necessary. This action was rendered particularly unfortunate by the fall of Fraser, to whose memory an elegant and pathetic tribute of respect was paid by the afflicted general. The Americans then assaulted the lines: and, when they had forced the part which the Germans defended, Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, where he agreed to a cessation of hostilities, Oct. 16. and consented that his men, whose number amounted to 5750, should give up their arms, and being conveyed (with an exception of the Canadians) to Great Britain, should wait for a regular exchange before they could resume operations against the Americans².

Those members of the French cabinet who had long wished for a war with Great Britain, exulted in the recent success of the Americans. M. de Sartine, the naval minister, was eager

¹ Marshall's *Life of Washington*.

² Burgoyne's *Narrative*, and other Accounts.

to renew the contest for maritime superiority. The count de Maurepas, supported in his recommendation by the queen and the principal nobles, advised the king to embark openly in the American cause, and humble British arrogance; the count de Vergennes concurred in the advice, alleging that the conjuncture was highly favourable; and the weak king suffered his own opinion to be over-ruled. Necker was not a friend to the war; but, being a protestant, he had no voice in the cabinet.

The commissioners who had been sent to France by the congress were now acknowledged as diplomatic ministers. These were, Dr. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, with whom the French ministry made arrangements for the regulation of commerce,

Jan. 30, granting to the subjects of the United States the same 1778. facilities which had hitherto been enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and also concluded a treaty of close alliance.

In the American contest, the powers of Germany and the North avoided all hostile interference. They were content to see great Britain weakening herself by impolicy, and blindly impairing her true interest. The emperor, indeed, seemed more inclined than his mother to be on friendly terms with his Britannic majesty. In a visit to the French court¹, he was treated by Louis with visible coolness, arising from a jealousy of that enterprising spirit which he was expected to display after the death of Maria Theresa. He returned to Vienna with an unfavourable opinion of the honour and judgment of the French cabinet; but the empress dowager was still intent on maintaining her favourite alliance. The Prussian monarch, desirous of securing the amity of France, from a conviction of the fragility of his alliance with the Austrian princess, encouraged rather than checked the views of that court, in behalf of the contending provincials.

The northern courts had no inclination to relinquish the advantages of peace. Bernstorff still governed Denmark, with his usual attention to the prosperity of the realm: and the king of Sweden did not conceive that either his interest or glory required him to arm on this occasion. A doubt respecting the intentions of the Russian empress toward him, prompted that prince to visit her in the summer of the year 1777. He unexpectedly made his appearance at Petersburg; discoursed with count Panin to little purpose; and did not, in repeated interviews, obtain the confidence or conciliate the regard of Catharine, who treated him,

¹ In April, 1777.

however, with exterior politeness, and amused him with splendid festivities. As she wished to humble him, she was not pleased to find that he had too high a spirit to be subservient to her caprice.

The empress had long been employed in preparing a new code of laws; and of the regulations emanating from her wisdom, and that of her native counsellors and foreign correspondents, many were judicious and beneficial. She rendered the courts of judicature less dependent on the crown, and gave the people a better chance of obtaining speedy and impartial justice. She abolished (as did also the kings of France and Prussia and other potentates) the absurd and inhuman practice of endeavouring to draw confessions from supposed criminals by torture. New corporations were formed, with greater privileges and immunities than had before been allowed; and the middle class was more distinctly marked, and more encouraged in its advances to respectability. The vassals of the crown were gratified with an alleviation of their servitude, and the means of enfranchising the peasants were facilitated. Schools were erected for general instruction, and particular care was taken to render the *élèves* of the church more capable of the due discharge of their functions. Physicians and surgeons were stationed, at the expense of the crown, in the different governments of the empire; and while the czarina thus attended to the health of the lowest of her subjects, she improved their situation by restricting the tyrannous authority of the nobles¹.

Her government in that part of Poland which she had seized was in general moderate and humane; and in the country which she and her rapacious confederates left to Stanislaus and the diet, she exercised her authority in such a manner as to overawe faction and repress the licentiousness of the natives; but if she had sincerely wished to promote the happiness of the Polish community, she would have suffered its representatives to frame a new constitution, wisely calculated for permanent benefit, and would have sanctioned it with her cordial guarantee.

The Porte, aware of her insatiate ambition, watched her conduct with suspicious anxiety. Her encroachments on the independence of the khan of the Crimea did not escape notice; and her endeavours to annihilate the authority of the Porte over the princes of Moldavia and Walachia, were also observed by the

¹ The first part of the new Russian code appeared in 1775; the second part in 1780.

grand signor with disgust and indignation. But the majority of the divan dissuaded him from a renewal of the war; and the French court also advised him to abstain from hostilities.

The princes and states of Italy remained in peace, and attended to the improvement of their respective countries. The Swiss cantons were also tranquil: nothing disturbed the even tenor of their government. With this republic, in 1777, the French concluded a close alliance, in which the Protestant cantons, which had refused to enter into the league of 1715, were included. Appenzel and Glarus meanly consented, on this occasion, to receive subsidies or pensions ¹.

LETTER V.

History of Great Britain and its American Colonies, also of France and Spain, and of Europe in general, to the Death of Maria Theresa, in 1780.

THE undiscerning politicians of the British court had concluded, that none of the continental powers would be inclined to enter into a war with this country in defence of the oppressed provincials: but more penetrating observers foresaw that France would not neglect so promising an opportunity of injuring an ancient enemy, of whose maritime and colonial power she was particularly jealous; and it was predicted, that even Spain would take arms against Great Britain, without sufficiently adverting to the influence which such conduct might have on her own remote dependencies. His catholic majesty, however, was not prepared to join the most Christian king in immediate hostilities, but waited to see the effect of the earlier exertions of the French.

The court had received no intelligence of the actual formation of a confederacy between France and the United States, when the first lord of the treasury proposed, with a view of conciliating the Americans, that the right of raising a general revenue should be conceded to their assemblies, and that persons of rank and respectability should be invested with full powers of negotiation,

¹ Coxe's *Travels in Switzerland*.

calculated to render British supremacy compatible with colonial freedom. Mr. Fox testified his approbation of these proposals, but apprehended that the period for their probable acceptance had elapsed. Bills for those purposes were expedited; but the public did not suppose that they would be effectual. When they had received the royal assent, that connexion, which they were intended to prevent, was insultingly announced by the diplomatic representative of Louis; and the result was a parliamentary determination to provide with spirit for the new branch of the war.

Amidst the preparations for the extension of hostilities, both parties attentively observed the conduct of the earl of Chatham. His prophecy of French interference was recollected; his able management of a former war could not be forgotten; his attachment to the interests of the Americans rendered it probable that he might reclaim them to a constitutional dependence on Great Britain; or, if his remonstrances should not avail, it was concluded that the vigour of his arm would more effectually chastise the revolvers and their arrogant allies, than would the imbecility of the existing cabinet. However strongly he wished for colonial liberty, he was disgusted at the claim of independence. To counteract the suggestions of those members of the Rockingham party who were inclined to admit this claim, he suffered himself to be conducted to the house of lords, at a time when a due attention to his health would rather have confined him to his apartment. He spoke with animation upon a subject which interested his feelings, and indignantly reprobated the idea of surrendering the rights of his country. Great Britain, he trusted, still had the means of supporting those rights; and none but cowards and traitors would refuse to act in such a cause. A fit prevented his farther exertions: he was conveyed to his house, and died within five weeks from this alarming attack. Posthumous honours were voted by the parliament; and the pension which had been settled upon him was augmented, for the benefit of his successors in the peerage.

The court agreed with the late earl in his repugnance to the acknowledgment of American independence, and in his willingness to meet all the dangers of a war with the house of Bourbon. A respectable fleet was sent to cruise in the Channel, under the command of Keppel, who was selected from the ranks of the opposition; and the public expected to be gratified with the intelligence of victory. The result, however, of an engagement off the isle of Ushant, did not prove very fortunate. The

July 27.

French, indeed, had the superiority of number; but the English admiral might, in all probability have signally triumphed, if his own negligence, and the disobedience of sir Hugh Palliser, had not given the enemy an opportunity of escape. Yet the action had one good effect; for the retreat of the French to their own coast secured some valuable fleets from capture.

The dissension between Keppel and Palliser, and the zeal of their respective partisans, led to the trial of those officers. The former was absolved from all delinquency by the unanimous verdict of a court-martial. The latter was acquitted of actual guilt; but his judges censured him for not apprising the admiral of those circumstances of naval damage which had induced him to disregard the signal "for coming into the Victory's wake." Sir Hugh seems to have followed the example of Lestock; while Keppel, though his courage was unquestionable, did not act with the ardent spirit of Matthews¹.

The British cause, in North America, was supported by a new commander-in-chief. Sir William Howe having requested to be recalled, sir Henry Clinton, an officer of reputation, was appointed to succeed him. The retreat of the gallant knight of the Bath was honoured by a *mischianza* (so called from its being a miscellaneous *fête*), given at Philadelphia by his chief officers, who admired his military talents, and were pleased with his personal character. The first step of the new general was to abandon Philadelphia, from which city he conducted the army to New York. Washington was unwilling to attack him, from an apprehension of being drawn into a general engagement: but, when an opportunity of harassing the troops in their retreat seemed to be offered, he ordered an assault to be made upon the division which protected the baggage. The attack was repelled; and the American cavalry were also routed. The approach of Washington, and the extraordinary heat of the weather, checked the efforts of the British troops. No farther molestation was suffered by the army, in its progress to New York.

The reduction of Rhode Island being one of the chief objects of the provincial campaign, general Sullivan invested Newport with about ten thousand men; and the count D'Estaing seemed ready to assist him. This commander, with a fleet considerably superior to that of lord Howe, had not sufficient spirit to attack the admiral in the port of New York; and, when the latter,

¹ See Part II. Letter XXVIII.

with an augmented squadron, had reached Rhode Island, a tempest prevented an engagement. The damaged French fleet then retiring to Boston, the discouraged republicans desisted from the siege, and quitted the island.

D'Estaing expected to meet with great success in the West Indies. Dominica was taken without his assistance in the enterprise; and he was preparing for the reduction of some other islands, when he was informed that St. Lucia was in danger. Both as an admiral and a general, he was baffled in reiterated attempts for the preservation of that island.

The congress had hitherto little reason to exult in the fruits of its alliance with the French: yet, as the cause was not injured, the people cherished the hope of the establishment of the republic. The prevailing zeal for independence frustrated that negotiation which the earl of Carlisle and his fellow commissioners had endeavoured to promote. In answer to a letter, promising "the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege short of a total separation of interest," and stating the obvious superiority of "a firm, free, and perpetual coalition with the parent state, to an insincere and unnatural foreign alliance," the congress expressed a desire of peace, "notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war originated, and the *savage manner* in which it had been conducted¹," but signified a determined intention of maintaining the independence of the confederate states. A reconciliation on such terms not being the wish of the court, the commissioners declared that the members of the congress were responsible to the world and to God for all the miseries which might result from a continuance of the war; and leaving forty days to the provincials for the acceptance of renewed offers, and menacing them, in case of refusal, with the desolation of their country, they returned to England with feelings of wounded pride and indignant wrath.

During this indecisive campaign in North America, a war broke out in the heart of Europe. The death of Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria², had extinguished the male line of his family; but a lawful successor was found in the person of

¹ Farther proofs of the justness of this imputation appeared (after the date of this answer) in the surprisal and massacre of a company of Baylor's light horse by major-general Grey, and of Pulaski's light infantry by captain Patrick Ferguson. Dr. Bisset says, on this occasion, "It does not appear that any act was committed inconsistent with the laws of war:" but it may more justly be observed, that the laws of open and honourable war condemn such wanton cruelty. These atrocities had no effect in subduing the general resistance of the provincials, whose keen resentment was inflamed by the barbarity of their enemies.

² December 30, 1777.

Charles Theodore, elector Palatine, a collateral relative of the defunct prince. The emperor, thirsting for territorial acquisition, pretended that the house of Austria might justly claim the inheritance of Lower Bavaria, on the foundation of duke Albert's right, which had been confirmed by the emperor Sigismund; that various parts of the Upper Palatinate, considered as fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia, ought to revert to that crown; and that some other possessions of the late elector had legally devolved to the empire. Trusting to the terrific influence of a numerous and well-disciplined army, the rapacious Joseph urged his unjust claims; and the new elector was so unwilling to engage in a war, that he signed a convention to secure a continuance of peace. Regardless of his own rights and those of his presumptive heir (the duke of Deux-Ponts), he consented to a surrender of the territories so arrogantly demanded, and left an opening for farther claims. The duke was on the point of ratifying this agreement; but he was dissuaded from the mean compliance by the remonstrances of the king of Prussia, who resolved to support with vigour the constitution of the empire, and prevent the success of flagrant usurpation¹.

After an interchange of notes between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, Frederic, alarmed at the ambition of the emperor, began to put his troops in motion. The command of one great army he gave to prince Henry; of another, he assumed the personal direction. While he was in his camp, several letters passed between him and Joseph; and when he found that this prince, in affecting to treat, wished to gain time for assembling his forces, he insisted on an immediate resignation of all claims upon the Bavarian succession. The negotiation being broken off, the opposite armies prepared for action. The king invaded Bohemia, and threatened the very strong post of the enemy between Konigingratz and Jaromirz; and, as the emperor was unwilling to weaken his main army, *maréchal* Laudohn was not enabled to oppose the career of prince Henry, who, leaving general Platen to cover Dresden, advanced toward the Bohemian confines, seized various posts, and captured 1400 men. Laudohn then abandoned Leutmeritz to Platen, who pushed his vanguard to the vicinity of Prague, and filled that capital with consternation².

A renewal of negotiation now arose from the apprehensions of Maria Theresa for the safety of her son. She sent Baron Thugut

¹ *Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.*

² *Œuvres du même Auteur.*—Coxe's *History of the House of Austria.*

to the king, proposing a speedy settlement of all disputes; but he would not agree to her terms. Joseph ventured to reprimand her for soliciting peace, and was encouraged by prince Kaunitz to assume a high and imperious tone. Yet he was so overawed by the military fame of his great opponent, that he resolved to stand on the defensive, and submit to the insults of the foe, rather than risk a general engagement.

Having discovered the weakest part of the imperial entrenchments, the king hoped to force a passage over the Elbe, and, by a junction with his brother to menace Joseph both in flank and rear, so as to reduce him to the necessity either of fighting, or quitting his post for a less secure station. With this view, he advanced toward Hohenelbe; but when the Austrians, suspecting his intention, had posted themselves in great force on the neighbouring hills, it became expedient to relinquish the scheme. His troops then foraged the country without the least molestation from those of the emperor; but, when he had commenced his retreat, some of his divisions, particularly that which was conducted by the heir of his crown, were occasionally harassed. The prince defended himself so as to obtain the approbation of his uncle; and the whole army took post in Silesia for the winter¹.

The czarina, being involved in disputes with the grand signor, did not take a direct part in the affairs of the empire, before the French and Prussian courts had prevailed on the Porte to restore some ships which had been seized at the Dardanelles, and Mar. 21, acknowledge the khan of the Crimea, to whom Catharine 1779. had promised her support. She then, by her ambassadors at Vienna and Ratisbon, requested that all schemes of imperial usurpation might be renounced, as she would otherwise act with vigour in support of her Prussian ally, and for the restoration of the tranquillity of Germany. Prince Repnin was ordered to keep his army in readiness for marching; but he soon made his appearance at Teschen, as a negotiator, when Maria Theresa had solicited the mediation of Russia, in concert with France. A treaty was concluded, after delays arising from the reluctance of Joseph. May 13. It was stipulated, that the territory of Burghausen should be ceded to the house of Austria; that all

¹ Mr. Wraxall speaks highly of the skill with which the retreat of Frederic was conducted. "Every movement," he says, "was made with the accuracy of machinery, unaccompanied by hurry, embarrassment, or confusion." The king's brother also evinced skill and judgment in retiring out of Bohemia, with little molestation from Laudohn, who, indeed, had an opportunity of attacking him, but was prevented by the caution or the military inexperience of Joseph.

claims upon other parts of the dominions of the late Bavarian prince should be renounced; that the Saxon elector should receive from the court of Vienna six millions of florins, as a compensation for his claims; and Frederic's right of eventual succession to the marquisates of Anspach and Bareuth should be recognised¹.

By this treaty the house of Austria profited, but in a much less considerable degree than Joseph wished. He had flattered himself with the hope of the connivance, if not the support, of France; but that court, on the contrary, seemed more desirous of clipping his wings than disposed to encourage his flight. What he obtained he derived from the influence of his sister.

Few had supposed that the king of Spain would long remain neutral in the American contest. After the French ambassador had avowed the connexions formed between his court and the United States, the Spanish resident in London disclaimed all concern in those negotiations, and asserted his sovereign's resolution of preserving peace, with this proviso, that such forbearance should not impair the dignity or the rights of his crown, or prevent him from affording that protection which his people, injured at sea and in his colonies by the subjects of Great Britain, might justly claim. As lord Weymouth seemed to insinuate a desire of the mediation of Spain between the contending monarchs, the resident was ordered to demand an unequivocal intimation of such a wish, and of the points which would be brought forward as the basis of a negotiation. The mediation, when it was offered, was not rejected; but its sole fruit was the proposal of a truce with France, and with the colonies, in a mode which favoured the high pretensions of the latter. This proposition being deemed too inconciliatory, his catholic majesty ceased to mediate; and, throwing off the mask, directed the marquis d'Almadovar to announce hostile intentions. The ambassador's memorial stated, that the British cabinet, instead of granting redress for former injuries, or ordering a discontinuance of encroachments, had suffered many recent additions to be made to those grounds of complaint; and that the king of Spain was thus reduced to the "disagreeable necessity of making use of all the means intrusted to him by the Almighty, to obtain that justice which he had long solicited without effect." Letters of marque and reprisal were now issued against the Spaniards, who, on their part, were not slow in naval preparations.

¹ Gillies' *View of the Reign of Frederic*, chap. 7.

The debates of the parliament, in this session, were very spirited; and various attempts were made by the leaders of opposition to procure votes of censure against lord North and his chief associates. The conduct of the war was arraigned in the most severe and pointed terms; and inquiries were instituted on the subject; but the influence of the court baffled the utility of investigation; and mismanagement, error, and absurdity, continued to prevail.

Some of the ministers still thought that the rebels might be subdued or reclaimed; but the prudent and cautious Washington still maintained his ground, and increased his reputation for defensive ability. He was aware of the serious mischief, if not ruinous effect, with which a general trial of strength might be attended; and, therefore, suffered the king's troops to seize different posts, ravage the country, and destroy ships and stores. He retook Stony Point by the medium of Wayne, a brave and skilful officer; but, at Fort La Fayette and Paulus Hook, the Americans were less successful; nor could they prevent the reduction of Georgia. That province had been invaded in the preceding year, and its chief towns seized; but an invasion of South Carolina by the troops which had been so far successful, was not equally prosperous¹.

The French were wholly inactive in the West Indies during the spring; but, in the summer, M. D'Estaing emerged from his secure retreat at Fort Royal. He first sent a small armament to reduce the isle of St. Vincent, which was given up without a blow by Mr. Valentine Morris, who had shown himself an active and useful governor in time of peace, but did not shine as a military defender of the colony; alleging, in vindication of his conduct, that the people were unwilling to assist, that the Caribs were hostile, and the garrison weak. The French admiral then sailed with a powerful fleet and army to Grenada, which lord Macartney in vain defended. Tobago would, perhaps have been quickly added to these conquests, if admiral Byron had not encountered D'Estaing, and cooled his ardour. The former could not make the action so general as he wished; but, in some of his ships, the guns were so well served, that 2500 of the enemy are supposed to have been killed or wounded. The French commander, though he claimed the victory, did not venture to attack any of our remaining islands, but retired to Cape François. When he re-appeared, his course was directed

¹ Marshall's *Life of Washington*.

to the northward; and, in his way to the American continent, he captured a ship of fifty guns and three frigates. Arriving at the mouth of the river Savannah, he led an army toward the town of that name; but all his exertions, even with the co-operation of a provincial force under Lincoln, a respectable general, were insufficient to insure success. The town had been strengthened by the skill of major Moncrieff, and was gallantly defended by general Prevost, who repelled a fierce assault with decisive vigour. The Polish count Pulaski fell on this occasion; and, on the other hand, the British general lost colonel Maitland, not indeed by the sword, but by the insalubrity of the climate. This officer had recently distinguished himself by maintaining an insular post, in South Carolina, against an extraordinary superiority of number.

The efforts of the Spaniards, in the western hemisphere, are scarcely worthy of mention. An irruption into the province of West Florida had little effect; and the garrison of Fort Omoa, near the bay of Honduras, suffered a small party of English to take the place by assault; but it was soon abandoned by the captors.

A formidable Spanish fleet, joined by an inferior number of French ships, rode for some weeks triumphant in the English channel. The British fleet under Hardy, not exceeding thirty-eight sail of the line, could not cope with sixty-six. Plymouth was insulted, and seemed to be endangered; but the apprehensions of the people did not produce despondency. After Spain had thus entered into the war, his Britannic majesty applied to the states-general of the United Provinces for that assistance which they were bound (by the treaty of 1678) to afford. No attention was paid to the demand; for the Dutch, jealous of British superiority, and desirous of profiting by the American trade, were more inclined to assist than attack either the revolted provincials or the foreign enemies of this country. Engelbert van Berkel, pensionary of Amsterdam, was at the head of the party which opposed the stadtholder; and he had already formed commercial engagements with congress, inconsistent with the British alliance. But this negotiation had not yet been discovered by our ministers, who, therefore, merely remonstrated against occasional instances of clandestine traffic, and the neglect of former stipulations.

In the ensuing parliamentary session, the complaints of ministerial misconduct were loud and vehement; and it was affirmed that, as folly and ignorance alone could not have occasioned such

mischief and disgrace, a suspicion of treachery might justly arise; a charge which lord North repelled, with more than usual emotion. The most remarkable occurrences of the session were the adjustment of the affairs of Ireland, and the attempts to restrain the influence of the crown. The Irish had for many years been discontented; and a numerous body of armed volunteers now demanded a free trade and an independent parliament. The British legislature thought proper to accede, in a general view, to the former demand; but the latter requisition was not at this time granted.

The presentation of petitions from various parts of the A.D. kingdom led to the discussion of the question of influence. 1780. Public economy, which the same petitions strongly recommended, was also the subject of repeated debates. The commons voted¹ on the motion of Mr. Dunning, that the influence of the crown had increased, was still increasing, and therefore ought to be diminished. This result of the debate was considered as a great victory on the part of opposition; but the arts of courtly emissaries were exercised with such assiduity and effect, that the ministry re-obtained a superiority of votes, and frustrated the views of the popular party. The efforts of Mr. Burke to procure the suppression of various offices which only served to extend the royal influence, were in vain supported by the charms of oratory. His bills of reform were rejected; and the wishes of the greater part of the nation were contemptuously disregarded.

Some of the leaders of the anti-ministerial phalanx were suspected, but very unjustly, of promoting the mischievous and disgraceful riots which arose from fanaticism and intolerance. Two years before, the parliament had unanimously agreed to a bill calculated for the gratification of the catholics of England and Wales, who, on abjuring the temporal jurisdiction of the pope, denying the claim of the pretender, and taking the oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, were permitted to exercise their religious functions, keep schools for their youth, and inherit or acquire lands². The report of an intention of grant-

¹ By a majority of 18; the numbers being 233 and 215.

² Mr. Burke, speaking of the general assent given to the bill, says, "With this mover (Sir George Savile) and this seconder (Mr. Dunning) agreed the whole house of commons, the whole house of lords, the whole bench of bishops, the king, the ministry, the opposition, all the distinguished clergy of the establishment, all the eminent lights (for they were consulted) of the dissenting churches. This according voice of national wisdom ought to be listened to with reverence." The citizens of Bristol, whom the orator thus addressed, were not sufficiently liberal to appreciate the wisdom or admit the expediency of the measure; and, partly on this

ing the same relief to the Scottish catholics, gave such disgust to many of the devotees of the kirk, that they instigated the rabble of Edinburgh to destroy the habitations of the votaries of the Romish faith. Associations were formed in the chief towns of North Britain for the protection of the Protestant religion; and lord George Gordon, who had formerly served in the navy, and had lately exposed himself in parliament by absurd and violent speeches, became president of the bigoted confederacy. A protestant association was also organized in England; and this wild zealot was suffered to direct its proceedings. A petition being framed at one of the meetings for the repeal of the late bill,

an immense multitude repaired with it to the house of
June 2. commons; and, at night, the impatient rabble set fire to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador. This was merely the beginning of mischief. For several days, the most alarming outrages convulsed the city. At first, the panic-stricken magistrates neglected that military aid which they might legally have demanded; but they were at length convinced of its necessity. Many chapels and houses of catholics, the habitations of the chief-justice Mansfield and of inferior magistrates, and the chief places of imprisonment, were burned by the ferocious mob. To prevent farther devastation, the soldiery were authorized by the privy council to fire, without waiting for the formality of reading the act against riots, or for an order from the civil power. Above three hundred and fifty persons are supposed to have lost their lives before the riots were suppressed: but not all of these were shot; for many died in a state of intoxication at the destruction of the two houses of Langdale, a catholic distiller; and some were overwhelmed by ruins in different parts of the city. Twenty-nine of the rioters afterwards suffered death in a more regular mode, in consequence of the verdicts of juries. Lord George Gordon was also tried; but for want of legal evidence of his having encouraged the atrocities of the mob, he was acquitted.

These riots, exaggerated at foreign courts, made an impression unfavourable to the wishes of the British sovereign, who, hearing that the king and people of Spain were inclined to peace, had employed Hussey, an Irish catholic, in the promotion of a separate treaty with that nation. Mr. Cumberland, the dramatist, was deputed to Madrid for the same purpose; but, before

account, and partly from disgust at his favouring the trade of Ireland, refused to re-elect Mr. Burke for their representative.

he entered Spain, he was directed to inquire whether his catholic majesty was disposed to insist on the restitution of Gibraltar. Finding that this point was not to be brought forward as an essential preliminary to negotiation, he presented himself to the Spanish court; and the treaty (he says) "was in shape," when the magnified account of the riots reached Spain. The count De Florida Blanca then hinted, that it was not safe or honourable to treat with a government so unsettled and unpopular, or with a people so bigoted and prejudiced; and he was more inclined to listen to the insinuations of the count D'Estaing, who promised that the French would cordially assist in the reduction of Gibraltar. The negotiation, however, was not immediately discontinued, though it was generally supposed that it would not be successful¹.

The war, in the mean time, raged both by sea and land in the East and in the West. In 1778, not only the inferior settlements of the French in India had been reduced, but Pondicheri also was obliged to surrender. In the same year, the India Company carried on a new war against the Mahrattas. A treaty soon followed; but it was quickly violated; and considerable success attended the subsequent hostilities of the English and sepoys. The Mahrattas, however, were dissuaded by Hyder Ali from the meanness of suing for peace; and that enterprising chieftain, desirous of checking the encroachments of the Company, declared himself a friend to all the native powers that would oppose the ambitious intruders. Having ravaged the Carnatic, he hoped to overpower the small army by which it was defended. With a great multitude, particularly of cavalry, Tippoo engaged Baillie, but disgraced himself by retreating. Both the father and the son, soon after, encountered Baillie and Fletcher, and, not without great difficulty, slew or captured the whole force commanded by those gallant ^{Sept. 10.} officers. As the Company's troops contended against ten times their number, above two thousand five hundred were left dead upon the field.

In the West, the conquest of a considerable town gratified the promoters of the war. The siege of Charlestown was formed in the spring by general Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot. The place was strong by its natural situation and by artificial works; and the entrance of the harbour might have been defended by a squadron; but that object was unaccountably neglected. The

¹ *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland, written by himself.*

approaches were made in a scientific manner under the eye of Moncrieff; the batteries played with vigour and efficacy; and, the communication of the garrison with the country by means of Cooper's river being at length precluded, a general assault was threatened, which the Americans averted by capitulation¹.

Three detachments were now sent to complete the reduction of South Carolina. Two of these bodies easily tranquillized the districts into which they marched; and the third routed colonel Burford, after a short but fierce engagement. A more important

conflict occurred near the town of Camden, where earl
 Aug. 16. Cornwallis and lord Rawdon distinguished themselves by their alertness, zeal, and courage. With about two thousand men, those officers engaged five thousand; but only a part of the latter force displayed the energy of disciplined combatants. In less than an hour, the republicans were totally routed; and the pursuit was rapid and sanguinary. About eight hundred were deprived of life, and nine hundred and fifty, including the wounded, became prisoners². The retreat of a brave and able officer from the American service, excited great attention on both sides of the Atlantic. Arnold, being a man of unsteady principles, and more attentive to his own interest than to that of the new republic, had offered, in the hope of an ample recompense, to surrender to the royalists the posts and the troops that he commanded. Major André had a conference with him on this interesting subject; but was intercepted on his return, tried by martial law, and hanged as a spy³.

The consideration of the serious injury which the republican cause might have suffered by the intended treachery, steeled the heart of the commander-in-chief, who was severely censured for his rigour. As the mischief was prevented, mercy might safely have been extended to André. But the British officers had no right to blame the inexorable general; for from the manner in which the war was carried on against the obnoxious provincials, there is no doubt that, if an American officer had been detected in similar conduct, he would have been put to death without hesitation. Sir Henry Clinton, who earnestly requested that the major's life might be spared, would have rejected with scorn

¹ London Gazette of June 15.

² London Gazette of October 9.—Marshall's *Life of Washington*.

³ The American chief-justice Marshall, speaking of the melancholy fate of this officer, observes, that the members of the court martial "lamented the sentence which the usages of war compelled them to pronounce; and perhaps on no occasion of his life did the commander-in-chief obey with more reluctance the stern mandates of duty and of policy."

the solicitations of a rebel commander, or of a congress of republican traitors¹.

Washington had expected naval aid against New York from the count De Guichen, who had a fleet capable of material service. Sir George Brydges Rodney thrice engaged this nobleman.

In the first conflict he broke the French line, but made not a single capture: in the second and third actions, the victory was still less decided. Before the admiral thus encountered the French, he had triumphed over the Spaniards near Cape St. Vincent. He added four of their largest ships to the British navy; two more were taken, but driven on shore; and one ship of the line blew up in the heat of action. By this success he acquired great reputation; but this was not the *acme* of his fame.

As the maritime power of Great Britain rendered her an object of envy, and as even the fair exercise of her rights, in time of war, gave umbrage to the neutral powers, an association was formed to check her supposed encroachments. Stimulated by the count De Vergennes, and encouraged by the king of Prussia, the czarina gave public notice of her intention of rescuing the commerce of her subjects from those vexations and restrictions to which it was exposed by the war. She disclaimed all thoughts of violating the law of nations, but claimed a freedom of trade, even from one of the ports of a belligerent power to another, in all articles not contraband. Not only the effects of her merchants, but also those which belonged to the subjects of the contending nations, were (she said) to be deemed free goods: vessels were not to be searched when they were under convoy; and ports were to be considered as blocked up (and consequently not free for general trade) only when the hostile ships so obstructed the approach of any other vessels, as to make it dangerous for them to enter². In answer to this declaration, his Britannic majesty affirmed, that from the commencement of the war, he had given the most precise orders for an observance of the law of nations, and of his particular engagements with Russia; and he promised that all maritime grievances should be equitably redressed. The kings of France and Spain, pleased with a scheme which suited their present views, as it would contribute to the security of their commerce, and to the diminution of the naval pre-eminence of Great Britain, expressed their high approbation of the principles

¹ André's case decidedly came within the laws of war, and the English had set the example of giving those laws a cruel and strict interpretation.

² Tooke's *Life of Catharine II.* vol. ii.

and views which influenced the empress, and panegyricized her regard for the rights of nations. The Danish court readily adopted the propositions of the czarina; and the king of Sweden also engaged to maintain the system which she recommended. Fleets were now fitted out by the northern confederates, and by the other states which had acceded to the league. Among these armed neutrals were the Dutch; but they were soon obliged to assume the more decided character of a belligerent power. The courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Naples, and the republic of Venice, entered into the confederacy; in which even the Portuguese joined, their court yielding in this instance to the influence of the French and Spaniards.

While the empress was congratulating herself on the success of the maritime project, she listened to the overtures of the Austrian court, and, having met Joseph in Poland, invited him into Russia. Various schemes of ambition were discussed in frequent interviews. Prince Potemkin promoted the intimacy of the two courts, while count Panin preferred the Prussian alliance. The former of these courtiers had succeeded to the influence which Gregory Orloff had long possessed; and the count's exhortations had so little effect, that his disgust induced him to secede for a time from the cabinet. Jealous of the emperor's views, the king of Prussia sent the heir of his crown to visit the czarina; but she received him with a coolness bordering on contempt. The connexion between Austria and Russia had not long been renewed, when Maria Theresa died of a disorder
Nov. 29. of the lungs, combined with the dropsy, after a reign of forty years, and a life of sixty-three.

This princess was handsome in her youth, but her features were afterwards disfigured by the small-pox, and by an accidental fall during a journey. Her talents were respectable, and her judgment sound; and she was so far conscious of her political abilities, that she would not suffer even prince Kaunitz, of whose merit she had a high opinion, to exercise in every case a dictatorial sway over her. She was courteous in her manners, and correct in her private morals; compassionate and munificent; an affectionate wife and mother, a kind mistress and friend. She certainly had both great and good qualities: but she was sometimes too selfish in her politics, and her catholic bigotry led her into habits of intolerance.

LETTER VI.

*A Continuation of the History of Europe, to the Peace of
1783.*

WHEN I informed you, my dear son, of the evasive and faithless behaviour of the Dutch toward Great Britain, and of their good-will to the American cause, you had reason to suppose that a farther discovery would be made of their sinister practices, and that a consequent denunciation of hostility would arise from the offended state. Captain Fielding having descried a fleet with a convoy, insisted upon a search; and, when the Dutch had fired at the boats sent for that purpose, he fired a shot a-head of their commodore's ship. A broadside was given in return; Fielding answered it; and the Dutch ships of war struck their colours. The trading vessels which had not sailed away when the English approached, were now searched; and such as contained articles not allowed to be sent to an enemy, were prevented from continuing their voyage. The remonstrances of the British court, on this occasion, were spirited and severe; but the Hollanders bore them with phlegmatic indifference.

An American packet being taken near Newfoundland, the papers of Henry Laurens, a member of the congress, were examined; and they furnished evidence of the treaty which had been adjusted with the revolted colonies. The king, attributing this conduct to Van Berkel and the Amsterdam faction, desired that it might be disavowed in form by the states-general, as it "was no less contrary to their most sacred engagements, than repugnant to the Dutch constitution." He also demanded "speedy satisfaction adequate to the offence, and the exemplary punishment of Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations." As the influence of that minister counteracted all ideas of submission to a power already assailed by a formidable confederacy, these demands were neglected; and successive memorials, presented by sir Joseph Yorke, were merely taken *ad referendum*. The ambassador was therefore recalled, after a residence of twenty-seven years in Holland; during the greater part of which period, he had enjoyed extensive influence, and had acted as a cabinet minister to the stadtholder. His manners and address were not

so courtly or conciliatory as those of a French diplomatist; but he had a greater share of genuine liberality, and was more upright and honourable.

A manifesto now appeared, reprobating the encouragement given by the states to the mal-practices of the Amsterdam party, and lamenting that it was impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole. Reprisals were ordered in the usual form; and the naval force of the country was diligently augmented.

The war with Holland was censured in the *new* parliament (for a dissolution had been deemed expedient, after the suppression of the riots had strengthened the authority of the crown); but the public in general did not seem inclined to admit that the ministry had wantonly extended the war. Although the

A.D. 1781. people agreed with the court in this respect, they were not pleased with the rejection of a judicious bill of retrenchment, introduced by Mr. Burke, or with the disregard shown to a petition from the delegates of those counties which had formed associations against the encroaching and increasing influence of the crown¹. These subjects were debated with spirit; and, on another occasion, the conduct of the court in directing military execution, at the time of the riots, excited animadversion, which was repelled with plausibility of argumentation and remark. In this debate Mr. Sheridan distinguished himself. He had already obtained a high rank among dramatists; and he now began to shine as a parliamentary speaker. At this time, indeed, he did not evince that readiness and fluency which he afterwards displayed; but he gave strong indications of oratorical ability. He exercised the weapons of argument, wit, and satire. His reasoning was not destitute of force; his remarks and allusions were pointed and appropriate.

The Dutch soon experienced the effects of British hostility. Their island of St. Eustatius was taken²; and, as it was a rich *dépôt* of varied merchandise, the loss was severely felt. A general spoliation was ordered, even the property of British subjects not being spared, as it was pretended that they traded with the enemy; and by this arbitrary measure the two commanders (Rodney and Vaughan) exposed themselves to a multiplicity of lawsuits, some of which were productive of decrees of

¹ Mr. Adolphus styles these delegates "mock representatives of unconstitutional constituents:" but, he would find it difficult to prove that men who had associated for the purpose of petitioning parliament were guilty of any illegal act.

² This island had suffered severely, in the preceding autumn, from the violence of a hurricane.

restitution. The number of trading ships that were taken exceeded a hundred and fifty; but a sixth part of this fleet rewarded the vigilance of the French, who, in the preceding year, had also been fortunate in point of naval capture.

The insular settlements of St. Martin and Saba, and the continental colonies of Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerara, were likewise added to the British territories. But, in Africa, the Hollanders were able, with Gallic aid, to secure their valuable settlement at the southern cape.

The states-general were at the same time embroiled with one of the most ambitious and powerful princes of the continent,—the head of the house of Austria. The ample inheritance of Maria Theresa had descended to her son Joseph, whose promising talents, and apparent goodness of disposition, flattered his subjects with the hopes of a splendid and patriotic reign. He commenced his administration with various reforms. He suppressed useless tribunals and unnecessary offices, and even abolished some which were worthy of being retained. He abridged the power of the nobles, and emancipated the peasants from the rigours of feudal servitude. He released commerce from injudicious restrictions, established new manufactures, promoted agricultural industry, and encouraged the skill of artisans of every description. He framed literary and scientific institutions, and in a great measure gave freedom to the press. Less bigoted than his mother, he granted to all sects of Christians, and even to Jews, the free exercise of their religion; and the former were pronounced eligible to all employments. Justly considering monasteries as too numerous, he suppressed the majority of those foundations; and, in those which were suffered to remain, he considerably diminished the number of monks and nuns¹.

In taking a view of foreign politics, he was doubtful whether he should adhere to the connexion with France: but, having formed an intention of annulling that treaty, which provided for the maintenance of the Netherland barrier, and which, he thought, rendered him meanly dependent on Great Britain and Holland, he was induced to continue on friendly terms with the court of Versailles. In a visit to his sister, he was flattered into a belief of the cordial regard of the French cabinet for his interest; and, being strongly persuaded to execute his new scheme, he ordered the towns to be dismantled, and the Dutch garrisons to retire².

¹ Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, vol. ii. chap. 45.

² In most of the towns the fortifications were in a ruinous state, not having been

An invasion of Jersey by the French served to evince the courage of its defenders, who, after their foes had in a manner seized the island, engaged them in the town of St. Helier, and forced them to resign their supposed conquest. The siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards did not lead to the conclusion which they desired. Relief was repeatedly afforded to the garrison: the fortifications were diligently and skilfully repaired after all the attacks of the besiegers, whose successive works were destroyed in spirited sallies. Minorca was invaded by the troops of both powers, but the courage of the garrison delayed the surrender of the chief fortress of the island, until six months had nearly elapsed from the investment: disease then enforced submission.

An engagement with the Dutch in the British Ocean, and one with the French in the West Indies, were the chief naval actions of the year. In the former, Hyde Parker contended against Zoutman, who, with eight sail of the line, could not, though his men fought with great spirit, defeat or repel six, and lost one of his ships in consequence of the damage which it had received. In the other conflict, sir Samuel Hood was the antagonist of the count De Grasse, who, though his fleet bore to the English squadron the proportion of four to three, and had also the advantage of the wind, kept a cautious distance, so that only the van of his opponent, and a part of the centre, could get into action. Five of Hood's ships were so injured, that the French commander seemed inclined, on the following day, to risk a close engagement: but sir Samuel made such movements as checked and disconcerted the count. In the night, the English retired, and the French pursued with more ostentation than effect. M. De Grasse afterwards sailed toward Tobago, to prevent the relief of that island; which, though bravely defended by governor Ferguson, was reduced after a course of devastation. Encouraged by this success, the admiral resolved to assist Washington in a grand scheme for the retrieval of the affairs of the republic, injured by the depreciation of paper currency, by frequent ravages and depredations, and by a decline of popular zeal.

The provincials had commenced the campaign in Carolina by a defeat of colonel Tarleton at the Cow-pens; and, though they were not victorious when they engaged Cornwallis at Guilford (with as great a superiority of number as they had in the battle of Camden), they made considerable havoc among his

repaired since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, either by the Austrians or by the Dutch.—See Part II. Letter xxiii. where the Barrier-Treaty is repeatedly mentioned.

troops. That commander having advanced into Virginia, where Arnold the American then acted in the British service, they hoped to overwhelm lord Rawdon: but he routed them at Hobkirk; and colonel Stuart, meeting them at Eutaw, repelled them after a fierce contest.

But these successes of the British only served to render their final overthrow more humiliating. General Washington, in several letters which fell into the hands of the English, pretended that New York would speedily be attacked by the allies; and Clinton, anxious for the preservation of that post, suffered earl Cornwallis to remain unassisted in Virginia. The station chosen by this officer was York-town, which, as well as Gloucester, on the opposite banks of the York river, he fortified against a sudden attack. Here he was soon attacked by the French and Americans, of whose united forces Washington acted as generalissimo; and the chief commanders of the French troops were the count De Rochambeau, the marquis De la Fayette, and St. Simon. The last of these officers had brought a reinforcement from the West Indies under the convoy of M. De Grasse, who, while the troops were passing up the river James to the camp, sustained an attack from admiral Graves. The engagement was far from being general, as the French wished to avoid a collision; and it had not the effect of preventing De Grasse from blocking up the Chesapeake against British intrusion. York and Gloucester were now besieged, and a constant cannonade was kept up from batteries abounding with artillery. The garrison of each post resisted for some weeks; but, when the state of the works precluded a longer defence, Cornwallis proposed a capitulation. The troops were considered as prisoners Oct. 19. of war, to the amount of about six thousand men; and the ships in the harbour became prizes to the French¹.

This disaster made a strong impression upon the public mind in Great Britain. It tended to produce a general conviction of the impolicy of continuing the war, and a regret for the useless sacrifice of lives and consumption of treasure with which its protracted course had been attended. Yet the obstinacy of the ministers seemed invincible. They were, indeed, less arrogant; but folly and prejudice were still the chief ingredients in their composition. They hoped to retain the confidence of a submissive senate; but in this respect they were disappointed; for a majority of the house of commons at length refused to support

¹ Marshall's *Life of General Washington*.—London Gazette.

A.D. them. It was voted¹, on the motion of general Conway, 1782. that the war ought no longer to be prosecuted for the impracticable purpose of subduing the colonies. The parliamentary tide having thus turned itself against the ministers, they reluctantly resigned their offices. The two posts which Mar. 27. lord North had so long filled, were respectively transferred to the marquis of Rockingham and lord John Cavendish. Mr. Fox succeeded lord Stormont as secretary of state for foreign affairs, while the earl of Shelburne followed the earl of Hillsborough in the home department. Lord Camden was placed at the head of the council: the duke of Grafton became keeper of the privy seal, the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance, Conway chief commander of the army, and Keppel first lord of the admiralty.

A general pacification, the repression of the influence of the crown, and the grant of the claims of Ireland, were expected from the marquis and his associates. To accelerate the first object, a negotiator was dispatched to Versailles; the second aim was promoted by several judicious statutes; and, after a due investigation of the other business, all control over Ireland was relinquished by the British legislature.

The marquis did not long enjoy his high station. He died about three months after his appointment, respected as a man of honour and integrity, and beloved for his private virtues. He was succeeded by the earl of Shelburne, who, on the resignation of lord John Cavendish, procured for Mr. William Pitt (son of the popular earl of Chatham) the post of chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Shelburne not having acquired the full confidence of the Whig leaders, Mr. Fox disdained to act with him; and, retiring from office, renewed his opposition to the court. This conduct, which had an air of disinterestedness, was justly imputed by the public to disappointed ambition. Mr. Fox wished for the nomination of an ostensible premier who would submit to be guided by his dictates; but his majesty did not consult that aspiring minister on the subject.

The maritime success of this period, though the despatches of Rodney were brought while Mr. Fox was in power, was not derived from his administration; for an order had been sent for the removal of the gallant admiral from his command. Hood had been unable to prevent the reduction of St. Christopher's, which the French, however, did not gain without a considerable

¹ By a majority of 19.

loss of men. After its surrender, Rodney, Hood, and Drake, took signal vengeance on the enemy. Their fleet exceeded that of the count De Grasse in number; but all their ships could not be brought into action. Between Guadaloupe and Mariegalante, the French were drawn into an engagement by the manœuvres of Rodney; and, when a close fight had ^{April 12.} continued for five hours, his own ship and three others broke their line, gained the wind, and threw their whole fleet into disorder. Yet, for six hours and a half more, they resisted with desultory efforts; and then a confused retreat announced the triumph of their antagonists, who sent one ship to the bottom by a single broadside, took the celebrated *Ville de Paris* and four other ships of the line, and greatly damaged the vessels that escaped from the battle, two of which were captured in the following week. Six thousand of the vanquished (nine thousand by some accounts) were killed or wounded, and nearly one thousand of the victors. Rodney hastened with the captive count to Jamaica, where he was hailed as a deliverer; for the inhabitants had been menaced with an attack from an eventual junction of the French and Spanish fleets¹.

The defence of Gibraltar by land procured to general Eliot a reputation equal to that which Rodney had acquired by his exploits on the ocean. A formidable attack, in a new mode, required every exertion that he could make. M. Arçon, who was reputed a skilful engineer, had superintended the construction of ten naval batteries, or floating towers, provided with above two hundred guns, and so elaborately formed and fortified, that bombs and even red-hot balls, it was thought, would not penetrate the sides or materially injure the roof. The allied besiegers, to the number of forty thousand men, were ready to take advantage of the effect of these machines, and storm the fortress. Aided by a fierce cannonade from the land, the floating batteries fired with great regularity upon the works which defended the rock; but the garrison sustained the ^{Sept. 13.} attack with firmness, and sent forth continued volleys of shells and balls from the morning until after midnight. From two of the battering ships flames were then seen to issue; and the alarmed Spaniards intimated their danger, to the confederate fleet in the bay, by numerous rockets. Boats were sent to take away the men: but a British flotilla advanced to obstruct the efforts of the enemy for the rescue of those individuals. When,

¹ *London Gazette* of May 18, 1782.

however, most of the other ships were in flames, the English desisted from hostility, and saved as many of their foes as they were able to relieve. All the floating machines were at length destroyed, and the confident hopes of the besiegers annihilated, particularly after lord Howe, though he had only thirty-four sail of the line to contend with forty-four, had increased the strength and supplied the wants of the garrison ¹.

The war in India, at the same time, did not languish. The appearance of sir Eyre Coote in the Carnatic checked the conquests and ravages of the enemy; and that commander, in the summer of the year 1781, thrice attacked, with a small force, the troops of Hyder. He drove them, on each of those occasions, from the field of battle; and, in the succeeding year, he again prevailed over the army of the Mysorean chief. Tippoo, however, continued the war, after his father's death, with unbroken spirit, and with occasional success. Four engagements occurred between the British and French fleets in the Indian Seas, after sir Edward Hughes, who commanded the former, had assisted in the reduction of Negapatam and Trincomalè. Much blood was shed in these actions, without naval capture. Suffrein found an opportunity of retaking Trincomalè, which he restored to the Dutch.

The prospect of peace was for a while obscured: but its cheering light at length broke forth. The emperor of Germany, having contracted a partiality for France, saw with pleasure the difficulties in which Great Britain had involved herself, and encouraged other powers to treat her with disrespect; yet he thought proper to offer his mediation, as did also the unfriendly czarina. The king accepted their offers, which, however, had little influence on the treaty. During the negotiation, the French court bestowed great attention upon the affairs of an inconsiderable state, not however undistinguished in history. For a long period, the dissensions of the aristocratic and democratic parties had seriously agitated the republic of Geneva. Rousseau favoured the latter; but, the council having condemned his *Emile* and his *Contrat Social*, and ordered the seizure of his person, he found it expedient to abscond. The people remonstrated against the decree of arrest, and proposed a reference of the case to the general assembly. The senate and the council, on the other hand, claimed a right of withholding from that assembly, at their discretion, any of the representations or pro-

¹ *Gazettes* of Nov. 7 and 16.

posals of the citizens. This and other points were contested with great bitterness of animosity. At length (in the year 1768), the popular party so far prevailed, that the right of annually electing four members of the senate, and that of remonstrating against grievances, were allowed to the citizens and burghers. The formation of a new code of laws, however, continued for many years to be a ground of dispute. The aristocratic leaders were apprehensive that the privileges of the higher classes might be injured by a general improvement of legislation; and one code was therefore rejected: but they still pretended to be desirous of gratifying the people. Both parties were intemperate in their conduct, and their mutual animosity threatened serious consequences.

To the French king, the allied protector of the republic, the ruling party applied for assistance. The count de Vergennes advised Louis to maintain with a high hand his guarantee of the aristocratic government; and the court of Turin, and canton of Bern, were ready to support the same cause. The reformists sent Clavière and Du Coudray to Versailles, to treat with the French minister, who amused them with plausible speeches, while he prepared to crush their party. Inflamed by alleged provocations, they took arms against the senate in 1781, and obtained the advantage in an insurrection, but could not procure the concessions which they desired. In a subsequent commotion, they seized the town-house, intruded into the hall where the senate met, and carried off some aristocratic hostages¹. A committee of safety, named by the democratic party, for some time administered the public affairs: but it could not be expected that a superiority which was the effect of violence, would be long borne with patience by an aristocracy so powerfully supported. An army of French, Piedmontese, and Bernese, advanced to the Leman Lake, and menaced Geneva with a vigorous attack. The popular chiefs were ordered to release and reinstate the imprisoned senators and magistrates, to deliver up all arms, and to quit the territories of the republic. To these terms they refused to agree; and a spirit of hostility seemed to animate the people. It was resolved in a council of citizens, that the town should be defended with the utmost vigour and perseverance: July 1. but, when the leaders of the party had quitted the assembly to prepare for action, those who remained re-considered the important question, and all thoughts of a resolute

¹ *Histoire de Louis XVI.* tome i.

defence were abandoned. The hostages were released, the cannon spiked, and officers recalled from their posts. In the night an emigration commenced; and when the Piedmontese troops marched into the city in the morning, few were found in it except the partisans of the aristocracy, or those who had not been active on either side. The town-house and magazines were seized by the invaders; and when the French and Bernese had also entered, the citizens were disarmed, and the senate and council re-established. The three generals now adjusted in concert with those assemblies various political regulations, which were confirmed in a garbled meeting of national representatives.

Nov. 12. The concessions of the year 1768 were revoked, the power of the council was augmented, public meetings were prohibited, the people were disarmed, and foreigners suffered to compose the garrison of the city¹.

So unwilling were the democrats to acquiesce in a settlement ordained by foreign powers, that a great number retired into Germany and the Netherlands. Above a thousand having applied for admission into Ireland, the parliament of that realm assigned lands for a colony: but, after some progress had been made in the erection of a new town, the scheme was relinquished, from the caprice or the unreasonable demands of the Genevans. The few who had landed in Ireland returned to their native country; and, indeed, of those who found refuge in other parts of Europe, the majority did not long remain in exile.

The cantons of Switzerland were less agitated in point of politics than the Genevan state. Even in the aristocratic communities, the government was in general mildly administered; and the people seemed inclined to trust to time and chance for an improvement of their political condition. In the canton of Friburg, however, commotions arose² from the eagerness of the inhabitants of the district of Gruyeres to shake off the yoke of the *secret chamber*, which (says Mr. Coxe), "though not any public or responsible part of administration, was yet the concealed spring that put the wheels of government in motion." The malcontents, headed by Chenaux, endeavoured to surprise Friburg, but found the magistrates upon their guard; and on the arrival of a body of soldiers from Bern, the insurrection was easily quelled. The leader was killed in a contest with three of his accomplices, who wished to surrender him to the officers of government. By the mediation of the cantons of Bern, Lucerne,

¹ Coxe's *Travels in Switzerland*, letter 65.

² In April, 1781.

and Soleure, the obnoxious chamber was rendered less arbitrary, and the constitution less oligarchical¹.

The government of France required reform more essentially than that of the cantons. The endeavours of M. Necker for that purpose were checked by his opponents at court. He had laboured with sedulous zeal to bring the expenditure within the compass of the receipts. He simplified the collection of revenues; endeavoured to clear the channels through which they passed; and systematically promoted rigid economy. Louis was very willing to submit to retrenchment; but his relatives were less compliant in that respect, and the courtiers were not pleased with arrangements which checked their avidity. The public in general applauded the conduct of Necker; yet some politicians, not without reason, condemned his attachment to the practice of funding, too prevalent in this country. He alleged, as an excuse, that the war could not otherwise be carried on, and that the interest of each loan would be defrayed by various retrenchments, without requiring particular imposts. In an account presented to the king, after three years of war, he stated, that the established revenues exceeded, by 425,000 pounds sterling, the ordinary annual expenses of the state; and he thus provided a basis for future loans.

In the mean time he attended to other objects of importance. He formed the plan of new assemblies, which (he says) "furnished all the provinces with paternal guides and protectors, attached the citizens to the public interest, and rendered general knowledge subservient to the advancement of national prosperity." This scheme was censured by some as too democratic; but no one, we may suppose, disapproved the efforts of the same minister for diminishing the distance, in point of comfort, between the poor and the rich, by new institutions of charity and beneficence, and by a reform of those which already existed².

The count de Maurepas did not cordially concur with the financial minister. Indolent, selfish, inattentive to the general interest, and ready to connive at abuses in every department, the aged statesman had nearly lost the popularity with which he commenced his administration. The public did not view, with continued complacency, the great influence which he exercised over the easily-governed king: nor was his concern in the renewal of war remembered to his advantage. Comparing the zeal

¹ Coxe's *Travels*, letter 53.

² *Sur l'Administration de M. Necker*, par lui-même.

of Necker with the count's indifference and want of public spirit, the people wished that the former might enjoy greater power at court than the dictator allowed. Maurepas occasionally checked and discouraged the financier; with whom, likewise, Vergennes and Miromesnil were not on friendly terms. Yet as his utility seemed to be acknowledged, he was not only suffered to retain his post, but was allowed to displace Sartine, whom he deemed an incapable naval minister, and bestow the appointment on the *maréchal de Castries* ¹.

Intrigue and cabal at length effected the removal of Necker ². The brothers of Louis encouraged Bourbonnion, one of their dependents, to attack his calculations and statements; and, when the punishment of this assailant for calumny had been in vain demanded by the offended minister, he resigned his employment. Maurepas, pretending not to consent to what he really desired, declared that he would not communicate the resignation to the king; but Necker requested her majesty to procure the royal assent to his retreat from public business. M. de Fleury was his successor, being recommended to the court by the cardinal de Rohan. The new financier was more agreeable to the magistracy than Necker, whose provincial arrangements had disgusted the parliaments of the realm.

Among the French ministers, the chief promoter of peace was the count de Vergennes, who, finding that the war had ceased to be popular, and being satisfied with the emancipation of the Americans, vigorously counteracted in the cabinet the efforts of the advocates of sanguinary hostility. The original repugnance of Louis to the war may be supposed to have rendered him zealous in the same cause. No prince, indeed, more earnestly wished for peace than this benevolent and unambitious monarch.

When provisional articles had been adjusted with the American commissioners at Paris, preliminaries of peace with France

JAN. 20, and Spain were signed by Mr. Fitzherbert, and were

1763. approved by the house of peers, but not by the commons. The definitive treaties, and even the preliminaries with Holland, were delayed above seven months from that time. The most important stipulations were of the following tenour. The thirteen colonies were declared to be "free, sovereign, and independent states;" and their limits were marked by a line drawn from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, passing toward one of

¹ *Mémoires de Marmontel*, livre xli.

² In 1761.

the heads of the Connecticut river, thence to Lake Ontario through the middle of that great body of water, and of the lakes Erie and Huron, to the Lake of the Woods, and thence to the Mississippi, which was to form a boundary as far to the southward as Fort Mobile and the borders of Florida. The right of taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, was conceded to the inhabitants of the new republic; and the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, was left open to both nations. The loyalists were in a manner abandoned by the court which they had served: for their interests in point of restitution of property and rights, were merely *recommended* to the provincial assemblies. The French were indulged with a restitution of Pondicheri and their other settlements in the East Indies, of St. Lucia in the West, and of Goree in Africa. Tobago was ceded to them; and with this exception, they consented to relinquish all the West Indian islands which they had reduced since the commencement of the war. The Spaniards were not required to restore Minorca; and the whole territory of Florida was again subjected to their sway. They had endeavoured, during the negotiation, to prevail upon the court to resign Gibraltar: but the proposition was rejected with disdain. The treaty with the Dutch left them in possession of all their former territories, except Negapatam¹.

For some years after the close of the war, the American republic rather declined than advanced in dignity and prosperity. The congress could not maintain national credit, procure due respect from foreign powers, or enforce the submission of the different provinces to its authority. Attentively considering this state of affairs, Mr. Washington, then a private citizen, earnestly recommended a revision of the federal system. A convention was proposed for the improvement of the confederacy: a plan which gave greater power to the congress, and rendered the provinces less independent and more connected, was adopted by the well-disposed majority; and Washington was unanimously chosen president of the United States. The influence arising from his character and reputation, added to the power which the new constitution allowed him, elevated him, on this occasion, almost to the rank of a sovereign. In his journey from Mount Vernon, in Virginia, to Philadelphia, he was hailed as the guardian of his country by the spectators who thronged the roads.

¹ Appendix to the *Annual Register*, vol. xxvi.

He was escorted by persons of high character and distinction, praised in the addresses of corporations, and honoured with triumphal arches. After a short indulgence in the festivities of the Pennsylvanian capital, he crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and proceeded to New York, where he was inaugurated and proclaimed president. He formed his cabinet of able men; namely, Mr. Jefferson, general Knox, colonel Hamilton, and Mr. Randolph.

The republic was then at war with the savages, and had disputes with the Spaniards on the subjects of boundaries and navigation, and also with Great Britain on supposed infractions of treaty. To put an end to the war, the president sent negotiators; but it was not before the year 1790 that the Creek barbarians would agree to a treaty. As late as the year 1794 hostilities were continued by various tribes; but general Wayne then restored peace. With the British government it was stipulated in the same year that the posts occupied by the subjects of our sovereign within the territories of the United States should be relinquished, and that compensation should be made for irregular naval captures: but French goods were still to be seized in American vessels; a freedom which so exasperated the French, (who acrimoniously censured their old allies for submitting to it) that it required all the address of the president to prevent a war with that nation. With the Spanish court a treaty was concluded in 1795, by which the limits of dominion were settled in a satisfactory manner for the Americans, who were also gratified with the free navigation of the Mississippi¹.

The high character of the president entitles him to encomiastic notice. Judgment, fortitude, integrity, and correctness of morals, formed the chief features of his portrait. He pursued with undeviating steadiness what he conceived to be right; and, in the grand object of his political life, his perseverance commanded success. As a warrior, he was brave, without rashness; as a commander, cautious and vigilant; strict, without inordinate severity; humane, without facility of compliance or weakness of indulgence. As a statesman, he attended to practical advantage rather than to speculative perfection. If Great Britain had allowed to the Americans the full benefit of her constitution, he would not have renounced her control or resisted her authority. But he knew that they had a fair claim to just government; and,

¹ Dr. Ramsay's *Life of Washington*, chap. 11, 12.

for his strenuous efforts in support of that claim, his memory will never be reproached by the manly advocates of honourable freedom.

LETTER VII.

History of the Continent of Europe, from the Peace of 1783, to the Settlement of the Affairs of Holland, in 1787.

THE American revolution, my dear son, tended to embody that spirit of reform which had been for some time floating on the political surface of France. Even the most unreflecting inhabitants of that ill-governed kingdom could not be blind to the abuses, or insensible of the grievances which prevailed. They were, in general, ready to acknowledge the good intentions of their sovereign: but they lamented that he was surrounded by men less patriotic than himself, and that he had not the spirit to resist the advice of artful courtiers. Not content with murmuring, they swelled their voices into the loudness of clamour, and called for a participation of that liberty which they had contributed to procure for the subjects of another prince. The middle class, enlightened by free and philosophic writings, less enervated by luxury, and less depraved by profligacy, than the higher orders, and more impressed with a sense of honour and dignity than the populace, more strongly felt these sentiments than the rest of the nation. The ministers of Louis were alarmed at the growing zeal; but they flattered themselves with the hope of restraining it within reasonable limits.

In Germany, the *illuminati* had propagated a general freedom of thinking; and many of the princes of that country were disposed to mitigate the rigours of stern authority. The elector of Bavaria, influenced by the philanthropy of an American philosopher¹, promoted in various instances the accommodation and happiness of his people. He rendered his court and household less burthensome to the nation; reformed the military establishment, so as to connect the interests of the soldier with those of the citizens; improved the condition and morals of the poor; and encouraged the arts and sciences. He was sometimes seduced

¹ Known by the title of count Rumford.

into acts of oppression and impolicy by designing priests, whom he suffered to harass the Protestants in the Palatinate: but this conduct arose from deficiency in judgment and in vigour of mind, rather than from ill intentions. The government of Saxony was less arbitrary than that of Bavaria; and the country more obviously flourished in every respect. Frederic Augustus, who had been elector from the year 1763, had a better understanding than Charles Theodore; was less bigoted, less indolent, and less attached to pleasure. The electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, though priests, suffered the suggestions of philosophy to meliorate their respective governments. Into the Hanoverian electorate, in imitation of British maxims of polity, the regency introduced (says the baron von Riesbeck) a spirit of liberty which formed a strong contrast to the system pursued in the generality of the German states. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel was more a military despot than a patriotic prince. The duke of Wurtemberg had been dissolute, prodigal, and not unfrequently tyrannical; but he suddenly reformed his conduct, and acquired the esteem of his people: their affection he had not lost, even while he oppressed them. His neighbour, the margrave of Baden, was a prince of a benevolent disposition and an enlightened mind.

Joseph boldly prosecuted his career of innovation in every department of public affairs. His ordinances of religious reform embroiled him with the court of Rome. Pius VI. could not overlook the innovations of a son of the church; but that pontiff had not the power to prevent or repress them; nor was his mental vigour adequate to the prosecution of a spirited contest. He had some capacity and knowledge, and his address and manners were pleasing: but he was not calculated to extend the triumphs or secure the prerogatives of the holy see. He seemed to think himself a great man, because he had an imposing exterior, a dignified demeanour, and specious eloquence. He had all the littleness of vanity, without the greatness of genius. His administration did not involve a redress of flagrant grievances, or an improvement of the general state of his dominions. Of avidity and rapacity he exhibited frequent instances. Nepotism, which had disappeared under Ganganelli, degraded the sway of Braschi. His prodigality disordered his finances: the debts of the apostolical chamber increased; and, though the taxes were not very heavy, the people had reason to complain of oppression. He diminished the duties levied by the great landholders upon commodities passing through their domains; and he encouraged

some branches of art and manufacture; but he was not consistent or judicious in his schemes of this kind. His most memorable work was the draining of the Pomptine (or Pontine) marshes—an undertaking which Julius Cæsar had meditated. After some years of labour, little progress seemed to be made in the work: new inundations obstructed its success: but the pope was not discouraged. He restored the admirable road called the Appian Way, cut canals through the morass, and rendered a considerable part fit for cultivation¹.

This great undertaking was still in progress, when the pope resolved upon a journey to Vienna², in the hope of restraining, by admonitions and remonstrances, the zeal of Joseph. The prohibition of applying to the court of Rome for dispensations, the grant of an exclusive control over monasteries to the bishops, the subjection of the prelates to the sole authority of the emperor, and other attacks upon the supposed rights of the papacy, had aroused the indignation of Pius, and impelled him to a personal vindication of his dignity. If he had accurately known the temper of Joseph, he might have foreseen the ill success of the visit. The cardinal de Bernis exhorted him to revoke his determination, as the journey would be useless with regard to its object, and it would entail contempt on the pontifical character. But the pope persuaded himself, that his eloquence and the dignity of his station would have some influence over his imperial majesty: he was eager to display his zeal in the cause of catholicism, and thought, with vain self-complacency, of the enjoyment of frequent opportunities of exhibiting his elegant person, and of the veneration which the sanctity of his character would excite in his progress. Seven cardinals (it is said), without mutual communication, concurred in recommending the pious journey in their respective answers to his solicitation of advice.

Having committed the government of his territories to cardinal Colonna, while Pallavicini continued to act as secretary of state, he made his will, and implored the assistance of the apostles. He was attended to his carriage by the grand duke of Russia, and escorted to Otricoli by his nobles. Visiting Loretto, he added to the wealth of the shrine; and when he had passed through the Venetian dominions, he was received at Goritz by count Cobentzel and a train of Austrians. The emperor and the archduke Maximilian met him at Neukirchen, and conducted

¹ *Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat*, chap. 7, 8, 9.

² In February, 1782.

him in pompous procession to Vienna, where he was splendidly lodged and sumptuously entertained. He courted Joseph by flattery, but could not subdue his inflexibility. Having gladdened the hearts of the populace by frequent benedictions, he took leave of the court, and repaired to Munich, where the elector treated him with reverential regard. He returned by the way of Venice, and re-entered Rome at a time when the high price of the necessities of life rendered the government unpopular. His fruitless and expensive journey became the subject of ridicule and invective; and while he was assailed with bitter pasquinades, he was incensed at the continued reforms of the emperor, who even presumed to style himself "supreme guardian of the church and administrator of its temporalities¹."

In return for the honour of this visit, Joseph undertook a journey to Rome, and suddenly presented himself, in a military uniform, at the door of the pope's apartment. The surprise was not disagreeable to the pontiff; but the result of this and other interviews did not shake the firm purpose of the Austrian potentate, who wished to make the church a branch of the state.

Pius had also been involved in disputes with the courts of Berlin and Petersburg. Frederic wished that the Jesuits in Silesia, and in his portion of Poland, might remain on the same footing as before the dissolution of their order. To this indulgence the pope would have had no objection, if the French and Spanish courts had not remonstrated against it. He required that they should relinquish the habit of their fraternity, and should be restricted in point of preaching and of sacramental administration; and the king acquiesced in these points, on condition of their remaining embodied. The czarina having permitted the Jesuits of White Russia to take novices, his holiness complained of this disobedience to the bull of suppression. The dispute long continued; but, as Catharine deemed it a point of honour to protect the persecuted fraternity, she prevailed over the opposition of the allied catholic courts.

That princess (you may thus observe) did not neglect the concerns of religion: but she paid greater attention to politics. Her present views were directed to the acquisition of the Crimea. She had fomented disturbances in that country, and encouraged one competitor against another. Souvoroff, who commanded a division of her troops, posted near Prekop, marched against the adherents of Dowlat Gherai, and put them to flight without a

¹ *Mémoires sur Pie VI.* chap. 11, 12, &c.

battle. That prince hastened to Constantinople; and Sahem was proclaimed khan. The Russian general was afterwards stationed at Kopyl, near the Black Sea; and he extended his lines along the right bank of the Cuban. He obtained a more important command on the return of prince Prosorowski to Petersburg; for he succeeded that general in the task of encroaching on the peninsula. The grand signor, considering the conduct of the Russians as a breach of treaty, sent an army into Moldavia, and a fleet to the Euxine. His admiral protested against the continuance of the czarina's troops in the Crimea, and of her ships in a sea which was exclusively subject to the Porte. Souvoroff alleged, that his mistress had been requested by the Tartars to aid them with a military force, and that her fleet merely cruised for the protection of the army. The sultan was not satisfied with this vindication; but, as he wished on farther reflection to avoid a war, he acquiesced (as I hinted in a former letter) in the sovereignty of the new khan. Souvoroff was then sent to Astracan, to observe the state of Persia, where different chieftains contended for pre-eminence. As no opportunity of a fortunate expedition seemed to present itself, he removed to Casan, where he commanded when new commotions arose in the Crimea. The life of Sahem was so endangered by the success of the insurgents, that he left his capital, and fled across the sea of Azoph to a Russian fortress. His elder brother seized the sovereignty; but the usurper was soon deposed by the Moscovites; and Mohammed Gherai, the leader of the insurrection, was stoned to death. Sahem resumed his power, only for the purpose of abdication. He pretended that he resigned his authority from his own free will: but this assertion was not strictly true. His renunciation, which was the effect of Russian influence and terror, was followed by the seizure of the principality and the subjugation of the Nogay Tartars¹.

This important acquisition of territory was announced to the world in a manifesto, stating the danger to which the Russian frontiers were exposed by the restless disposition of the Tartars, and by their inability of making a proper use of the independence conceded to them; and asserting the expediency, for the prevention of constant discord with the Porte, of annexing to the czarina's dominions the peninsula of Crim Tartary, the

¹ *Histoire des Campagnes du Comte Alexander Suworow Rymnikski*, tome i. chap. 5, 6.

Cuban province, and the isle of Taman. The Porte remonstrated against this usurpation, and threatened war: but the Russians defeated the Nogays (whom Sahem, repenting of his resignation, had persuaded to take arms in his cause) and inti-

A.D. midated the grand signor into forbearance. A treaty was
1784. signed, by which the empress secured her acquisitions. Her ambition was farther gratified by a transfer of the homage of some of the Georgian and Circassian princes from the Porte to Russia¹.

Catharine had been supported by Joseph in her views of territorial aggrandizement. He had a strong desire of extending his dominions, though they were already too extensive to be properly governed by him. The decline of the Turkish power seemed to offer a favourable prospect; and that he might with the aid of Russia take advantage of the weakness of the Porte, he had adjusted with the empress a secret convention of close alliance, before her troops seized the Crimea. It was now his turn to receive an accession of territory; but Catharine was far from being so ready to assist him as she was to serve herself; and the French court, jealous of his views, threatened to excite a formidable confederacy against him, if he should presume to encroach on the Turkish dominions. This menace awed him into forbearance.

The distance of the Netherlands from the Austrian duchy, and from the Bohemian and Hungarian realms, rendered an exchange of those provinces for Bavaria a desirable measure, and Joseph prevailed on the elector to consent to his gratification in that respect. He also procured the assent of France to the measure; but his great adversary on this occasion was the king of Prussia,

A.D. who, aware of the advantage which the house of Austria
1785. would derive from the exchange, in point of territorial connexion and compactness, resolved to oppose it with spirit, and by expatiating on the arbitrary views of the emperor, diffused among the German princes a general alarm. Under his auspices,

July 23. a league was concluded for the maintenance of the indivisibility and independence of the Germanic body². The electors of Saxony and Mentz, the king of Great Britain in his electoral capacity, the duke of Deux Ponts, and other princes, concurred in this confederacy; and the states-general readily

¹ Tooke's *Life of Catharine*, vol. iii.

² His chief minister, Hertzberg, who zealously promoted this league, informs us, that the first hint of it came from the prince of Prussia, Frederic William.

adopted the same cause. This opposition deterred Joseph from his purpose, which he relinquished with sullen discontent ¹.

In the views which he entertained to the prejudice of the Dutch, the emperor was not altogether so unfortunate, as he obtained some points by waving others. His violation of the barrier treaty had been followed by encroachments on the Dutch territories, and by various pretensions and demands, which the republic opposed as vexatious and unjust. While the plenipotentiaries of the two governments were negotiating, Joseph promised to relinquish his other claims, if the states-general would permit the navigation of the Scheldt to be opened, and consent to the prosecution of a direct commerce between his Netherland subjects and the Dutch settlements in the East Indies. No such permission or consent were the states inclined to grant; and, when two vessels attempted to pass, one up the river and the other down, they were instantly seized by the Hollanders ². Joseph sent an army to avenge the insult; and the states, secretly encouraged by Frederic, made preparations for their defence.

These disputes were prevented, by the interposition of the French court, from rising into a war. Louis wished to repress the ambition of his brother-in-law, and to strengthen his own interests in Holland, where the republican party (which he supported against the stadtholder) began to prevail over the court. He therefore menaced Joseph with his resentment, if he should persist in his aims. The emperor so far yielded to the king's remonstrances, as to relinquish the grand point respecting the Scheldt; and a treaty was at length adjusted, by which Nov. 8. he obtained a pecuniary grant in lieu of one of his territorial claims, a small sum to indemnify his subjects who had suffered injury from the inundations made by the Dutch, and an inconsiderable extension of the boundaries of the Netherlands ³.

The count de Vergennes, by whose policy this treaty was promoted, also advised Louis to form a close alliance with Nov. 10. the states-general. It was accordingly stipulated, that the king, in case of any act of aggression against the Dutch, should assist them with an army consisting of twelve thousand

¹ Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, vol. ii. chap. 47.

² In October, 1784.

³ Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*.—*History of the Revolution of 1787 in the Dutch Republic*.

The promised money amounted to ten millions of florins (about eight hundred and ninety-five thousand, five hundred pounds sterling), four tenths of which sum were to be paid by the French court.

men, and a fleet composed of twelve sail of the line and six frigates, or in a dangerous crisis, with his whole force: that in ordinary cases, either six thousand men, or an equivalent sum of money, should be sent by the states to the aid of France, and on extraordinary occasions a greater number, but not more than twenty-four thousand men; and that, in a naval war in which neither party should be concerned, the liberty of the seas should be guaranteed to each.

The king of Prussia did not oppose this alliance, though he disapproved of the views of France with regard to the state of parties in Holland. This prince now approached the end of his life. He had for some years been troubled with occasional fits of the gout, and was frequently harassed by a difficulty of digestion. On his return from a review in Silesia, soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Germanic alliance, he caught cold from exposure to heavy rain, and was seized with a fever, of which he long felt the effects. It was succeeded by a violent cough, which weakened his frame, but did not prevent him from attending with his usual diligence to affairs of state. Before five o'clock in the morning he constantly gave audience to one of his secretaries, and dictated letters on foreign concerns. Another secretary then entered, with whom he adjusted points of internal government. With a third minister, he discussed military arrangements. On one of these occasions, the secretary fell dead at his feet in presenting a paper to him. The king, thus reminded of his own fate, did not seem shocked at the accident, but coolly ordered the body to be removed, sent for another secretary, and continued his labours. When he had been thus employed for three hours, and had even answered letters received from the meanest of his subjects, he used to give instructions to the commandant of Potsdam, and other officers. His health was the next object of consideration; and although he had no high opinion of medical aid, he daily consulted some eminent professors of the healing art. He then conversed with select friends, in an easy and familiar manner. He dined alone; and, after signing the letters and other papers which he dictated in the morning, re-enjoyed the pleasures of society. Before he retired to rest, the works of the ancients were read to him.

Such were his daily occupations, during his last illness, even to the day which immediately preceded his death. While the tomb seemed ready to open for his feeble body, the strength and activity of his mind embraced every useful object, and allowed him still to perform the duties of a king.

He began to despair of his recovery, when an habitual noc-

turnal perspiration ceased. A difficulty of breathing followed : and in this state he passed the winter. In the spring, his indisposition increased. Hydropic symptoms at length A.D. appeared ; and, as he could no longer breathe in bed, he 1786. was obliged to take rest in an arm-chair. When his legs were alarmingly swollen, he desired that incisions might be made in the skin, with a view of allaying the pain which he felt. The surgeon having objected to the operation as dangerous, the right leg soon discharged a great quantity of matter ; and, while the courtiers conceived hopes from this effort of nature, the physicians formed a different opinion. The weakness of their patient was now extreme : he lost his appetite ; and, when he had lingered in this state for three weeks, he exhibited signs of approaching death. After he had been for many hours in a lethargic state, Engel touched his legs, and found them cold. With a faltering voice, he asked what this surgeon thought of his legs. The answer was, that they remained in the same state. He shook his head, and spoke unintelligibly. From this time his respiration gradually became weaker ; and Aug. 17. he died without apparent agony¹. In his will, which bore the date of 1769, he requested that his wife might receive from his successor an annual addition of ten thousand crowns to her jointure. “She has never (said he) given me any cause of uneasiness or complaint, and deserves respect, attachment, and esteem.” After assigning various legacies, he adds, “These are the little savings of economy out of the public treasure : they properly belong to the state.”—“To be a *king*,” he afterward observes, “is an adventitious distinction. Never forget, my dear nephew, that you are a *man*.”

This monarch was equal to any of the princes of his time in sagacity and abilities, and superior to most of them in the arts of war and government. He had a spirit of philosophy, which enabled him to perceive causes and foresee consequences ; and, when he had formed his plans with judgment, he could prosecute them with decision and energy. He was prompt to take advantage of every favourable circumstance ; and, if good fortune seemed to desert him, he could extricate himself from danger by opportune expedients and artful contrivances, and could find resources in every emergency. Like Antæus, he seemed to rise strengthened after every fall ; but he did not, like that fabled hero, suffer his enemies to strangle or destroy him when

¹ *Vie de Frédéric, Roi de Prusse*, tome iv.

he had risen. His ambition and rapacity may justly be blamed; but, when the fervour of his youth had abated, he endeavoured, with studious zeal, to repair the evils which his fondness for war had occasioned, and, in the case of Poland, to atone for the injustice of territorial seizure by introducing a more regular and settled government than that which had subsisted before the partition. He was still a despot in peace as well as in war¹; but he checked the tyranny of the nobles, dispensed justice to all ranks, encouraged learning and science, promoted industry and general improvement. His character in point of religion, was that of a freethinker. He disbelieved and derided Christianity, and his court was at once a school of philosophy and a seat of impiety.

He was succeeded by his nephew Frederic William, who was then in the maturity of his age, having nearly completed his forty-second year. The father of the new king was William Augustus, who was unequal in abilities to his renowned brother, but was more agreeable in his manners and more amiable in his character. His death was accelerated by the harsh treatment which he received from his unfeeling brother, who because the prince was not sufficiently active in the campaign of 1757, told him that he deserved to lose his head, and contemptuously dismissed him from the military service².

Frederic William had been obliged to pass through the subordinate ranks of the army to the dignity of a general. Implicit obedience, and a strict attention to discipline, had been as much expected from him as from the meanest soldier; but, by his punctuality and patience in this drudgery, or by his subserviency in other respects, he had not acquired the esteem of the royal warrior, who testified an unfavourable opinion of his abilities, and treated him with reserve and neglect. He did not, therefore, very poignantly regret the loss of his uncle. The first acts of his reign were pleasing to his subjects. He gave his confidence to Hertzberg and other able statesmen, reformed some abuses, alleviated the burthen of taxation, paid the debts which he had contracted before his accession, distributed money among the indigent, removed those restrictions to which commerce (even by Frederic) had been unwisely subjected, and diligently attended to all the concerns of government. But he did not long continue

¹ Dr. Gillies is so partial to his hero, that he will not allow the government to have been despotic under this prince. It is difficult, however, to conceive a more complete despotism.

² Wraxall's *Memoirs*, letter vi.

thus to act. Indolence, and love of pleasure, diverted him from public duties; and he quickly lost the reputation which he was beginning to acquire¹.

Prince Henry advised the king to pursue the system of his predecessors, and aim at detaching France from the Austrian connexion: but, apprehending that the prince wished to rule at court, he treated him with coolness, and neglected his counsels. Hertzberg preserved his influence for a time, but did not expect long to retain it.

The affairs of the United Provinces appeared sufficiently interesting, even to the indolent and voluptuous monarch, to excite his occasional attention. He was earnestly desired by his sister, the princess of Orange, to exert himself in the cause of her husband, and prevent the French from domineering in Holland: and Hertzberg concurred in recommending his interference.

The success of the Americans, in shaking off the British yoke, had stimulated the zeal of a powerful party among their Dutch allies, to make the constitution more decidedly republican than the authority of the stadtholder allowed it to be. In arguing against the impolicy of submitting to the sway of one man, the leaders of this party were obliged to discuss the origin of government, and refer to the rights of the people; and an opportunity was thus afforded to inferior individuals for the assertion of popular claims, and the formation of a democratic party, not altogether agreeing with the aristocratic opposers of the prince of Orange. Both, however, concurred in the grand object of weakening the power of the stadtholder, whose conduct during the war was supposed to have been prejudicial to the interest of the republic.

Three men of talents, weight, and spirit, headed the aristocratic party. These were the pensionaries of Amsterdam, Dordrecht, and Haarlem—Van Berkel, Gyzlaar, and Zeebergen—to whom the rhingrave of Salm, an intriguing adventurer, had strongly attached himself. Van Bleiswyk, the grand pensionary of Holland, was so fully under the influence of Van Berkel, that, although considerably superior in official dignity, he was comparatively insignificant. Prince Louis of Brunswick, being still the chief adviser of the stadtholder, was particularly obnoxious to these confederates, who therefore aimed at his removal from

¹ *Histoire des principaux Evénemens du Règne de Frédéric Guillaume II., Roi de Prusse*, par L. P. Ségur.

the territories of the republic. Complaints of his arbitrary proceedings and improper advice were loudly repeated; and it was discovered that William, when his minority ceased, had promised to the field-marshal, as an inducement to his continuance at court, constant protection, and support against eventual allegations and charges. The states of Holland and Friesland stigmatized this promise as unconstitutional; and the former assembly prohibited the troops from obeying prince Louis, who was also personally excluded from the province. The states of Utrecht having pronounced a similar vote, he resigned his trust, and, taking advantage of the pretext offered for his retreat by the rupture between the Dutch and the emperor, quitted a country in which for thirty-three years¹ he had enjoyed a commanding influence. Retiring to Aix-la-Chapelle, he gratified his inclination for military parade by attending the reviews of the imperial troops. It was afterward reported by his enemies, that he had conspired to betray Maestricht into the hands of the emperor. The rhingrave of Salm alleged, that the king of Prussia had informed him of the intended treachery; but, when the affair was investigated, no proof of such a plot could be discovered².

The spirit of reform was, at this time, particularly active in the province of Utrecht. Many of the inhabitants of the capital and other towns, deeming the formation of the senate or council too aristocratic, proposed that the members should be chosen by the burghers at large: but neither the senate nor the stadtholder would accede to this demand. At Utrecht the contest was warmly maintained; and Ondaatje, the democratic leader, was committed to prison upon a charge of sedition. The council of Amersfort, still more imperious than that of Utrecht, desired the states of the province to procure from the prince of Orange the immediate aid of troops, for the repression of popular turbulence. A committee of the states having applied in the name of the whole assembly, William, too readily, sent a body of horse and foot to Amersfort. This measure, being considered as unnecessarily violent, excited a general alarm, and produced strong remonstrances from different states of the union³.

The senate of Utrecht, affecting moderation, authorized some of its members to frame regulations of reform, in concert with

¹ From the death of William IV. in 1751, to 1784.

² *History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces, from the year 1780 to the Commencement of Hostilities in June, 1787*; sections 3, 4.—*History of the Revolution of 1787, in the Dutch Republic*, sect. 2, 3.

³ *History of the United Provinces*, sect. 4.

delegates named by the citizens. Provisional articles were drawn up, and submitted to public inspection: but the senate did not seem disposed to carry them into effect. A promise of compliance was given: it was soon retracted; and the burghers were threatened with military coercion. The firmness of the latter, however, procured from the council a confirmation of the new ordinances. Still the scheme was not executed: and the delay so incensed the democratic party, that recourse was had to means of intimidation. The burghers, appearing under arms, degraded thirty of the senators, and elected new members, who swore to the observance of the recent regulations. The provincial states, offended at these bold proceedings, adjourned their meeting to Amersfort¹.

In the mean time, the prince's opponents in the province of Holland were not inattentive to what they considered as the interest of the republic. By the medium of M. de Maillebois, who, during the contest with the emperor, had been sent from France, with the acquiescence of the stadtholder, to command the Dutch army, they proposed the formation of a new military board; and, when this scheme had been rejected by a committee of the states-general, because it encroached on the authority of the council of state, their efforts were eagerly directed to the revival of those armed associations among the burghers, which had been deemed necessary during the war, and were now declared to be useful for the prevention of tumults. The spirit of arming, thus encouraged, spread through the chief towns of Holland, Over-Yssel, Groningen, and Utrecht; and the states of the first of those provinces voted, that guards should do duty at the Hague, and that the council of deputies should issue orders for this purpose. The stadtholder protested, without effect, against a resolution which derogated from his military authority. He soon after repaired to Breda, while the princess, turning a deaf ear to all the proposals tending, on pretence of allowing her a high degree of power, to disunite her from her husband, retired into Friesland. In this province, the majority of the regents voted a memorial to the prince, reprobating the ambitious aims of his adversaries².

The views of the French were now turned to India, where they thought the power of the Dutch might be rendered subservient to a great diminution of that of Britain. The duke de

¹ *Mémoire de M. Caillard sur la Révolution d'Hollande, publié par Ségur.*

² *History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 2.*

Choiseul, with this intent, had proposed a close union between the French and Dutch East India companies, not long after the peace of Paris; but the scheme had been relinquished as unseasonable. Van Berkel now endeavoured to carry it into effect. He proposed, that the company should send to the East Indies about three thousand soldiers; but the directors, pleading poverty, refused to agree to the proposal, and prepared a memorial, requesting the permission of the states-general for a new loan, to provide for those expenses which the war with Britain had rendered them unable to defray. Instead of attending to the memorial, the states-general, influenced by the pensionary, declared that the distress of the company was the consequence of directorial mismanagement, and therefore voted that a board of control should be nominated by the states of Holland. The directors, at first, strongly opposed this measure, but were prevailed upon to agree to it with some modifications. The French party advised, that an armament should be immediately sent out, and the charges be defrayed out of the revenues of the province of Holland; that an alliance should be negotiated with the sultan Tippoo and other princes; and that the chief English settlements should be at once attacked by the confederates. This scheme, however, was too serious and important to be hastily adopted. Even among those who were disaffected to the stadtholder, many began to be jealous of the increasing influence of France, and to disapprove the dangerous projects of Gallic ambition. This jealousy prompted the major part of the council of Amsterdam to gratify the prince with an acknowledgment of his right to the command of the garrison at the Hague. The minority, however, protested against it; and, being supported by the associations or *free corps*, prevailed over the less resolute majority. It was ordered by the states of Holland, that no military honours should be paid to the prince at the Hague; and his arms were effaced from the colours of the guards¹.

A renewed promise of support was now received from France; and M. de Verac was, at the same time, desired to present a memorial to the states-general, intimating that Louis would neither trouble himself with the internal disputes of the republic, nor suffer any other prince or state to interfere. The British envoy, in a spirited memorial, disclaimed all intentions of improper interference, but expressed an anxious wish that the "government should be preserved in those hands to which it had been

¹ *History of the Dutch Revolution*, sect. 4.

entrusted by the constitution, and founded on principles established by the unanimous consent of the nation." To this memorial a respectful answer was proposed to be given; and the assembly, in opposition to the states of Holland, voted that the legion commanded by the rhingrave of Salm should be disbanded.

The conduct of the states-general alarmed the three pensionaries, who called upon the associations to come forward, and resolved to preserve the legion as a provincial corps. The death of the great Frederic, which occurred at this crisis, did not tend to retard their operations. From an unwillingness to embroil himself with the French court, he had recommended moderation to the stadtholder's party; but the new king was more disposed to act in defence of the dignity of his sister, and in support of the prince's claims. Van Berkel, however, hoped to intimidate Frederic William by boasting of the expected aid of France for the patriotic cause.

In the province of Guelderland, the towns of Hattem and Elburg shook off the yoke of the stadtholder, at the instigation of Gyzlaar; but they did not long remain independent. General Sprengelen was preparing to invest the former, when the free corps retired from it; and, with equal ease, he took possession of the latter. A bold attack was soon after made upon the authority of the prince by the states of Holland. Having procured an order from the states-general for the removal of twelve regiments into that province, they ventured to suspend him from the office of captain-general, and put the military departments into commission¹.

The French court directed M. de Rayneval to propose terms of accommodation; but the conditions were incompatible with the prince's pretensions, and his desire of continued power. He therefore rejected them without hesitation, trusting to the aid of Great Britain and Prussia. From sir James Harris he received assurances of vigorous support; and count Gortz, who was deputed from Berlin to negotiate, was equally lavish of professions and promises.

The influence of the prince's adversaries in the assembly A.D. of the states of Holland did not prove sufficient to procure 1787. the adoption of two proposals, one of which tended to make the members responsible to the people for their conduct, while the

¹ *History of the Dutch Revolution*, sect. 4.—*History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces*, sect. 5 and 6.

other related to the occupancy of the Hague by the rhingrave's legion. Another question was productive of long debates. The magistrates of different towns and provinces had entered into a public confederacy, and had named a committee for the prosecution of every object connected with the government of the country and the general interest; and many of the inhabitants of Amsterdam, with the same professed view, had called for an extraordinary commission of inquiry. It was now proposed, in the meeting of the states, that fifteen members of that body should be empowered to investigate and ascertain the just prerogatives of the stadtholder; but, after a protracted discussion, his opponents could not obtain such a committee as they wished.

Vigorous measures were deemed necessary by the party for the reparation of declining credit. The establishment of a paramount authority in Amsterdam being an object of the highest concern, spirited attempts were made to procure a majority in the council. The burghers, surrounding the town-house, enforced by clamour the resignation of nine members, and the appointment of successors friendly to the cause of the pensionaries. At Rotterdam similar steps were taken; and, by these and other measures, the party recovered its ascendancy in the states of Holland.

In the province of Utrecht, the collision was more violent, as the adherents of the court were less submissive. The states at Amersfort retracted their promise of accepting the mediation of the rest of the provinces, and resumed an air of boldness and defiance. Irritated by this conduct, the senate of Utrecht ordered, that the quota of revenue, payable by the citizens, should no longer be at the disposal of the seceding states. This prohibition was so resented, that troops were put in motion for the siege of the city. The states of Holland resolved to support the senate by military aid; and when the states-general had decreed, that no troops should march from one province to another without the consent of the representative assembly of the latter, only a limited acquiescence was given, dependent on the forbearance of all hostile operations by the soldiery of one province against the inhabitants of another, even with the concurrence of the states¹.

The conduct of the court precipitated hostilities. The count D'Efferen was ordered by the stadtholder, with the consent of the assembly of Amersfort, to seize the posts of Vreeswyk and

¹ *History of the United Provinces*, sect. 6.

Jutphaas. A detachment of the burghers of Utrecht, advancing to obstruct this seizure, received the fire of the count's party, but soon put the enemy to flight. The states of May 9. Holland now sent troops to garrison those posts, and defend Utrecht; and, on the other hand, speedy assistance was solicited by the Amersfort leaders from the rest of the provinces.

While the two parties were thus inflamed, a riot arose at Amsterdam, where thirty-three thousand persons had signed an address to the states, in support of the prince's authority. The ship-builders and other workmen, instead of waiting the effect of this application, patrolled the streets in a disorderly manner, insulted those passengers who favoured the republican cause, and wounded some of them with various weapons, but were at length routed. A scene of pillage ensued, many of the houses of both parties being plundered by different divisions of the populace. The armed burghers now appeared; and an attack was made, both with cannon and muskets, on those who had commenced the riot. Lives were lost on both sides, and some of the rioters were judicially punished.

As officers in a regular army are frequently more disposed to obey their chief commander than the legislative assembly by which they are supported, the major part had refused to side with the states of Holland; and almost two-thirds of the common soldiers were now found to be equally refractory. General Van Ryssel diligently strove to check this courtly propensity; and the remaining troops were assisted by the spirit of the volunteers and armed burghers. Five delegates stationed at Woerden were not only authorized to superintend the affairs of the army, but to exercise every branch of executive power.

If the republic had been left to itself, the stadtholder would, in all probability, have been reduced to submission, notwithstanding his influence over the army: but, as Great Britain and Prussia had so peremptorily interfered, the pensionaries had no hope of success without military aid from France. To that court, therefore, they made frequent applications; but the replies were unsatisfactory. One answer was, that the French could only interfere with propriety, when desired by the representatives of the republic; and that the party had not yet acquired a preponderance in the states-general. Another was, that Louis would join Frederic William and his Britannic majesty in the work of mediation.

The intriguing spirit of the English ambassador was now exerted with considerable effect. He wished to lead the king of

Prussia into immediate hostilities; and, with that view, advised the princess of Orange to repair to the Hague, and take an active part in support of the stadtholder. He thought it not improbable, either that she might be stopped in her journey, or that, if she should be suffered to pass, the populace of the Hague might be influenced, by her appearance and the arts of her emissaries, to rise in defence of the stadtholder's authority. The opposite party fell into the snare, contrived by diplomatic craft. The princess was stopped, near Schoonhoven, by a detachment of burghers: and, after a short detention,
 June 28. being debarred from pursuing her intended journey, she returned to Nimeguen¹.

This insult aroused the indignation of the Prussian monarch, who declared that he considered the offence as committed against himself, and ordered the baron de Thulemeyer to demand complete reparation from the states of Holland. The requisition, being twice evaded, was repeated in a firm tone; and even the French recommended an apology to the princess, to avert or delay the hostilities of Prussia. No satisfaction being given, the duke of Brunswick began his march toward the Dutch frontiers with eighteen thousand men.

The king of France was willing to gratify the republican party with all the aid that he could afford without engaging in war; and, therefore, still exhorted the leaders to aim at an accommodation. The count De Vergennes was more disposed than his master to enter with zeal into the cause of the Dutch patriots; and, after the death of that minister, the count De Montmorin advised the equipment of an army. The maréchal de Ségur, minister of war, repeatedly applied for the pecuniary means of forming a camp at Givet; but the archbishop of Toulouse studiously delayed the decision of the council on this subject, pretending that the menace of arming would be sufficient to intimidate the court of Berlin. M. Barthelemy, however, plenipotentiary at the court of London, announced that succours would
 be given to the Dutch: and, upon that intimation, Great
 Sept. 16. Britain prepared a fleet and embodied an army.

Before this delusive declaration was made, the states of Holland consented to write to the princess an apologetic letter; but the baron De Thulemeyer had already been ordered to present a note, requiring, beside an humble and explicit apology, the exemplary punishment of the republican leaders, and threaten-

¹ *Histoire du Règne de Frédéric Guillaume*, par Ségur, chap. 4.

ing an invasion of Holland, if a satisfactory answer should not be given within four days. At a meeting of the states, Van Berkel declared that this note was too insulting to deserve consideration; and it was merely resolved, that two deputies should be sent to Berlin to explain every circumstance connected with the interruption of the journey meditated by the princess¹.

Finding, from the report of officers sent to reconnoitre the camp of Givet, that all apprehensions of the march of a French army were groundless, the duke of Brunswick put his troops in motion, on the receipt of the last answer from Holland. From the dryness of the summer, the inundations to which the adverse party had recourse were not effectual; and, from the choice of a commander on whom no dependence could be placed, the city of Utrecht, which might have been defended for a considerable time, was given up without a blow. Other defensible towns were taken with equal facility; and the partisans of the stadtholder prognosticated the rapid and complete success of his claims.

The states-general, pleased at the progress of the Prussians, supported the prince's cause by some spirited resolutions; and the states of Holland, despairing of the accomplishment of their schemes, annulled all votes prejudicial to his interest. The free corps at the Hague being disbanded, the populace, more courtly than republican, gave way to riotous exultation. William gladly re-appeared in the seat of his former power; and the princess afterwards made her public entry, in a carriage drawn by women.

Hostilities, however, did not immediately cease. As it was still supposed that the French court would send some assistance, the republican chiefs, with a view of obtaining better terms, resolved to make a stand at Amsterdam. The avenues to that city were rendered as inaccessible as partial inundations and various modes of defence could make them; and the chevalier De Ternant, an officer of merit, was entrusted with the command of the garrison. But the troops, consisting chiefly of free corps, were not in a high state of discipline, or habituated to strict obedience; and the commandant was in some degree fettered by the authority of the council and the will of the citizens. The duke of Brunswick, on the other hand, was the uncontrolled director of that regular piece of mechanism, a Prussian army.

¹ *History of the Dutch Revolution*, sect. 5.

The only practicable approaches were by six roads passing along dykes; and the defences formed three parts of a circle from the north-east to the south-west, while the inlet called the Y secured the town on the northern side. A very important post was the Haf-Wegen Sluys, which connected the lake of Haarlem with the Y. This was well fortified in point of works, but had not a sufficient garrison. About eight hundred men, being sent in boats at night to the back of this post, made a fierce attack on its surprised occupants, and soon reduced it. The station of Amstelveen was so strong in front, that an assault

upon that part seemed hopeless. The duke, however, Oct. 1. made preparations to attack it in person, while a detachment, passing upon a branch of the lake, approached the rear. The latter corps, having stormed a battery and seven traverses, halted near the village. An entrenchment in front was quickly forced by the duke; but, in assaulting another, he was exposed to an incessant cannonade in various directions for four hours, while he waited for the arrival of the detachment, which had been stopped by mistake of orders. When the long-expected division renewed its operations, the village was forced, and the whole post taken. Other assaults were made on the same morning; but the decisive success of the enemy occurred at Haf-Wegen and Amstelveen. The unaccountable neglect of the lake of Haarlem by the Hollanders principally occasioned the duke's speedy triumph¹.

Small loss was sustained on the side of the Prussians, if that account be true which limits the number of victims to one hundred and fifty-four. It does not appear that the loss was much greater on the part of the Dutch. The citizens evinced great humanity in their treatment of the wounded Prussians, who, in return, feelingly acknowledged the obligation.

The consternation of the magistrates and citizens led to an agreement of surrender. The representatives of the town made their appearance at the Hague, in the provincial assembly, and gave their assent to the recent votes of the states. After some delay, a capitulation was signed, by which the three pensionaries, their bold associate Visscher, and thirteen other individuals, were precluded from ever acting in the public service. Gyzlaar and some others of the party retired from a country which they considered as enslaved; Van Berkel and Zeebergen were among those who remained. Many other persons, disaf-

¹ *Mémoire de M. Caillard—History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 5.*

fects to the stadtholder, were removed from official stations in the different provinces; not only former prerogatives were restored, but new powers were granted to him; and each of the provincial assemblies guaranteed the whole government of the republic.

The triumph of the stadtholder evinced the decline of the French interest; it also proved that the spirit of the court was not very high. If Louis had acted with the vigour of some of his brave and resolute ancestors, the king of Prussia would have relinquished the contest.

To the interior affairs of France I now call your attention. That kingdom visibly laboured under various disorders. The government was unsteady, vacillating from one system to another, or rather influenced by no regular system or well-digested plan. The burthens of the war were still felt; public credit was at a low ebb; many grievances, even under a patriotic monarch, called for redress; commerce and the arts languished; and discontent pervaded the realm. The state of the finances occasioned much discussion, both in the cabinet and throughout the country; and the uneasiness arising from this source was aggravated by the failure of the Caisse D'Escompte, a bank instituted in 1776, which had acquired sufficient credit for its stock to rise above par. The inconvenience of this failure was, indeed, soon remedied; and all financial embarrassments might have been gradually removed by circumspect deliberation and enlightened policy; but the ministry did not display that wisdom or judgment which the case required.

While the count De Vergennes (who, after the death of Maurepas in 1781, enjoyed the chief confidence of Louis) directed foreign affairs, M. De Calonne succeeded D'Ormesson in the management of the finances¹. The queen's interest procured for him an appointment not very desirable at such a conjuncture. He had acted with ability as a solicitor and advocate in some provincial councils and parliaments, and afterwards as an *intendant*; and was supposed to be well acquainted with the constitution, laws, and interests of France. He was, however, more attached to pleasure than to business. He was agreeable in his manners, not strict in his morals; lively, insinuating, and eloquent; quick, bold, and resolute. His friends, particularly the fair sex, pretended to foretel that he would soon restore order to the finances, supply all deficiencies of revenue, and make the state flourish.

¹ In November, 1783.

Not such was the general opinion ; for the levity of his character seemed to forbid the hope of deriving substantial or permanent benefit from his administration.

Announcing his readiness to meet the danger, M. De Calonne made some provision for the liquidation of the public debt, by the creation of a sinking fund ; but, by having recourse to a considerable annual loan, even in time of peace, he increased the national incumbrances. He amused the court with plausible promises, while the volcano which he was inadvertently nursing threatened to explode. He smiled at the peril, and ridiculed the alarm.

His attention to the commerce between France and the East Indies, which had for twelve years been free, and had in his opinion been injured by a want of uniform regulations, induced him to erect a new India Company¹ ; but, as the growing desire of general liberty included freedom of trade, the renewal of monopoly excited disapprobation and clamour. The commercial treaty with Great Britain also disgusted the nation, as it was deemed injurious to the rising manufactures of France.

During the administration of Vergennes and Calonne, a remarkable affair occurred, which subjected the queen's character to animadversion and obloquy. Bohmer, jeweller to the court, offered a diamond necklace to her majesty for 1,600,000 livres. She was pleased with it, but declined the purchase. Madame De la Mothe-Valois, an indigent and artful woman, pretended to be a confidential agent of the queen, in whose name she produced a letter, desiring the jeweller to give up the necklace, the value of which would be paid by instalments. When Bohmer demanded security for the payment, he was referred to the cardinal De Rohan, who, hoping to recover the favour of Marie Antoinette, which he had lost by speaking too freely of the court of Vienna, engaged to indemnify the suspicious tradesman. The bargain was concluded for 1,400,000 livres ; and the necklace was delivered to madame De la Mothe, on the presentation of spurious notes. She declared, that she gave it to the queen, who afterwards returned a part of it in loose diamonds : but it does not clearly appear that her majesty ever had it in her possession. On the non-payment of the first note by M. De Rohan, Bohmer stated the case to a lady of the household ; and, when the cardinal appeared at court as high almoner, he was interrogated by his royal mistress, who asked him how he could suppose for a

¹ In the year 1785.

moment that she should employ, in such a negotiation, a person to whom she had not spoken for eight years, and a woman who was an intriguing and unprincipled adventurer. "I find," said the prelate, "that I have been cruelly deceived." He was reprimanded by the king for his folly and presumption, and sent to the Bastille. The affair being submitted by the cardinal himself to the investigation of the Parisian parliament, he was acquitted of criminality, but was banished to his abbey of Chaise Dieu: madame De la Mothe was whipped and branded; and her accomplice, the impostor Cagliostro, was exiled from France¹.

The imprisonment and prosecution of a member of the sacred college gave offence to the zealots of the hierarchy; and the pope thought it his duty to take serious notice of such insults: but his zeal was moderated by the advice of the cardinals De Bernis and Buoncompagni; and though he stigmatized the accused prelate by suspending him from his dignity, for having voluntarily submitted his cause to an incompetent tribunal, he was pacified by the acquittal, and soon restored Rohan to his rank.

When the parliament of Paris, transferring its attention to the affairs of the treasury, seriously opposed the system of borrowing, the minister of finance felt a decline of his usual confidence and spirit. Louis signified his approbation of the measures of the *contrôleur-général*, and insisted on the registration of the edict for a new loan; but the apprehensions of farther opposition from the magistracy prompted Calonne to advise that the *notables* should be summoned—an assembly of reputable and distinguished persons, selected by the sovereign from the privileged orders. Before they met, the count De Vergennes died, more lamented by the king than by the queen, to whose Feb. 13. views for her brother's advantage he had not been tamely subservient.

This minister was an able statesman; cool, reflecting, and artful; less bold, impetuous, and domineering, than the duke De Choiseul, but more fertile in expedients, equally eager to exalt the glory and promote the supposed interest of France, and, in some respects, more attentive to the internal benefit and happiness of the community. He has been accused of avarice and rapacity; but his biographer has refuted the charge. He was indefatigable in his ministerial duties, orderly and methodical in

¹ In May, 1786.—*Histoire de Louis XVI.*, tome ii.—In the year 1791, Cagliostro was tried at Rome for a supposed conspiracy against the state, and for his connexions with the freemasons and the *illuminati*; and he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

his arrangements, decorous in his behaviour, plain and unaffected in his manners. His private virtues are said to have been exemplary².

I cannot refrain from adding, that, in encouraging Louis to form an alliance with the American revolvers, M. De Vergennes showed an interested and time-serving policy, and a very censurable disregard to the faith of treaties. He concluded that Great Britain would be so weakened by the contest, as to afford France an opportunity of signal triumph. The desire of giving liberty to oppressed provincials could not be supposed to actuate a French minister; it was a wish to take vengeance for the former success of Britain, that stimulated the leading members of the cabinet of Louis. The king foresaw the ill consequences of such a war; but he weakly gave way to sinister advice.

M. De Vergennes, during his last illness, frequently spoke of the expected meeting of the notables, and expressed a wish that he might live to witness their deliberations; but his place

Feb. 22. was occupied by the count De Montmorin. When the expected meeting took place, M. De Calonne mentioned the great extent of the public debt, and the insufficiency of the revenues for the annual expenses of the nation. The *deficit*, he said, amounted to a hundred and fifteen millions of livres in a year. To restore the equilibrium, the best impost that he could devise was a land-tax, fairly adjusted, from which there should be no exemption; and he also recommended new stamp duties. As the privileged orders had hitherto paid much less than their fair proportion, a just mode of assessment displeased the self-interested assembly. Necker, referring to the state in which he had left the treasury, accused the financial minister of gross misstatement or of wanton extravagance. The notables inveighed against Calonne, demanded exact accounts from him, and refused to agree to his proposal for the convocation of provincial assemblies. Louis, yielding to the clamour, dismissed the

April 7. financier, who was glad to escape from the kingdom. He also, to evince his impartiality, banished Necker to the distance of twenty leagues from Paris².

On the disgrace of Calonne, the king was advised to appoint M. De Fourqueux to the management of the finances: but the count De Montmorin remonstrated against the choice, alleging that the task was too arduous for the capacity and strength of

¹ *Vie Publique et Privée du Comte De Vergennes*, par M. de Mayer.

² *Histoire de Louis XVI.*, tome ii.—*Mémoires de Marmontel*, livre xii.

that worthy magistrate, and recommended Necker as the person whom the nation wished to see again in that department. Louis expressed his disgust at the pride and domineering spirit of the Swiss banker; and, not being strongly pressed by one who, new in office, felt some timidity on the occasion, he refused to re-admit him into power. M. De la Millière had declined the post; but Fourqueux did not so strenuously resist the importunities of the court. He found himself, upon trial, unequal to the task; and the public credit, under his short administration, hastened to ruin. The king then seemed inclined to recal Necker: but the baron De Breteuil convinced him that such a step would tend to the annihilation of his authority, as a proud and vain man, finding that his services were deemed necessary, and knowing himself to be supported by the general voice, would rise above all control. M. De Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, being recommended in preference, was accepted by Louis, who did not, however, cordially approve the nomination¹. The prelate who was thus favoured had displayed some share of talent in the states of Languedoc, and in assemblies of the clergy. But his ideas were not profound; he had no extraordinary share of general knowledge: he was more violent than energetic, more self-interested than patriotic. Like Calonne (says Marmontel), he had an imposing quickness and vivacity of manner; but his address was less pleasing. He pretended to entertain great views; yet he had so little originality in his politics, that his chief schemes were borrowed from that minister. Having endeavoured, without effect, to procure the assent of the notables to the stamp-duties and the land-tax, he advised a dissolution of the assembly, and resolved to govern by his own arbitrary will. May 25.

While France felt, in various instances, the ill effects of the war, Spain was less sensible of injury from that source, and less deranged in her government. Charles, indeed, like Louis, found difficulty in raising supplies; for a small loan, which his treasurer negotiated in 1783, was scarcely more than half filled in two years; and a national bank, instituted by the advice of Cabanus, a young Frenchman, could not obtain general confidence. The king, however, prosecuted, with zeal and spirit, various improvements in commerce and political economy, and in the elegant as well as useful arts. The prejudices of the people obstructed some of these improvements: but, by the perseverance of the

¹ *Mémoires de Marmontel*, livre xii.

court, and the concurrence of the intelligent part of the community, several beneficial schemes were carried into effect.

The weak and bigoted queen of Portugal was less intent upon reform: yet she checked the exorbitancy of papal power in her dominions, promoted industry and trade, and encouraged some laudable institutions. Being advised to repress, by seasonable and exemplary severity, the horrible practice of assassination, she declared that she would never pardon any one, of whatever rank, who should be guilty of deliberate murder: but she did not strictly adhere to this resolution; for the malignity of private revenge was still suffered, on many occasions, to shed blood with impunity.

Her eldest son Joseph, prince of Brasil, was a youth of considerable merit, and promised to be a more enlightened sovereign than his mother; but he died of the small-pox at the age of twenty-seven, two years after the death of don Pedro, the titular king. Joseph had espoused his aunt, but left no issue. His brother John, before he became heir to the crown, gave his hand to a grand-daughter of the king of Spain; and another marriage strengthened the friendship of the two courts, don Gabriel of Spain being united to a daughter of the queen of Portugal. The count De Florida-Blanca was the chief promoter of these matrimonial connexions. He had before¹ procured the accession of France to the last treaty between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, so that the houses of Bourbon and Braganza were now closely connected: yet Great Britain still enjoyed sufficient influence to secure the principal share of the commerce of Portugal. The catholic king and her most faithful majesty agreed to unite their forces in an attack upon the infidels of Barbary. In one expedition, indeed (that of the year 1783), the Spaniards were unaided by the Portuguese. Don Antonio Barcelo bombarded the Algerine capital for a week, with greater fury than effect; and then returned to Carthagenæ. In the following year, the Spanish armament was reinforced by Portuguese, Neapolitan, and Maltese vessels; and seven attacks were made upon the place, which, however, was so well defended, that all the efforts of the Christian combatants were fruitless.

The republic of Venice did not join in the war against the Algerines, its hostile resentment being at that time more particularly directed against the state of Tunis. A contest had also arisen between the Venetians and the Dutch, in conse-

¹ July 15, 1783.

quence of some mercantile debts and claims which were disallowed by the senate; but the dispute did not proceed to actual hostilities.

The insults and depredations of the corsairs did not so far alarm the pacific sovereign of Tuscany, as to prompt him to send out a fleet against them. That prince continued his reforms; and he now distinguished himself by the enactment of a new code of laws. Long before the promulgation of this celebrated edict, his humanity had prompted him to abolish capital punishment, and mitigate in other respects the rigour of the penal laws. Observing the good effects of these regulations, he extended and confirmed them in an edict consisting of a hundred and nineteen articles. He allowed no informations *ex officio*, except for slight offences; diminished the frequency and increased the solemnity of oaths; facilitated to accused persons the means of defence; prohibited the admission of presumptive proofs in any case whatever; opposed all delays of justice; exploded the practice of torture for procuring confessions: annulled the right claimed by individuals, of killing outlawed robbers and assassins: would not suffer even the perpetrators of murder to be punished with greater severity than that which was included in the sentence of hard labour for life; abolished branding, mutilation, and the *strappado*¹; restricted the modes of punishment to flagellation (private or public), the pillory, fine, imprisonment, banishment, and labour; limited the period of accusation for higher offences to ten years, and for inferior acts of delinquency, to five years².

Leopold's brother Joseph also aimed at the high character of a legislator. His code abolished the *question* or torture, and nearly excluded death from the number of penal inflictions: but it ordained very severe punishments for small offences, and gave too great authority to the judges in the direction and management of trials. In these two respects it resembled the Turkish system; but it did not lead to such flagrant abuses as prevailed under that government, although the reigning sultan had redressed some grievances, and endeavoured to reform the conduct of his officers and magistrates.

Joseph's northern ally, the aspiring Catharine, was employed in the enforcement of her own code, and in providing for the execution of farther schemes of ambition. She kept her sub-

¹ Straining or dislocation of limbs by the cord and pulley.

² Editto dato in Pisa, Nov. 30, 1786, per Pietro Leopoldo, Gran-Duca di Toscana.

jects in submission, while she encroached on the rights of her Turkish neighbours. Aware of the amity between Sweden and Turkey, she courted and soothed Gustavus. She had no apprehensions of molestation from the Danes, whose court she had long overawed. That nation now enjoyed the beneficent sway of Frederic, the prince-royal, who being supported by a considerable number of the nobility, and by the generality of the people, had subverted the power of the queen-dowager¹, and procured a decree, importing that no orders of the council of state should have effect, unless they should be signed both by the king and his son. The authority which the prince thus acquired was exercised with such moderation, equity, and judgment, that his popularity was highly augmented, and fixed on a firm basis.

LETTER VIII.

History of France, from the Dismission of the Notables, to the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, in 1791.

THE agitation of the public mind in France, the embarrassments of the court, and the unsettled state of the administration, seemed to portend a speedy and important change. The glaring inequality of taxation, and the numerous abuses which had long prevailed, could not be expected to subsist unaltered or uncorrected, as the eyes of the people were now opened. The privileged orders, however unwilling to make concessions, were sensible of the expediency of allaying that popular ferment which might otherwise lead to a resolute assertion of rights; and the court, though its tone was high and its language arbitrary, could not avoid acknowledging, in moments of cool reflection, that it was politic to lower the one and soften the other.

When the notables were dismissed, they carried into their respective provinces some new information concerning the state of affairs, and some degree of discontent mingled with the seeds of freedom. The liberty, however, which they desired, was not that of the whole nation, but only of the higher classes. Such limited patriotism was not very honourable to their characters.

¹ In the year 1784.

The archbishop hoped that the parliament of Paris would not refuse to register his two edicts; and he was so confident in this expectation, that he did not exert his usual arts to procure assent. The air of arrogance which he assumed disgusted the magistracy. To a demand of the financial accounts he refused to agree, although it certainly was reasonable that those who were desired to confirm new imposts should know whether they were really necessary. By ancient practice (says M. Necker) the minister was allowed to withhold this communication; but as he had disdained the alliance and sanction of the notables, and thus committed a serious error, it would have been better for him to yield to the wish of the parliament, than to engage in a quarrel with the sovereign courts at a time when the government had lost the support of public opinion ¹.

The desired assent of the parliament not being given, the king held a bed of justice, and commanded instant re- Aug. 6, gistration. The magistracy protested against this act of 1787. power, and declared that the enforced record was illegal and null. The prelate advised his majesty to disperse the refractory members; but Lamoignon alleged that they would thus be less accessible to negotiation, and proposed, that if any step should be taken in consequence of the royal displeasure, it should only be the removal of the tribunal. Louis then transferred the parliament to Troyes; and the archbishop, by promising the dismissal of Lamoignon (who by being an advocate for the simplification of legal process, had rendered himself obnoxious to all the courts of law), procured assent to the collection of two twentieths. A dispute, however, arose respecting the mode of assessment. The parliament wished it to remain on the old basis, which favoured the privileged orders; while the minister wished for such an inquiry into the exact amount of property, as might render the tax less partial. He proposed that the provinces should compound for the impost: but this compromise was not satisfactory; and the flame of opposition was spreading over the country, when the king promised that the twentieths should be collected in the established mode ².

Amidst this dispute, the parliament called for a meeting of the states-general, less perhaps from a sincere wish for the convocation of a national council, than from temporary irritation. The nobles and the clergy joined in the call, without expecting

¹ *De la Révolution Française*, par Necker, tome i. sect. i.

² *Mémoires de Marmontel*, livre xiii.

that it would be regarded. The people, inflamed with that zeal for liberty, which had been gradually diffusing itself for many years, resolved to insist upon the king's compliance with a constitutional request, and exulted in the hope of procuring from the labours of their representatives, a reform of the government, and a regeneration of the state. M. de Brienne, intending to negotiate a loan of four hundred and twenty millions of livres, to be advanced by instalments in the course of five years, promised that, on the expiration of that term, the states of the realm should be convoked. A royal sitting was proclaimed; it proved tempestuous. Many of the members arraigned the conduct of the ministry; and some spoke on this occasion with extraordinary vehemence. M. d'Eprenesnil said, that the loan would readily be sanctioned, if it should be understood that the king would speedily assemble the states. Louis gave no promise of that kind; and having ordered the edict to be registered without a calculation of votes, he banished the duke of Orléans to Villers Cotteret for an uncourtly protest, and imprisoned Freteau and Sabatier for the freedom of their remarks¹.

As the other parliaments sympathized with that of Paris, and the people partook of the rising indignation against the court, the archbishop and the keeper of the seal prepared to oppose the league with spirit. Various schemes were discussed in the

A.D. cabinet; and it was at length resolved, that bailiwicks
1788. should be formed, with a view of diminishing the authority and jurisdiction of the parliaments, and also that a plenary court should be erected, consisting of individuals selected by the king from the courts of law, the chief officers of state and of the army, the principal nobility, and knights of different orders. It was intended that these resolutions should be kept secret until a bed of justice should be holden; but M. d'Eprenesnil having discovered the object of the ministerial consultations, prevailed upon the Parisian magistracy to protest by anticipation against whatever might be proposed at the approaching solemnity. For this bold act he was arrested even in the seat of justice, and sent to a distant prison; and similar violence was exercised on M. de Monsanbert.

May 8. The proclaimed session took place, and the two schemes were enforced. The new tribunal became the object of general odium. The emissaries of the parliament excited com-

¹ Marmontel, livre xiii.—*Histoire de Louis XVI.* tome ii.

motions in the capital; and in the provinces, alarming associations were formed against the court. The nobles of Bretagne deputed twelve of their number to complain of the late arbitrary measures. The province of Bearn assembled its three estates; and in that of Dauphiné, a meeting was called which served as a model for a national assembly. The twelve Breton deputies being sent to the Bastille, fifty-four others were directed to remonstrate; and the former were released. Apprehending serious disturbances, the premier gave up the *cour plénière*, and announced the king's intention of convoking the states-general in the following year. At the same time the increase of financial embarrassments urged him to propose the recall of Necker, who declared, in reply, that he would not act with such a minister. "This answer," said the archbishop, "is my sentence: I must instantly resign." He left the cabinet in confusion, and the treasury nearly in a state of ex-
Aug. 25.
haustion¹.

The retreat of the minister excited riotous joy. The populace burned his effigy, and intended to set fire to his house and that of his brother: but the soldiery quelled the disturbance by killing many of the rioters. This interference was deemed too precipitate; and the commandant being blamed for that murderous violence, which might have been avoided, was dismissed to another station².

The first objects of Necker's attention were the affairs of justice and of finance. The parliaments were restored to their authority; and the laws resumed their ordinary course. Instead of notes promised by the late minister, the payments from the treasury were made in cash; and seasonable measures were taken to remove the dread, not only of bankruptcy, but of famine. The next consideration respected the states-general. If the king had not promised that such a meeting should take place, the idea of its necessity would perhaps have died away. The gradual reforms, to which Louis was patriotically inclined, might have contented the generality of the people; and with the preservation of peace, the country might have flourished. But the promise having been deliberately and publicly given, could not be revoked without dishonour, or annulled without offence, particularly as it provided for a recurrence to the sound principles of the monarchy. The king, indeed, had no thought

¹ Necker, sect. i.—Marmontel.—*Histoire de France*, par Anquetil, tome xiii.

² *Histoire de France*, par Anquetil, tome xiii.

of retraction or evasion; and Necker was too fond of a popular government to dissuade him from the strict observance of his promise.

Questions arose with regard to the form and composition of the states—whether the model of 1614 (in which year was the last meeting of the kind) or some preferable plan should be followed. The parliament of Paris insisted upon an adherence to the plan of that year: but the public in general, and Necker in particular, adverting to the importance of the commons of the realm, proportionally far transcending that of former ages, wished for the delegation of a number of popular representatives, at least equal to the aggregate amount of ecclesiastical and noble deputies. For the adjustment of this and other points the

Nov. 3. notables were again summoned. The majority of that body proposed that each order should depute an equal number. In this opinion the count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, concurred; but the count de Provence voted for the double representation desired by the generality of the people. With regard to the mode of voting, it was resolved, that the suffrages of each order should be separate, or, in other words, that the votes of the members of all the orders should not be reckoned together. No resolution, it was added, could take effect unless the majority of each body should agree to it; the dissent of one order would annul any measure in which the other two assemblies had joined. On the subject of elections, a very small degree of property was allowed to be sufficient for the constituent and the deputy.

The notables did not inquire what number of deputies ought to be allowed for the whole kingdom; and as they were divided in opinion with regard to the proportional number of representatives of each order, the council of state afterwards discussed

Dec. 27. those points. It was determined that the amount of the *tiers état*, or third estate, should equal that of the nobles and clergy conjoined. To the mode of voting by all the orders unitedly, the king refused to accede, as it threatened to leave him at the mercy of the commons, after he had allowed them to form so large a proportion as six hundred, being one half of the whole body of national representatives. The adjunction of such nobles and ecclesiastics as they might easily influence, would, he apprehended, give too great a degree of power to factious leaders, who amidst the present ferment in the minds of men, and the prevailing desire of freedom, might be prompted to an inordinate restriction of the royal authority.

To the meeting of the states, the people looked forward A.D. with anxious eagerness. Almost every one now became 1789. a politician, capable, in his own opinion, of discussing important questions of government, of inquiring into the rights of man and the laws of society. Ambitious and intriguing men encouraged this political passion, from a hope of rising by popular favour to eminence and power.

The persons deputed to the assembly formed three classes. The aristocratic members composed one great division, consisting of the majority of the nobles and superior clergy. The popular party formed another class, active and spirited; and individuals more moderate than either, not disposed to be partial to the crown or to depress it, formed a third and less numerous division.

The first of these parties found a great enemy in a prince of the blood, the most opulent subject in the kingdom, from whom the friends of aristocracy might reasonably have expected support. This was the duke of Orléans, who had lost the king's favour by his profligacy, and was hated by the queen for having, among other offences, insulted her (it is said) with declarations of criminal love. The duke was not a man of talents or judgment; his head was as weak as his heart was depraved. He affected politeness of demeanour, but was deficient in true elegance and refinement of manners. He aimed at the character of a politician, but was merely an intriguer, and a dupe to the arts of those who flattered him with the prospect of power and pre-eminence. On pretence of promoting liberty, he wasted his finances in the encouragement of faction and the subversion of social order. He was prodigal without generosity, splendidly ostentatious without dignity, sensual without taste, amorous without sensibility. Bold in vice, and daring in faction, he yet was destitute of that personal courage for which the nobles of France were long renowned. The duke was suspected, not without reason, of having instigated the populace to a riot in the suburb of St. Antoine, not long before the expected meeting. He probably wished to feel the pulse both of the mob and the soldiery. The paper manufactory of Reveillon, (who had reproved the democratic spirit of his workmen) and the house of Henriot, another respectable citizen, were plundered and destroyed; and the rioters did not desist before many of their associates were killed by a military detachment¹.

¹ Rabaut insinuates, that this tumult was a stratagem devised by some of the ministers, to try how far they might depend on the zeal of the soldiery.

May 5. The three orders at length met at Versailles. The speech with which the king opened the long-expected meeting deserves notice. It was the address of an upright, humane, and patriotic prince to a respectable assemblage of his subjects, by whose political and legislative exertions he hoped to improve the state of the nation. Although the convocation of the states-general had fallen into disuse, he was inclined, he said, to restore a custom from which the realm might derive new vigour, and which might be productive of an increase of happiness to his people. The general anxiety and prevailing spirit of innovation would, he feared, terminate in a serious distraction of opinions, if speedy recourse should not be had to an union of wise and temperate counsels. He applauded the willingness of the nobles and the clergy to relinquish their pecuniary privileges, and trusted that all the orders would unite for the public good. Lamenting the growing magnitude of the national debt, and that consequent augmentation of taxes which had rendered the inequality of the burthen more sensible, he had given orders for important retrenchments in the expenses of the state; but notwithstanding the most rigid economy, his power of relief, he apprehended, would long be inadequate to his wishes. He therefore hoped that his auditors would pay immediate attention to the state of the finances, and take measures for the establishment of public credit. Such an assembly, he added, would, without doubt, properly appreciate his character and views, listen only to the dictates of prudence and wisdom, and discarding all sinister aims, adopt a spirit corresponding with the real sentiments of a generous nation, remarkable for attachment to its sovereigns.

A long but not very luminous discourse from Necker, followed a short and unimportant speech delivered by M. Barentin, who had succeeded Lamoignon as keeper of the seal. He investigated the grand question, which had excited such a contrariety of opinion,—whether the three orders should deliberate and vote unitedly or separately. The dispute, he thought, would be best settled by a compromise. In such cases as might require promptness of determination and unity of action, a joint consultation would be preferable, particularly after the promised renunciation of pecuniary privileges by the higher orders should have produced an equality of interest. On other occasions, it might be expedient, with a view of restraining the spirit of innovation and rashness of decision, to vote by orders.

The verification of the powers of the deputies soon disturbed the harmony of the states. The commons requested that the

other orders would join them in that formality; for they thought that a separation of this preliminary business would be inconsistent with their scheme of forming one assembly. Acrimonious debates arose upon this point; and conciliatory conferences were repeated without effect. The desire of an united verification was renewed in a peremptory manner; and although the nobles disregarded this bold requisition, some members of the clerical order joined the *tiers état*. The ascertainment of powers being at length completed by the commons, they were urged by the abbé Sieyès to assume the title of the National Assembly. This motion receiving general assent, it was voted, that, as the meeting consisted of representatives returned by almost June 17. the whole French community, the absence of some deputies, or even of some classes of citizens, ought not to preclude the members who were present from exercising all their rights; that those only who had proved the validity of their elections were authorized to interpret the public will; and that the national representation being *one and indivisible*, no deputies of any class had a right to act separately from the assembly thus constituted. Target then proposed an oath, which all the members readily took, declaring, before God, their country, and the king, that they would discharge their duty with conscientious zeal¹.

The commons now entered upon the national business with a plenitude of assumed authority; and continuing provisionally the existing taxes, promised to provide for the liquidation of the public debt. Louis, who could not approve the usurpatory proceedings of the *tiers état*, gave notice of a royal sitting in the hall of the states, and prohibited in the mean time the meeting of any of the orders. M. Bailly the astronomer, who was president of the commons, demanded admission into the hall, that the business of the nation might not be neglected: and when the officer on guard had refused to open the door, about two-thirds of the deputies met in a tennis-court, and bound themselves by oath not to separate finally until they should have performed the task of political regeneration, and firmly settled the constitution.

The king's renewed appearance was attended with the presentation of a scheme of government, calculated to June 23. combine popular liberty with monarchical power. He engaged to avoid the imposition of any new taxes without the consent of

¹ *Annals of the French Revolution*, translated by Dallas from the original manuscript of Bertrand de Moleville, minister of state, chap. 3.—*Histoire de la Révolution Française*, par Rabaut, livre ii.

the representatives of the nation, to permit an equalization of imposts, allow a general liberty of the press, and forbear (with an exception of extraordinary cases) the emission of *lettres de cachet*. He proposed that the provincial assemblies should be rendered more democratic than they were, and that the crown should be debarred from violating or eluding the acts of the states-general. Other articles of consequence were comprehended in the royal scheme; but it was not offered as a complete project; for Louis added, that he did not wish to circumscribe the zeal of the states within the circle which he had traced, but would gladly adopt every other just or beneficial measure which they might propose¹.

One part of the scheme, though strictly constitutional, disgusted the commons. His majesty insisted on the continuance of the ancient distinction of the three orders, and annulled the late votes of the *tiers état*. The popular leaders, intent on the formation of only one assembly, detained the third order in the hall after the nobility and clergy had retired; and licentious speeches were followed by a declared determination of adhering to the votes, and by a resolution pronouncing the persons of the deputies inviolable. The orders met separately on the following day. The clergy debated the question of joining the commons; and notwithstanding all the influence of the dignitaries, one hundred and forty-two out of two hundred and ninety-four ecclesiastics voted for an union. Nine at first refused to vote either for or against it; but being apprehensive of popular outrage, for which the supposed friends of the court were marked out, they consented to support the proposal of association. The president had previously adjourned the assembly, declaring that the question was decided by one hundred and forty-three voices in the negative; but the democratic party insisting on a renewal of suffrage, and putting a temporary president in the chair, the addition of nine turned the scale. The majority of nobles, on the other hand voted for separate deliberation; but the minority, conducted by the duke of Orléans, joined the *tiers état* in defiance of the vote. This accession was no great cause of exultation to the commons, as only forty-four out of three hundred had joined them. They hoped, however, by intrigue and by intimidation, soon to behold in their hall the greater part of the noble deputies. They now began to make frequent use of a term, not

¹ *Private Memoirs relative to the Reign of Louis XVI.* by Bertrand de Moleville: Appendix, No. I.

offensive or odious in itself, to designate all who did not fully concur in the scheme of depressing and humbling the court. Not only every courtier was said to be an *aristocrat*, but every moderate man was pointed out as an object of odium under that appellation. The clamours of the people at length induced the king to request, and even to order that the nobles would join the *tiers état* and the clergy, to accelerate the accomplishment of his views for the benefit of the nation. Many of them foresaw the mischiefs that would follow their compliance; but the majority agreed to the measure, and the union was hailed by the *democrats* with peculiar joy ^{June 27.} ¹.

The popular cause seemed now to be triumphant. The ministers dreaded the immoderate circumscription of the royal power, and held anxious consultations respecting the means of obviating the danger. The leaders of the opposing party had secured the aid of the rabble; and with a machine so easily moved, they expected to perform great exploits, and to meet with rapid success. To check the spirit of turbulence, Louis commanded the advance of several regiments toward the capital, and stationed troops with artillery in the neighbourhood of Versailles. Mirabeau called the attention of the assembly to these acts of precaution, exaggerated the number of the soldiery, and misrepresented the object of the preparations; and an address was voted, conjuring his majesty to send back the troops to their former posts, and trust to the loyalty of the citizens. The answer imported that none but ill-disposed persons would persuade the people to misinterpret the motives for assembling troops, as a military force was obviously requisite to secure the public tranquillity amidst popular agitation and disorder. Not satisfied with this answer, the leaders of the assembly propagated new apprehensions of a scarcity of provisions, in consequence of the extravagant consumption of different articles by the troops cantoned near Paris; but this artifice had no effect.

M. Necker's conduct having excited doubts of his ministerial capacity, and even of the rectitude of his intentions, the king was advised to dismiss him. He had absented himself from the late royal sitting, which he had recommended; and courted the commons by an obsequious letter to their president; and seemed more sensible of the idle gratifications of vanity, than ^{July 11.} capable of acting well, or disposed to do his duty.

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 5.—*Mémoires de Marmontel*, livre xv.

By a royal letter, he was discarded, and desired to retire from France.

So great was the popularity of this minister, that his dismissal occasioned loud clamours and furious commotions. Camille Des Moulins, haranguing the Parisian rabble, added fuel to the bursting flame. Some barriers were set on fire; but the arrival of troops checked the effervescence of licentiousness. The eagerness of the prince de Lambesc, in pursuit of the retiring populace, inflicted wounds (it is said) on some inoffensive individuals. According to another account, the prince, after repelling an attack from a disloyal party of French guards, patiently sustained farther aggression from the insolence of the multitude, until the danger became so urgent as to prompt him to make use of his sabre upon a forward assailant. This point is not very material, as it has been ascertained who were the aggressors in subsequent commotions of a much more serious nature.

Clamorous for bread, a riotous mob afterwards attacked the convent of St. Lazare, plundered, and burned it. Another disorderly party carried off arms from the Garde-Meuble: a third set rushed into the hotel de la Force, and liberated the prisoners, but instead of granting the same favour to those of the Chatelet, assisted the keeper in preventing their escape, and even killed some who were pushing forward with that view¹.

The perturbations of the metropolis furnished the electors of the *tiers état* with a pretence for the assumption of high authority. They appointed a committee to attend to the restoration of tranquillity, issued orders to the sixty districts into which Necker had divided Paris, and prepared to organize a numerous body of militia, for which, however, they condescended to solicit the assent of the national representatives. Deputies were sent by the assembly, in consequence of this application, to request that the king would withdraw the troops, and establish the militia. Louis replied, that the proposed measures did not appear to be necessary. The assembly censured the answer, and renewed its offensive resolutions.

The effect of the seditious machinations of ambitious men now appeared, in the execution of a scheme calculated to confound the court. The populace seized all the arms deposited in the hotel of Invalids, where not only musquets, but cannon also were found. Many passed over a wall into one of the courts of

¹ Marmontel.—Bertrand.

the Bastille, and some of these intruders were wounded July 14. by a discharge from the castle. The artillery now began to play upon the fortress; and after a short defence, the marquis de Launay, having a very insufficient garrison under his command, offered to surrender on terms of safety for himself and his soldiers. Such a promise being given, he ordered a draw-bridge to be lowered, and the besiegers took possession of the place¹.

No real foundation appears for the charge of treachery imputed to the governor. As the great danger of such an act was evident, it is highly improbable that he would have ordered his men to fire upon the people, after many had been admitted on a promise of his forbearance: for this is the import of the accusation. He was obnoxious to the infuriate rabble, merely for having dared to defend the Bastille. Torn from the protection of some who had acted as officers at the siege, he was bitterly reviled, wounded, and decapitated.

So comparatively mild had been the government of Louis, that only *seven* prisoners, four of whom were accused of forgery, were found in the Bastille². As its dungeons, however, had formerly been the receptacles even of innocent objects of tyranny, the odium of the name produced the destruction of the edifice and its fortifications.

This exploit was not yet known at Versailles, when Louis, having received another application for a removal of the troops, merely ordered the departure of the regiments from the Champ de Mars. The assembly demanded the retreat of other divisions of the army; and the next morning, a full knowledge of the insurrection of the Parisians prompted the terrified monarch to court the protection of the popular representatives, and dismiss all the troops from the environs of Paris and of Versailles. Thus did that portentous revolution commence, which afterwards produced such wonderful effects³.

Deputies were sent to Paris to communicate to the citizens the pleasing intelligence of the king's submission to the domineering assembly, and restore peace and subordination. The marquis de la Fayette, whose services in the cause of American freedom pointed him out as a proper person for the command of the new militia or city guard, had accepted the appointment with joy; and addressing the Parisians in the town-hall, he announced

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. viii.

² Marmontel, livre xvii.—Bertrand.

³ *Histoire de la Révolution*, par Rabaut, livre iii.

the patriotic intentions of their sovereign, which excited rapturous applause.

When Necker was dismissed, M. de Montmorin and two other ministers had also been desired to resign; and in the new arrangements, the baron de Breteuil had been authorized to act as premier. The assembly now requested that the new ministers might be removed, and Necker recalled. The king readily complied with the demand; and to testify his exterior joy at the late reconciliation, visited Paris with a train of deputies. The keys of the city were presented to him by the new mayor, M. Bailly, who observed that they were the same keys which had been delivered to Henry IV. "That prince (he added) conquered his people; but now the people have conquered their king." This language could not be agreeable to Louis; nor did he seem pleased at the substitution of the cry of *Vive la Nation!* for *Vive le Roi!* I do not mean to insinuate that he disregarded the interest of the nation, or considered it as separate from his own; but he probably thought that the exclaimers were disposed to treat him as an insignificant appendage to the all-grasping assembly. When he appeared in the town-hall, he was welcomed with congratulatory and applausive speeches, among which that of Lally-Tolendal was eminently distinguished. In return for the acclamations of the numerous auditors, he said with visible emotion, "My people may always depend upon my regard and affection ¹."

The endeavours of the commandant of the Parisian guard for the repression of turbulence, were exerted with greater diligence than success. He wished to rescue M. Foulon from the hands of the murderous rabble, not from any esteem for his character, but because he thought that every accused or suspected person had a right to a fair trial. That unfortunate old man, and his respectable son-in-law Berthier, were put to death for their connexion with the ministers who had succeeded Necker and his associates, notwithstanding all the entreaties and remonstrances of La Fayette and of Bailly.

Returning from exile, Necker was gratified with a flattering reception from the people and from the assembly; and he procured for his friend the archbishop of Bordeaux, the office of keeper of the seal, while M. Paulin was constituted director of the military department. Soon after these appointments, the privileges of the nobility and clergy were taken into considera-

¹ Bertrand.—Marmontel.

tion ; and it was resolved with few exceptions, that they should be abolished ; and those of provinces and of towns were also annulled. These votes involved an extraordinary change in the state of property. Persons of every description were pronounced equally admissible to military, civil, and ecclesiastical employments ; and the prince from whose patriotism these and other concessions were obtained for the public good, was proclaimed the Restorer of French Liberty ^{Aug. 4.} ¹.

While the late important resolutions were yet unsanctioned by the king, the extent of the negative to be allowed to him was frequently debated ; and three questions upon that head were put to the vote. One was, whether he might refuse his assent to the acts of the assembly ; which passed almost unanimously. The second was whether the refusal should be absolute or merely suspensive ; and it was determined according to the latter mode. The third point related to the term of suspension ; and this was fixed for two assemblies.

The votes for the annulment of privileges were not, in every particular, agreeable to Louis ; but as he approved their general spirit, he ordered their promulgation. He was aware, indeed, that resistance would be of little use. He had in a manner disarmed himself, and bared his breast to the blows of democracy. A financial report from Necker did not greatly retard the constitutional settlement ; for his plan, instead of being amply discussed, was accepted through confidence in him, corroborated by the opinion of a committee. His calculations were not very consolatory to the nation : for he estimated the annual deficiency at sixty-one millions of livres, and stated the necessity of levying eighty millions by immediate taxes, as a new loan was impracticable. The clergy offered, toward the supply, all the plate which did not appear to be indispensably necessary for the exterior purposes of divine worship ; and contributions from all parts of the kingdom were sent to the assembly.

With a view of having the king more completely in their power, the revolutionary chiefs resolved to procure a removal of the assembly to the metropolis, where riots might easily be excited for the purpose of intimidation. Malouet, and other members who did not wish for the humiliation of their sovereign, proposed in private meetings, that Tours should be fixed upon as a more tranquil spot ; and it was expected that above three hundred of the commons, beside a majority of the nobles and clergy, would

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 13.—Rabaut, livre iii.

concur in the proposal. Louis objected to the measure, alleging that it was unnecessary, and might create disturbance. A hint of the scheme being given to Mirabeau, he propagated a report of a conspiracy to carry off the king to a fortified town, and assemble an army for the subjugation of the national representatives. He continued his machinations for the production of such a riot as might over-awe the court, and draw the royal family and the assembly to Paris. Louis, to secure himself against an attack, sent for a regiment of regular troops. The officers of the *garde-du-corps* having given an entertainment at the palace to those of the newly arrived soldiery, the loyal festivity which prevailed was misrepresented as an insult to the nation; and it was pretended that the king and queen, who appeared at the lively scene, encouraged the hostile intentions of the jovial party against the patriots. Invidious mention was made of this banquet to the assembly, for the purpose of procuring a vote by which it might be stigmatized: but the majority declined to animadvert upon it, and took into consideration the answer which had been given by his majesty on the subject of some new political regulations. He would only assent to them on condition of the allowance of sufficient dignity and power, in the general result of the settlement, to the royal administrator of the national affairs. This reply was so unsatisfactory; that the assembly sent a deputation to the palace to procure an unconditional assent¹.

The intrigues of the democratic faction were prosecuted with success. Men and women of the lowest class were instigated to go to Versailles to demand bread; and a formidable body commenced for that purpose a disorderly march. M. de la Fayette, whom the ministry had lately courted to assist the king against the violent party, was requested by the grenadiers of the national guard to accompany them to Versailles. He expostulated with them in vain, and consented, at the desire of the municipality, to undertake the journey. A party of females first appeared in the avenues to the hall of the assembly; and their leader, Maillard, presenting himself at the bar, implored relief for the starving Parisians. Mounier was sent at the head of a deputation to inform the king of the distresses of his people; and his majesty not only ordered corn to be sent to the capital from various places, but gave the desired assent to the constitutional articles². When La Fayette arrived with the Parisian guard, he found the hall partly occupied by the rabble. The royal guards had been

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 15.

² Bertrand, chap. 16.

insulted by the populace; but their patience and moderation prevented, at that time, serious mischief; and though some grounds of apprehension remained, the king and his family, trusting to the professions of the popular commandant, retired to rest. The next morning the mob approached the palace with hostile intentions. Two of the guards were attacked at the entrance; and when one of them had fallen, pierced with many wounds, the assailants entered the palace, denouncing vengeance against the queen. She had opportunely escaped to the king's apartment, where her children, at her earnest request, were brought to her. In defending the approaches to this place of refuge, some of the guards were wounded, and one was killed; but by the efforts of a party of grenadiers, who were induced to believe that the guards had no ill intentions against the people, the rioters were driven out of the palace. Many of the royal soldiers were pursued through the streets by the populace, and by the disloyal militia of Versailles; but La Fayette, having shaken off that sleep in which he ought not to have indulged himself, saved, by his remonstrances and exertions, the endangered defenders of their sovereign¹.

While Louis was consulting his ministers at this crisis, the tutored insurgents called out, "The king must go to Paris." Before he complied with this imperious and offensive requisition, he desired the assembly to deliberate on the subject in the palace: but the influence of the artful Mirabeau produced a contrary vote, and the king then consented to repair to the capital. The duke of Orléans, for whom Mirabeau wished to procure the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, entered the royal apartment to observe the effect of the conspiracy; but he was soon repelled by looks of contempt and gestures of indignation. The assembly, being informed of the king's determination, voted itself inseparable from the court; and preparations were made for the immediate progress of one hundred members, in company with the royal family. The heads of the two victims were carried upon pikes by the advanced guard of the rabble: the Parisian militia followed; "and the royal captives (in the forcible and indignant language of Burke) were slowly moved along, amidst the horrid yells, and shrill screams, and frantic dances, and infamous contumelies, and all the unutterable abo-

¹ Bertrand, chap. 17.—Anquetil, tome xiii.—*De la Révolution Française*, par Necker, tome ii. sect. 2.—*Histoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans*.

minations of the furies of hell, in the abused shape of the vilest of women."

This triumph of faction over royalty so disgusted many of the representatives, that they seceded from the assembly. The deliberations were now transferred to Paris; the king was constrained to dismiss the *garde-du-corps* from the precincts of the palace: his ministers were harassed with suspicions and calumnies; and his views and intentions were studiously misrepresented.

In the progress of varied arrangements, important alterations were made in the state of the church, in law and policy, and in almost every object that could be comprehended within the scope of legislative consideration. The property of the church excited the early cupidity of the assembly; and it was proposed by Tal-

Nov. 2. leyrand, bishop of Autun, that all ecclesiastical and monastic possessions should be at the disposal of the nation, with a proviso of a competent allowance to the ministers of religion, and to the expelled monks and nuns. This motion was strongly opposed; but it passed by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two. The parliaments and assemblies of the provincial states were suppressed; and though some courts of law were suffered to act, justice could scarcely be said to be administered. Financial difficulties and embarrassments led to the emission of *assignats*, as substitutes for money,—a delusive and mischievous contrivance. The most oppressive of the old taxes were abolished. Companies for exclusive commerce were dissolved, and various branches of monopoly annulled. A new form was given to municipal corporations; and other changes were rapidly introduced.

The labours of the assembly were not accompanied with national tranquillity. Commotions arose in various parts of the kingdom from the effervescence of faction, from a spirit of licentiousness, and the rancour of animosity. Disputes led to the effusion of blood. Rapacity and malice occasioned the pillage and destruction of many of the seats of nobles. To exemplify this havoc, it will be sufficient to mention, that sixty-seven mansions were burned to the ground within the narrow compass of the Maconnois and Beaujolois. The populace seemed to think that the privileged orders were combined in a league with the king to smother liberty in its cradle. On a charge of this kind,

A. D. the marquis de Favras, the count de Puysegur, maréchal 1790. Broglio, and others, were tried by the judges of the Chatelet; and if the first of these had not been put to death by

the forms of law, the ferocious rabble would, without doubt, have hanged him *à la lanterne*¹.

These commotions deeply affected Louis; and in the hope of allaying the ferment, he resolved to concur without reserve in the views of the assembly, and gratify the people by a frank and full assent to the new system. Repairing to the hall, he addressed the members in a long speech, in which he took a review of the state of affairs, and feelingly lamented the distractions of the realm, but hoped that effectual reform and im-
Feb. 4.
provement might be prosecuted without farther convulsions or disturbances. He declared his approbation of the scheme for dividing the kingdom into eighty-three departments, and introducing such an uniform organization as would much better connect the whole than the former provincial divisions, in which an inconvenient dissimilarity of laws and usages prevailed. He urged his hearers to devote their whole attention to the public good; to establish a degree of freedom not incompatible with social peace and order, reclaim the unthinking and deluded portion of the community to a due sense of propriety and justice, and put an end to those vexations and oppressions which had already impelled many citizens to seek security in a foreign land.

One effect of the royal speech was the adoption of a new oath, importing that every representative would be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and would maintain to the utmost of his power the constitution decreed by the assembly, and accepted by his majesty. Another effect was the presentation of applausive addresses from the different municipalities: but the impression made by the conduct of Louis was not permanently beneficial. In the financial discussions, the prodigality of the court was censured; and the *red book* was demanded by the king's adversaries, to remove all doubts upon that subject. It was pretended, when the book had been examined, that the annual expenditure, with common prudence and economy, might have been diminished in the proportion of one-fifth: but moderate and unbiassed members affirmed that the charge was ill-founded.

By the oratorical plausibility of Necker, the means of supplying the deficiency of the revenue were magnified; and the prospect of a speedy restoration of order to the finances, and of providing funds for the gradual liquidation of the public debt,

¹ *Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes, commis pendant la Révolution Française*, tome iii.

removed from the sanguine the dread of a dangerous insolvency. The king, being desired by the assembly to fix the civil list on such a basis as would correspond with the dignity of his throne, replied, that he would studiously endeavour to combine economy with a respectability of appearance worthy of the head of a great nation. But while the royal dignity was thus allowed to be maintained, the annulment of titles and the extinction of hereditary nobility weakened one of the props and safeguards of the throne. Lambel having made a motion for this purpose, June 19. the democrats would scarcely suffer it to be debated, and it was sanctioned by a commanding majority¹.

As the anniversary of the revolution (which was reckoned from the reduction of the Bastile) approached, great preparations were made to celebrate a national *confederation*, a public covenant, or constitutional league. A spacious amphitheatre was erected in the Champ de Mars: mass was solemnly performed; and when the king had taken an oath of fidelity to the constitution, the assembly, the delegates who had been invited from the provinces, the regular troops, the militia, and the spectators, bound themselves by a similar sanction.

After an interval of comparative tranquillity, new disturbances arose. These were chiefly imputable to the arts of a democratic society, notorious for the profligacy, villany, and cruelty, not of its original members, but of the individuals of whom it was subsequently composed. It was the offspring or continuation of a club instituted in the year 1789, by the Breton deputies; and as its place of meeting was the hall of an edifice lately occupied by *Jacobin* monks, this designation was assumed by the society. Some of the members soon seceded from it, and formed a new society, which was eclipsed by the superior ability and influence of the Jacobins. The latter took every opportunity of inflaming the minds of the people, not only against the court, but even against the assembly, when its proceedings and resolutions were not so bold or violent as to suit the views of the ambitious incendiaries of the club. Societies, corresponding with the Jacobin fraternity of Paris, were established in the provinces. Seditious intrigues and machinations prevailed. The soldier and the seaman, the tradesman and the mechanic, were seduced from their allegiance; and the members of liberal professions were courted to assist in the great work of reforming and perfecting political institutions.

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 25, 26.

The duke of Orléans, whose great opulence had been devoted to the purposes of faction, had been denounced by the moderate reformers as an enemy of the state: but he continued his intrigues for power, calumniated the character and conduct of his royal relative, and even aimed at the acquisition of sovereignty, which he hoped to attain amidst the disorders and confusion of the realm¹.

That spirit of insubordination which was thus artfully promoted, was particularly evinced at Nanci. The garrison mutinied against the officers; extorted from them, on pretence of a lawful claim, considerable sums of money; and seized the chests of the regiments. Complaint was made of these proceedings to the assembly; and consequent orders were given for the enforcement of a new decree against military treason or rebellion. The marquis de Bouillé, having in vain demanded the surrender of the chief mutineers, and the release of the officers whom they had imprisoned, advanced toward Nanci with a small army. On his approach, the officers were liberated; the garrison seemed ready to leave the town; and an accommodation was confidently expected. But the obstinacy of two battalions of Swiss led to a different result. They declared that they would not submit, and urged the rest of the garrison to support them in their resistance. Posted at one of the gates, they commenced hostilities, when they were summoned to open it; and Aug. 31. fifty of Bouillé's men were killed by a furious discharge of cannon and musketry. Enraged at this assault, the rest of his soldiers rushed into the town, and slew all whom they met. Many of the inhabitants fired upon them from the houses; and for three hours a dreadful conflict raged. Having subdued all resistance, the marquis reinstated the municipality, which had lost its authority during the mutiny. He not only received the thanks of the king for his services on this occasion, but was complimented with the approbation of the ruling assembly. The populace, however, inveighed against him as a sanguinary aristocrat, who deserved to lose his head for the horrible massacre committed by his orders².

From a different cause, Angers, in the following week, became

¹ *Histoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans.*

² *Memoirs relating to the French Revolution*, translated from the manuscript of the marquis de Bouillé.—*Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes de la Révolution*, tome iii.—Prudhomme says, that fifteen hundred persons were killed on both sides. Twenty-three of the Swiss insurgents were afterwards condemned to death.

a scene of riot and bloodshed. The people called for a diminution of the high price of bread: the magistrates reduced it; and the clamour seemed to subside. But a renewal of tumult followed; and the red flag was hoisted *in terrorem*. A body of workmen, not intimidated, fired upon the soldiers, without mortally wounding any of them. The troops returned the fire, and killed fifty-one persons¹.

The inquiry into the riot at Versailles had occupied for a considerable time the court of the Chatelet; and an elaborate report was at length presented to the assembly. It sufficiently appeared that the outrages arose from a plot of the Orléans' faction, not from casual or unpremeditated turbulence: but the arts and influence of the violent party obstructed the demands of justice; and not only the chief conspirators, but also the most active agents in the riot, were suffered to avoid merited punishment.

As Necker was unfriendly to some of the innovating decrees of the assembly, and was not a violent democrat, he had lost his influence in the national council; and as he was the object of satirical effusions and libellous attacks, he found his situation very unpleasing, and even dangerous. The revival of commotion furnished a pretence for imputing to his want of energy, and to the inability of his colleagues, the obstacles which retarded the regeneration of the state. Thus assailed, he resigned all concern in the administration, and returned to his native country.

An insurrection at Brest hastened the retreat of the naval minister, M. De la Luzerne, who was succeeded by Fleurieu. M. De la Tour du Pin afterwards relinquished the direction of military affairs; and M. Du Portail was appointed to that station. Duport du Tertre became keeper of the great seal; and before the end of the year, Blondel was named minister of the interior, on the resignation of M. De St. Priest, who was too firm a royalist to please the ruling party. Lambert regulated the finances for a short time, and then gave way to M. De Lessart.

The disgust of the clergy at the seizure of their property, and at the alterations made by the assembly in the disposal of benefices and in spiritual discipline, increased the public disorder. They refused to acquiesce in the new decrees, and exclaimed

¹ *Histoire des Erreurs, &c.* tome iii.

against the violent spirit of the representatives of the nation. The debates of the assembly with reference to the clerical order were very animated. Voidel stigmatized the refractory spirit of the majority of the ecclesiastics; urged them to renounce their prejudices, and think no more of the privileges and opulence of which they had been justly deprived; and in the name of a committee, proposed a decree, commanding them to take the new oath without delay, on pain of losing their stipends, and of being subjected to farther penalties, and declared incapable of holding any public office. The motion was ably opposed by Maury and other speakers; but being artfully defended by the democratic orators, it received general assent. The king ^{Nov. 27.} delayed his sanction to it, on account of its importance and severity; but, to prevent importunities and clamours, he confirmed it. Sixty representative ecclesiastics now took the oath; but it was declined by the far greater part of the clerical body in the assembly. Two months were allowed for re- ^{A.D.} consideration; and the decree was then enforced by the ^{1791.} appointment of constitutional bishops and priests.

Mirabeau had been one of the most strenuous supporters of ecclesiastical reform; but his zeal in the cause seemed to abate, and he endeavoured to allay the violence of the storm which threatened the clergy. He was now chosen president of the assembly; and was, at the same time, engaged in a secret negotiation with the court. A friend having represented him as one who might easily be brought back to monarchical principles, if those of public liberty should still be preserved, Louis made such overtures as induced him to devote himself to the royal service. Having a satisfactory pledge of the king's good intentions, he expressed a hope of checking revolutionary extravagance and licentiousness; but he found it necessary to disguise his sentiments, that he might not lose that popularity which might enable him to act with greater efficacy. In a masterly memorial, he discussed the subject of the revolution, exposed the views of the different parties, and illustrated the general state of affairs; and to remedy the evils which had arisen, he proposed the convocation of an assembly better constituted than the present, and the formation of a new code of law and government, according to the wishes of the people, signified in the instructions of the electors. The ministers Montmorin and Malouet were apprehensive of the danger of dissolving the assembly: and Louis declared that he would not adopt any scheme which might lead to a civil war;

but Mirabeau was encouraged to form a party with zeal and diligence¹.

The chair was filled by this distinguished deputy with impressive dignity; and he ably steered between the extremes of courtly subserviency and democratic zeal. The king did not doubt the sincerity of his conversion; and the leading party still considered him as friendly to the popular cause, though he sometimes took an opportunity of reprehending the spirit of faction.

In a debate on the propriety of restraining emigration, he spoke more decisively than either party seemed to expect. The democrats wished to prevent any person from quitting the kingdom, as emigration would be invidious, and might injure the public cause: but the president condemned the proposed restriction as tyrannical, and asserted that a general law of that kind would be disregarded, and indeed ought not to be obeyed. It was postponed after a clamorous meeting.

Emigration being considered as an insult to the prevailing party, renewed attempts were made to prevent it; and the intended departure of Adelaide and Victoire, the king's aunts, roused a malignant spirit of opposition. Those princesses were known to have supported their father and the chancellor Maupeou in the arbitrary proceedings against the parliaments; and it was strongly suspected that they had advised their nephew to check, by firmness and vigour, the progress of democracy. Affecting to dread the operation of their political intrigues in foreign courts, the majority of the sections of Paris requested the king and the assembly to prohibit their departure; but after warm debates, they were allowed to commence their journey. At Arnai, they were stopped in their progress, until a courier arrived from Paris with full permission for their departure. At the foot of Mont Cenis they were met by the count D'Artois, who had already emigrated. While they were at Turin, the encouragement supposed to be given to their countrymen by the king of Sardinia occasioned a riot at Chamberi; and by the violent interference of the troops, about fifty persons were wounded. The princesses hastened to Rome, and were treated by the pope with high respect².

The negotiation with Mirabeau being continued, emissaries were employed in sounding the inclinations of the principal inha-

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 36.

² *Mémoires Historiques de Mes-Dames Adélaïde et Victoire de France, Filles de Louis XV.*

bitants of the departments; and M. De Bouillé took an active part in the promotion of a scheme calculated to restore the balance in favour of royalty. M. De la Fayette was also meditating a political plan, but not in concert with Mirabeau, for whom he had no regard, and by whom he was despised. He wished to consolidate the revolution in such a mode as might preserve the monarchy, which, however, he was too much inclined to depress. This commander kept the king almost a prisoner at the Tuileries. When some commotions had alarmed his majesty, about three hundred royalists hastened to defend him: but the officers of the national guard insisted on their retiring, after the surrender of their arms to the king, who was not only obliged by La Fayette to deliver up the arms, but was prohibited from admitting any strangers into the palace. These insults made a deep impression upon the feelings of the harassed prince, who was soon after seized with a fever. His recovery was celebrated with illuminations; and even the assembly expressed joy on the occasion.

While the king's new friend was maturing his important scheme, he contracted an illness which hurried him to his grave. The suspicion of his being poisoned was wholly unfounded.

His death was generally lamented; and his memory was April 2.
honoured by a public and magnificent funeral. He was a man of great abilities, a commanding orator, a powerful reasoner, and an intelligent statesman. But his private character was not the most honourable or correct; for he was faithless, selfish, and profligate. Ambition led him to promote revolutionary disorder: but he was ready to support the royal cause when attractive offers appealed to his self-interest. Affected at the loss of Mirabeau's expected services, and weary of captivity, Louis was inclined to seek comfort and protection at a distance from his convulsed capital. He was advised by M. De Montmorin to propose to the emperor the formation of such a league among the continental powers, as might, without actual war, intimidate the assembly into respect and moderation. All the arts of persuasion, and all the efficacy of bribes, were in the mean time to be employed in influencing the deputies, the Jacobin club, the national guard, and the *commune* of Paris. On pretence of averting hostilities, the king was to negotiate with the combined powers, and to put the army on an orderly and respectable footing. He was then to proceed to the frontiers, command the emigrants to return and join his troops, form a new administration, and summon the assembly to deliberate under his eye. The electoral assemblies were to be consulted; and a plan of govern-

ment, providing for the continuance of the monarchy, yet not inconsistent with reasonable liberty, was to be settled with general consent. After the adjustment of an accommodation with foreign powers, Louis was to return to Paris; and affairs, it was fondly hoped, would then proceed in a prosperous train¹.

The emperor was pleased with the propositions, and promised to treat with those princes who were unfriendly to democratic usurpation. M. De Gilliers was authorized to disclose the scheme to the emigrants in general, and to the count D'Artois in particular. This prince was eager to promote the confederacy; but he rather hoped than expected that it would have the desired effect.

April 23. A declaration which Montmorin was ordered to send to the French ambassadors at different courts, tended to degrade the king, as it asserted known falsehoods; and it produced no effect to his advantage. Being complimented with an offer of service from the brothers of the name of Lameth, who had considerable influence over the assembly, he declared that he was *happy* and *free*, at a time when he was agitated with chagrin and anxiety, and was not even suffered to make an excursion from one palace to another, or follow his own will in any respect, if it did not agree with that of the people or their representatives; and he added, that he cordially approved the constitution which had been framed by the wisdom of patriotic delegates. The applause of the assembly was lavished on him for his kindness and condescension; and the president, observing that the hydra of faction had a hundred heads, congratulated him on having stricken off the last. This speaker either did not mean what he said, or was not actuated by the spirit of prophecy.

Montmorin, who had reluctantly complied with the earnest entreaties of Louis, in signing a declaration which militated against his scheme, continued to treat with the count De Merci; and during this negotiation, M. D'Artois had an interview

May 20. at Mantua with the emperor. The chief points of the conversation were committed to writing by M. De Calonne; and a *projet*, corrected by his imperial majesty, was transmitted to the French court. Leopold engaged to send thirty-five thousand men to the frontiers: Spain and other powers agreed to put armies in motion: a declaration was to be prepared in the name of the family of Bourbon, and to be succeeded by a manifesto of

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 39.

the allies, stating the motives and the expediency of their interference: the parliaments of the realm were to be re-assembled; and the king, resuming his authority, was to regulate it according to his own wish, with a reasonable attention to the desires already expressed by the electors of the states-general¹. The assembly, in the mean time, hastened to complete the constitution. The people loudly called for dispatch; and in compliance with the general wish, a time was fixed for the convocation of primary assemblies, that the constituent body might be succeeded by a legislative council, from which the present national representatives should be excluded.

Disgusted at the insults to which he was subjected, and desirous of a full freedom of action, Louis had formed the resolution (in compliance with the suggestions of Mirabeau and other advisers) of retiring from Paris to a less turbulent town, where he might be surrounded by loyal troops and well-disposed subjects. Having great confidence in M. de Bouillé, he imparted the scheme to that nobleman, and desired him to fix the place. Bouillé answered, that an amicable invasion of France, on the part of the emperor, would furnish a pretence for levying an army; that the king might assume the personal command of this force, and, thus supported, might obtain from the assembly a sufficient degree of power to insure his independence and respectability. The journey was so long delayed, that the time when it was undertaken was very unfavourable to its success. The Jacobins had augmented their influence and extended their power: a general distrust of the king's views seemed to prevail; and the loyalty even of the army under Bouillé visibly declined².

On the departure of Louis and his family, a declaration was addressed to all the inhabitants of France, exhibiting a view of the calamitous effects of the revolution—the violation of property and of personal security, the impunity of crimes, the want of a regular government, the annihilation of the authority of a prince who had given the strongest testimonies of regard for his people, and the ruin of that executive power which might have crushed faction and preserved order. The journey was represented by the king as the means of recovering liberty for the court, and of enabling himself to provide for the establishment of internal peace and security.

The king and queen, with their children and the princess Eliza-

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 40.

² *Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé*.

June 21. beth, left Paris in the hope of reaching Mont-Medi. They proceeded without molestation to Varennes, but were stopped at that town in consequence of the unfortunate discovery of their rank by the post-master Drouet, who, concerting measures with Sause, the attorney or agent of the *commune*, alarmed the country, and found means to assemble fifteen thousand men, furnished with various offensive weapons. Louis would not suffer his guards to attack the obstructors of his progress; and Bouillé was prevented by the militia and the peasantry from rescuing his endangered sovereign, who was detained by the municipality until instructions arrived from the capital¹.

It has been suspected, by partial writers, that M. De la Fayette was acquainted with the king's intention of retiring, and, having suffered him to commence his journey, took measures for its frustration; but there is no proof of this act of treachery. He informed the assembly, however, that the royal family had disappeared from the Tuileries: adding, that the vigilance of the people would probably soon discover the fugitives.

Surprise was the first sensation of the Parisians on the occasion: indignation then arose; and a calm followed, as if the people had been relieved from a burthen. The Jacobins were pleased at the flight, as it tended to promote their views of republicanism. The assembly decreed that the ministers should not attend to any orders which they might receive from the king. Couriers were sent to all the departments to stop travellers, and put the magistrates and people on their guard; and an oath of fidelity to the nation was exacted from every individual in the army or in office². The royal fugitives were escorted back to Paris by the soldiery and the rabble. By torturing the import of an article of the new code, the king's adversaries endeavoured to prove that he had abdicated the throne; but the efforts of Barnave and other deputies, who at this time joined the party of La Fayette, from a disapprobation of the views of the Jacobins, and formed the moderate and constitutional club of *Feuillans*, baffled the views of the opposers of royalty.

The republican violence of the Jacobins urged them to represent the king's flight as a sufficient ground for his dethronement. Petion did not scruple to propose, that Louis should be brought to trial, as his declared inviolability could only be applied to acts

¹ *Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé.—Mémoires Politiques et Militaires, pour servir à l'Histoire secrète de la Révolution Française, tome i.*

² *Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Française, chap. i.*

of royalty ; but the assembly rejected the motion as unconstitutional. At a meeting of the seditious club, Brissot maintained, in a studied harangue, that it was not merely lawful, but an act of duty, to try the king ; and pamphlets to that effect were industriously dispersed. The friends of the constitution discouraged such doctrines, without manifesting that spirit which the danger of their sovereign required them to exert.

The Jacobin club, the society of *Cordeliers* (so called from meeting in a convent formerly belonging to that order), and other democratic associations, continued to inveigh against the king, and demand his punishment. Their arts and clamours having occasioned a tumultuous meeting in the Champ de Mars, the mayor proclaimed martial law : the national guard, attacked by the mob, fired, and killed or wounded thirty ^{July 17.} or forty of the rioters. For this violation of the sovereignty of the people, Bailly was never forgiven by the Jacobins¹.

A continuance of deliberation and discussion at length completed the expected code. A deputation being escorted by troops to the palace, Thouret thus addressed the king : " The representatives of the nation present to your majesty the constitutional act, which consecrates the inalienable rights of the French people, tends to establish the true dignity of the throne, and regenerates the government of the empire." Louis promised to examine it, and state his opinion of it with all reasonable dispatch. After an interval of ten days, he declared his acceptance of it. If it had been presented to him at the moment of his departure from Paris, he could not have prevailed upon himself to accept it : but as it had been, since that time, improved in various respects, had been rendered more promotive of good government and order, and had secured a more general sanction in the public opinion, he now engaged to maintain it at home, defend it against attacks from abroad, and endeavour to carry it into complete effect. He added, however, that he did not perceive in the means allowed to the executive power, all the energy necessary for concentration and unity ; and he subjoined a caution against that discord which might lead to anarchy. On the following day he appeared in the hall of the assembly, took an oath for the observance of the new constitution, and signed the ^{Sept. 14.} act. The president, in a posture of *nonchalance*, without rising from his seat, congratulated Louis on his enjoyment of the most

¹ Bertrand's *Annals*, chap. 43.

desirable crown in the universe, secured by the permanent and decisive authority of a constitution freely decreed.

A ceremonious proclamation followed. The Parisian municipality announced, with military parade, that the national assembly, having finished (within the space of two years and two months) its constitutional labours, had consigned the act confirmed by the king, to the fidelity of the legislative body, as a sacred deposit,—to the vigilance of fathers and mothers of families, the affections of the young citizens, and the courage and zeal of all Frenchmen.

At the time of completing this boasted work of human wisdom, or (as some have termed it) monument of human folly, an act of revolutionary rapacity was committed by the assembly; I allude to the seizure of the *Comtat Venaissin*. A motion for its union with the French monarchy had before been rejected by the moderation of the majority; but this forbearance was not permanent. An intestine war had arisen in the *comtat*, from the violence of the Jacobin faction. An army of revolutionists from Avignon had attacked Cavaillon, and massacred many of the inhabitants. Jourdan, a sanguinary ruffian, besieged Carpentras, and perpetrated horrible outrages; and most of the towns of the *Venaissin* were at length intimidated into an application for such a settlement as might extinguish in that territory the power of the pope.

From the death of Ganganelli to the prosecution of the cardinal De Rohan, no important or serious contest had occurred between the courts of Versailles and Rome; and after that extraordinary affair, Louis and Pius were again on friendly terms. But when the revolution had broken out, the very nature of the explosion presaged a breach between the altered government and the administrator of a superstitious system. The discontinuance of the payment of first fruits, and the vote which declared the possessions of the church to be national property, gave great disgust to the pope; and the proceedings of the assembly on the subject of his territories in France, filled him with indignation. After the renewal of commotions at Avignon, it was proposed that the whole *Venaissin* should be reannexed to the Gallic realm; and because the measure was *convenient*, it was pronounced to be *just* and *lawful*.

Louis seemed now to have recovered his popularity. He was considered as a constitutional king, and hailed as a friend to his country. But he was still in a state of anxiety. He dreaded the

intrigues of the Jacobins, and apprehended great danger from their restless and violent spirit. He again attended the assembly, to witness its dissolution. "Return to your families," he then said, "and tell your fellow-citizens, that I have no ^{Sept. 30.} interest but that of the nation; that I will exert all the powers with which I am entrusted to give full efficacy to the new system, and will prove, in every thing, that I can rejoice only when my people are happy." Although the constitution thus ordained did not promise to be permanent, some notice must be taken of its chief contents, and some remarks are due to the importance of the subject. A declaration of rights formed the first article; these were declared to be liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. After an exemplification of these rights, as modified by a regard to social order, fundamental regulations were enacted, importing that all persons who had virtue and talents were admissible to public employments; that all taxes should be fairly divided among the citizens, in proportion to the ability of paying them; that the same crimes should be punished in the same manner, by whatever individuals they were committed; that every one might freely speak, write, and publish his thoughts, and might exercise that religious worship to which he was attached; that citizens might elect ministers of their own persuasion; and that a plan of public instruction, partly gratuitous, should be organized. The general freedom, it was added, was not to preclude punishment for acts invasive of the rights of others, or injurious to the public safety.

Each community of French citizens, in towns and the neighbouring districts, might make choice of municipal officers for the management of public concerns. The quality of a citizen might be lost by legal penalties which involved degradation, by a sentence of contumacy, by naturalization in a different country, or by an association with foreign orders of chivalry, nobility, or religion. Marriage was pronounced to be solely a civil contract.

The sovereignty was acknowledged to reside in the people; but as they could only exercise their powers by delegation, they were to be represented by an assembly, consisting of seven hundred and forty-five individuals, freely chosen for two years. In the election of a third part of the number, the proportion of territory was to be followed; with regard to another third, population was to be the criterion; and the rest were to be chosen according to their direct contribution to the exigencies of the state. Primary assemblies, composed of active citizens (who had completed

twenty-five years of age, paid taxes, were not in a servile station, and were in the list of the national guard), were to nominate one elector for every hundred of those who did or might attend the meeting. The electors were to be far superior, in point of property, to the ordinary citizens; and they were to choose representatives from the active citizens of the department to which they belonged. Ministers of state, and all public officers, were to be excluded from the national assembly. The members were required to pronounce, in a body, an oath intimating that they would live free, or die; and, individually, to swear fidelity to the new constitution, to the nation, the law, and the king. Inviolability was so far annexed to the character of a representative, that he was not to be examined, accused, or judged, at any time, for what he had said, written, or done, in the exercise of his functions. For a crime he might be seized in the act, or arrested by order: but immediate notice was to be given to the legislative body, which would be allowed to decide whether a sufficient ground of accusation existed.

As the sovereignty belonging to the nation was declared to be one and indivisible, so was the royalty: but, while the former was inalienable and imprescriptible, the latter might be forfeited or lost in various ways; namely, by not taking the constitutional oath within a month after a request from the legislature, or by retracting it,—by acting with an army against the nation, or not opposing hostile measures taken in the royal name,—or by not returning within two months after leaving France. The person of the king was pronounced sacred and inviolable: he could only be tried for acts posterior to abdication. He was to enjoy the supreme executive power, promulgate the laws, appoint ministers, command the army and navy (without naming all the officers in those departments), and superintend all the administrative bodies of the realm. He might propose war, but not declare or commence it without the assent of the legislature; and whenever the assembly should desire peace, he was bound to commence a negotiation for that purpose. He might negotiate; but no treaty of peace, alliance, or commerce, could have effect without the ratification of the assembly. His refusal of enactment to any decree of the legislative body could only suspend, not annul it. His ministers were responsible for all the acts or measures of the cabinet: no order from the king could protect or indemnify them: but, to prosecute them criminally, a decree of the assembly was necessary.

Justice was to be gratuitously administered. The people were

to appoint the judges and public accusers ; and trial by jury was allowed. No person could be apprehended or detained without an order from some tribunal, the officers of police, or the legislature. Examination was to follow arrest within twenty-four hours ; and if no grounds of suspicion should be apparent, the individual was to be restored to liberty.

As all human institutions occasionally require alteration and reform, it was ordained, that when three successive legislative bodies should have concurred in wishing for the change of any constitutional article, a fourth legislature, consisting of two hundred and forty-nine members added to the ordinary number, should be authorized to perform the task of revision and improvement ; and that as soon as the object in question should be completed, the supernumerary deputies should resign their seats.

This fabric of power was ill-cemented and unsound. It was denominated a monarchy ; but it contained so strong a mixture of democracy, that the former term was inapplicable to the system. It rendered the king a mere instrument in the hands of a domineering assembly ; his prerogative was inefficient, and his authority inadequate even to the preservation of order and tranquillity. A *veto*, to be useful, ought to be absolute ; for a temporary prohibition of enactment cannot command respect, except from a well-constituted assembly. I am aware that the suspensive *veto* has been applauded by the vanity of its proposer¹, as a happy effort of political sagacity, calculated to give time for the zeal of a popular assembly to subside into moderation : but I am rather disposed to consider it as a feeble tie, invidious without being authoritative, seemingly arbitrary without the energy of perseverance.

The constitution had a multiplicity of parts ; but they did not form a regular chain : they did not smoothly slide into each other. The theory could not easily be reduced to practice. Indeed, if the code had been truly excellent, and much more practicable than it was, the exorbitancy of Jacobinical ambition, and the anarchical licentiousness of faction, would not long have suffered it to be operative and efficacious.

¹ M. Necker.

LETTER IX.

History of France, continued to the Trial and Death of Louis XVI. and the Commencement of the War with Great Britain and Holland.

THE progress of the constitution, and the eventful scenes which occurred while it was yet unfinished, gave the French ample time to reflect on the nature and tendency of their revolution. The royalists, for obvious reasons, could not view it with satisfaction: the nobility were not pleased at being reduced to a level with the mass of the people; and the clergy complained of the diminution of their privileges and revenues; while the nation in general still hoped and expected to derive benefit from the change.

When the newly-elected assembly commenced its career, three parties were distinctly observable among the members—
 Oct. 1. the friends of the new constitution (including the Feuillans), the independents, and the violent faction, which consisted of Jacobins and Cordeliers. Dumas, Dumolard, and Girardin, headed the first party; La Croix was the chief director of the second; Brissot (for Robespierre was not among the deputies) had the principal influence over the third¹.

The constitutional code, being presented in form to the new legislature, was hailed as the pledge of peace and union. Cerutti then moved, that thanks should be voted to the constituent assembly for having saved and regenerated the French empire; for having destroyed, by the labour of three years, the abuses of fourteen centuries, and paved the way for ages of happiness. The motion was applauded, and readily sanctioned; and a mere doubt expressed by Chabot, whether the constitution was the most perfect of all works, produced general murmurs. This was literally a modest hint from one who was considered as a man of extraordinary impudence²: but it was deemed a profanation of the *gospel of the constitution*.

In a judicious speech from the king, proper objects were recommended to the attention of the deputies. He requested

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Française*, chap. ii.

² *Un ex-Capucin* (says Necker) *d'une rare impudence*.

them to facilitate the operations of government, strengthen the army and navy, establish public credit, improve the civil laws, render the attainment of justice more prompt and easy, and frame a system of national education. To this advice little attention was paid. The assembly evinced a deficiency of wisdom and of patriotism; frequently discussed trifles and decreed absurdities; enacted unjust laws; connived at the licentiousness and brutality of the rabble; insulted and degraded the king; and encouraged factious anarchy.

An early attack was made upon the emigrants, many of whom were embodied in Germany. Their supposed views of hostility were mentioned with indignation in the assembly; and it was decreed that, if they should remain in a body, and not return into France before the first day of the next year, Nov. 9. they should be punished with death wherever they might be found¹. This law originated with Brissot's party; and a decree for the punishment of all priests who refused to take the civic oath, or who excited disturbances, arose from the intolerant spirit of the same faction. From these ordinances Louis withheld his sanction; and his refusal did not, at first, seem to give serious disgust.

The preparations of the emigrants continued to be productive of warm debates, and formed the chief feature of a manifesto written by Condorcet, and adopted by the assembly. In this composition, plausible professions of general moderation were mingled with vindictive denunciations against the Dec. 29. *rebels*, who menaced their native country with sanguinary convulsions. The hostile views imputed to the emperor were also a subject of animated discussion. Some vassals of the empire having complained, that their feudal rights in Alsace and Lorraine had been invaded by the constituent assembly, Leopold promised to assert their claims; and not approving the indemnification offered by Louis, he demanded a re-establishment of those possessions on the footing prescribed by treaties. He also intimated a desire that the elector of Treves might not be attacked, as that prince had engaged to put a stop to the assembling of emigrants in his dominions. In communicating the imperial despatches to the legislative body, the king declared, that if the elector should not fully perform his promise, he would have recourse to arms. M. De Narbonne, the minister of war, was sent to the frontiers, to examine the state of the army and fortified

¹ *De la Révolution Française*, par Necker, tome ii. sect. 4.

A.D. towns. He made a favourable report, and assured the 1792. assembly that the French were well prepared to resist aggression.

The ambition of Brissot urged him to depress and humble the king, that by his influence over the assembly, he might himself, in a great measure, act the part of a sovereign. He was a man of low birth, but not ill-educated. He had served as an attorney's clerk: he afterwards became a journalist, and was admitted into the household of the duke of Orléans, by whose interest he was chosen a representative of Paris. He had already evinced an inclination for a republican government; and by promoting a war with Austria, he hoped to embarrass and confound the court, as it would be easy to find opportunities of calumniating a prince who would be the ostensible director of hostilities which in his heart he disapproved. He was supported in his views by the most eloquent members of the assembly; but in the Jacobin club, Robespierre opposed him on this subject, alleging that the court would, in case of war, betray the nation, and that it would be more prudent to wait until the people had fully established their rights, and secured their interest in the government.

By the intrigues of Brissot, an address was procured from the assembly, desiring Louis to remonstrate with the emperor upon his infraction of the treaty of alliance concluded with France in the year 1756, and demand an explicit answer to the question, whether he intended to live in peace and amity with the French nation. In reply to the king's remonstrances, Leopold declared that he had no intention of assisting the elector of Treves, unless the French should attack that prince, even after he had dismissed the emigrants, or restrained them from assembling; and that the concert of princes had now in a great measure ceased, as the French monarch seemed to be no longer in captivity; but that it was still expedient to guard against the artifices of a violent faction, which, establishing a state within a state, and founding its illegal ascendancy on troubles and confusion, had no other means of supporting itself amidst the embarrassments and commotions in which it had involved the nation, than the excitation of still more serious disturbances, calculated to forward its schemes for the subversion of the monarchy. These intelligible hints inflamed the wrath of the Jacobins, who loudly called for a speedy war¹.

¹ Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*.

M. De Lessart, who had been appointed minister for foreign affairs on the resignation of Montmorin, had endeavoured (as we are informed by M. Bertrand de Moleville, then minister of the marine) to draw Brissot and some of his friends into the court party by pecuniary offers: but the pay which they demanded being deemed too high by De Lessart, the negotiation failed, and he became the object of peculiar animosity. The court seemed less eager to form an association with M. d'Orléans, who had made overtures for that purpose: but if he had been fully determined on a reconciliation, it might have been easily adjusted.

On pretence of his being too pacific for the honour of France, and of his having betrayed the interests of his country, De Lessart was impeached and imprisoned. Moleville resigned his office, after he had ably defended himself against ^{Mar. 10.} Jacobinical denunciation. Narbonne was dismissed by the king, for courting the party of Brissot, though it does not appear that his motives were disloyal. The other ministers at the same time retired; and the cabinet was filled with the associates or the friends of Brissot.

Dumouriez, who was a man of talents, and a moderate (not an anarchical) Jacobin, now became minister for the foreign department. De Grave, a young and inexperienced man, succeeded Narbonne: to La Coste was committed the superintendence of the navy; Duranthon and Clavière were the new ministers of justice and of finance; and Roland, an old man, who enjoyed a greater reputation for integrity and virtue than he deserved, was gratified with the administration of the interior. The last-named politician was governed by his wife, a bold revolutionist, who studiously propagated an unfavourable opinion of the king, encouraged wild speculations and disorganizing schemes, and made her house the rendezvous of faction.

Dumouriez had not long been in power, when such instructions were sent to M. De Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna, as tended to precipitate a war. Complaint was made of Leopold's military preparations, which were not discontinued by his successor Francis; and this prince was desired to annul all treaties or conventions derogatory from the honour, interest, or safety of France, and not to reinforce his troops or assemble them on his frontiers. No satisfactory answer being given, Louis was advised by his ministers to propose to the assembly a declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia.

April 20. It was voted with little deliberation; and the decree intimated that the French were compelled to take arms by the counter-revolutionary proceedings and unequivocally hostile views of the young monarch¹. The Feuillans did not venture to oppose the war in the assembly, but they took other opportunities of condemning it as rash and unnecessary, and also unconstitutional, because it was not merely defensive. On these grounds, some general officers of that party resigned their commissions: but La Fayette, having acquired the regard of the soldiery, and being fond of power, was unwilling to relinquish his command. The maréchal de Rochambeau likewise consented to act, although he disapproved the war. The former wished to enjoy the chief command; but Dumouriez did not consider him, from his character or talents, as entitled to that distinction. He obtained it in effect, however, on the indisposition of the maréchal².

La Fayette was directed by the minister of war (or rather by Dumouriez, who made a cipher of M. De Grave) to commence the campaign with an attempt upon Namur; while lieutenant-general Biron, with a smaller force, was to attack Mons. When April 30. this officer approached the heights near that city, two regiments of dragoons suddenly began to retreat, exclaiming that they were betrayed: and the disordered infantry joined in the flight. Some of them even fired at the officers who endeavoured to rally them. Pursued by five hundred Austrian *chasseurs*, they hastened to Valenciennes, and gave a loose to that spirit of mutiny which arose from the calumnious insinuations of the anarchists. Dillon, who had previously marched from Lisle, was more unfortunate than Biron; for his troops, after a disgraceful flight, murdered him and one of his officers, and perpetrated other enormities³. La Fayette, instead of reducing Namur, remained for some weeks unemployed; and, when his troops began to act, M. Gouvion was surprised near Philippeville. The same officer was a second time attacked with loss; but in a different part of the Netherlands, maréchal Luckner made some progress. The towns which he reduced, however, were not retained; for, after general Jarry had burned the suburbs of Courtray, the French retired within their own frontiers.

¹ Appendix to the *Annual Register*, vol. xxxiv.

² *La Vie de M. Dumouriez*, livre iv. chap. 2, 3.

³ *La Vie de M. Dumouriez*, livre iv. chap. 4.

The minister of war who succeeded M. De Grave was Servan, an intelligent but factious man. He was influenced by Madame Roland to oppose Dumouriez, with whom her husband and Clavière were disgusted for his ascendancy in the cabinet. He proposed to the assembly that an encampment of twenty thousand men should be formed near Paris. The Feuillans resisted the motion; but, as the independents joined the Jacobins in its support, it was adopted by the majority. The king declared his disapprobation of the scheme, and of an ordinance for the transportation or imprisonment of ecclesiastical non-jurors. Roland importuned him on these unpleasing subjects, and also insulted him in an acrimonious letter, which, although that minister promised to keep it secret, was published with views of seditious irritation. Louis had been recently offended by a dismissal of his guards; and he declared that he could no longer submit to the insolence of the three factious ministers, whom he therefore discarded with indignation. Dumouriez was requested to name successors; but he urged the king, at the same time, to sanction the two decrees, as his refusal would give the Jacobins a pretence for inveighing against him with increased asperity. As Louis was firm in his opposition to one decree, because it threatened to enslave him, and to the other, because it tended to the ruin of conscientious men, Dumouriez resigned his office in disgust. He was now courted by the Feuillans to join them; but he rejected the overture with disdain¹.

Incensed at the conduct of the ministers and the assembly, La Fayette sent a letter from his camp, imputing all the disorders of France to the arts and malignity of the Jacobins, and exhorting the national representatives to shake off the disgraceful yoke of that vile faction, restore the energy of law, and save their country and their king². The majority of the deputies applauded the epistle: but the gloomy hall of the Jacobin club resounded with clamour and invective against the bold denunciator of incendiary guilt.

The dismissal of the three friends of Brissot, and the attack

¹ *De la Révolution Française*, par Necker, tome ii.—Dumouriez.

² Mr. Adolphus, in his *Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution*, affirms, that the indignation of La Fayette was "directed rather against the persons than the principles of the Jacobin rulers," and that "he was again ready to have assumed the lead of a factious populace." These strictures call for animadversion. He confounds one of the primary actors in the revolution,—one whose intentions appear to have been upright, however he may have occasionally erred,—with vile conspirators and sanguinary anarchists.

upon the factious leaders, accelerated the explosion of an insur-rective conspiracy. Danton, who, during a former administration, had received occasional bribes for favouring the court in the debates of the clubs, concurred with Chabot and Santerre in stimulating the rabble of the suburbs to such acts of sedition as might either intimidate the king and his new ministers into humble acquiescence, or provoke a resistance which might be misconstrued into tyrannical hostility. Brissot was an abettor of the scheme. He was hurried by ambition into violations of public tranquillity and of social order, without reflecting that he afforded a precedent for future insurrections, by which his own power and security might be endangered. He taught the people to believe that the king was guided by an Austrian committee, and that the most nefarious plots were in agitation among the royalists, who ought therefore to be crushed by the power of the patriots.

A multitude of armed men, appearing with a petition against
June 20. the king, were suffered to pass in array through the hall of the assembly. They then proceeded to the palace, unrestrained by Pethion the mayor, who was satisfied with assurances that property would be respected. Lajarre, the minister of war, as soon as the ruffians had forced their way into the apartments, placed a party of grenadiers about the royal person, which was menaced with sanguinary violence. Louis faced the storm with unusual spirit. Unmoved by reproaches and insults, he declared that he would observe the constitution, which justified him in the use of a suspensive *veto*. No fear of personal injury, he said, should induce him to violate his conscience, or agree to what he considered as injurious to the national interest. Elizabeth, his affectionate sister, stood by his side, manifesting equal fortitude. The queen and her children were in another apartment, exposed to the insolence of Santerre. At length Pethion arrived, and desired the citizens to quit the palace, not without praising their intentions and their conduct ¹.

The king's behaviour on this occasion elevated his character in the opinion of all unprejudiced men; and the proceedings of the violent party were severely arraigned. The friends of the constitution more eagerly promoted his cause. La Fayette, leaving the camp, repaired to the metropolis, and in the name of the soldiery requested the assembly to punish the authors of the late disgraceful tumults. But his address was ineffectual; and his

¹ Necker, tome ii.

private offers of service to the royal family, whose escape from Paris to the army he hoped to facilitate, were coolly received.

Violent schemes were still entertained by the Jacobins and the Cordeliers; and their views were promoted by the alarm of Prussian hostilities. Frederic William, having engaged to co-operate with Francis, had levied a great army, of which the duke of Brunswick assumed the command. The union of these despots enraged the French: and the duke's manifesto excited the strongest reprobation. In this arbitrary proclamation the troops and the people were peremptorily desired to ^{July 25.} return to their former habits of loyalty and submission, and all the representatives of the nation, members of the department, district, and municipality of Paris, and the national guard, were threatened with death, if the king should not be immediately and fully restored to power; and the dreadful excesses of military outrage were denounced against the whole city. In an additional declaration, all towns and places through which the inhabitants should suffer the king, or any individual of the royal family, to be carried off by their enemies, were likewise menaced with military execution. Such wild threats, and such domineering arrogance, were ridiculed by the violent party, while moderate and well-disposed citizens were grieved to find that the duke was on this occasion deserted by his usual good sense.

The emperor and the king of Prussia, in a new manifesto, ^{Aug. 4.} panegyricized the patriotic conduct of Louis, reprobated the continued injustice of the constituent and legislative assemblies, and lamented the enormities which had rendered France a scene of terror and confusion. They declared that the revolution was unjust and illegal in its principle, horrible in its means, and calamitous in its effects; that it was the work of a faction, not of the nation; that its leaders had systematically invaded the rights of foreign princes: and that their doctrines and their acts threatened to convulse the civilized world, and dissolve all political society. For these reasons, the allies were fully determined to exert the most vigorous efforts for the restoration of order and security in France, to punish severely all resistance to their arms, and to give up Paris to the inflictions of terrible justice, if the least outrage or insult should be offered to the king or his family.

A declaration was also issued by the emigrant brothers and relatives of Louis, inveighing against the revolution, ^{Aug. 8.}

and ordering, in the name of the captive king, an immediate submission of the people to his lawful authority.

The disloyal party, far from being inclined to acquiesce in the return of Louis to a plenitude of royal power, prepared for the extinction of his sway. Bodies of Marseillois and other provincials, who had arrived in Paris to commemorate the revolution, were detained by Brissot and Danton, for the execution of a scheme calculated for the abolition of royalty.

The plan was formed with deliberate atrocity. The troops of the Parisian *fauxbourgs* and their provincial confederates were organized and prepared for action; and so far were the conspirators from affecting secrecy, that the arrangements were known to the inhabitants of distant departments for some days before the dreadful explosion. Pethion intimated to the national assembly, that the alarm bell would sound at midnight; and he expressed an apprehension of his inability of repressing the commotions which were expected to arise. He indeed did not wish to prevent the meditated insurrection; for he was closely connected with the conspiring incendiaries.

Preparations for defence were not wholly neglected by the court. The Swiss guards, amounting to nine hundred and fifty men, were reviewed by M. Maillardor, who acted as commandant in lieu of M. d'Affry: and sixteen battalions of native troops were sent by M. Mandat to the Tuileries, with orders to repel every act of aggression. A great number of gentlemen also resolved to defend their sovereignty against the intended attack.

At the sound of the *tocsin*, in irregular meetings of the sections, a new revolutionary municipality was formed under the eye of

Aug. 10. Danton. Mandat, who was not aware of this *manœuvre*, obeyed an order for his appearance, and was murdered near the town-hall in consequence of a signal from Huguenin, president of the *commune*. Santerre was appointed to succeed Mandat as commander of the national guard; but he was not actively employed in the execution of the plot. Pethion had attended the king at the palace, and surveyed with a treacherous eye the dispositions for defence: and then, presenting himself before the assembly, made a report of the disordered state of Paris.

After a sleepless night, Louis reviewed the troops in the courts of the palace, and consented that the assembled gentlemen

¹ This conclusion may be drawn even from his own *Compte Rendu*.

should co-operate in his defence, under the orders of the maréchal de Mailly. In a consultation with his ministers, he was advised by Rœderer, who attended him in the name of the department, to seek protection among the national representatives, as otherwise he and his family might be in extreme danger. The queen concluding that this advice was intended to facilitate and promote the success of the assailants, declared that she would rather be nailed to the walls of the castle than leave it; but relaxing in her firmness, she agreed to accompany the king to the riding-house, opposite the garden of the Tuileries, where the deputies were assembled¹.

The departure of the royal family was the signal for insubordination at the palace. The spirit of defence seemed to be paralyzed. The national guard thought more of escape than of resistance; and even the Swiss gave way to disorder and confusion. But the loyalty of the latter soon revived: they assumed a firm countenance, and prepared to resist the Marseillois, who, supported by six pieces of artillery, advanced to the front of the castle. Some blood had already been shed; for the abbé Bouyon and eight other royalists had been seized by the rabble, and put to death, at the instigation of the revolutionary amazon, Theroigne de Méricourt.

A small party first approached, and disarmed the most forward of the Swiss, who, on the advance of a numerous body of insurgents, were cruelly murdered. M. de Castelberg now ordered his countrymen to fire upon the disloyal and sanguinary aggressors². The discharge had an electrical effect. The ruffians fled with dreadful yells; musquets, pikes, and grenadiers' caps, strewed the courts; and the *quais*, ramparts, and streets, were filled with fugitives.

In the mean time, the assembly, in which Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, successively presided, acted with an indecision which argued a connivance in the conspiracy. Twelve commissaries were indeed sent to tranquillize the people; but no measures adequate to the exigency were adopted. Hearing the populace cry out *Vive la Nation!* the members rose in a body, and exclaimed *Vive la Liberté!* Again rising, all swore that they were ready to die in defence of freedom and equality.

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Française*, chap. iii.—*Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple*, par M. Cléry.—*Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Août*, par M. de Sainte Croix.

² It has been doubted whether the Marseillois, or the Swiss, fired first; but it appears that the latter did not fire before five of their comrades had been assassinated.

At a time when the Swiss were on the point of being victorious, an order arrived from the king for the cessation of the conflict. A party under captain Turler now repaired to the assembly, and, after considerable loss during the march, submitted to the disgrace of being disarmed. A reinforcement of men and cannon having reached the scene of action, the Swiss who remained, and their associates, were re-attacked with fury, and at length overwhelmed. In their endeavours to escape, they were assailed from all quarters; but about a hundred and eighty of the foreigners, and the majority of the gentlemen, saved their lives by dispersion and concealment.

This conspiracy may be said, in a republican sense, to have completed the revolution. The factious leaders had furnished themselves with a pretence for affirming, that the king had made war upon his people, and had thus forfeited all claim to indulgence and to a continuance of power. Vergniaud now proposed, in the name of an extraordinary committee, that a national convention should be formed, and that "the chief of the executive power" should be suspended from his functions, until the new assembly should take such measures as might seem expedient for securing the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality. These and other propositions, calculated to promote the views of democracy, were readily adopted. The king and his family were detained as prisoners, under the "guard of the citizens and of the law;" and the council-general of the *commune* fixed upon the Temple for the scene of their confinement¹.

Even the limited degree of royalty which the constitution had permitted to remain in France, now ceased to exist. The municipality of Paris domineered over the state; for the assembly seemed to act rather as the executive power of the *commune*, than as the representative body of the nation. Robespierre and his myrmidons, indeed, now reigned triumphant.

When M. De la Fayette was informed of the victory obtained by the Jacobins over the royalists, he endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops to the constitution, by exacting from them a new oath for its support. A man of a decided and energetic character would have urged them to adopt the resolution of crushing the sanguinary faction which domineered at Paris; but La Fayette was too imbecile for so bold an attempt. He had not sufficient spirit or address to check the accelerated course of

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. iii.

the revolution. He found that men more daring than himself had seized the chief power and enslaved the king. At a time when his troops were inflamed with indignation, he ought to have directed the rising flame to the extinction of the Jacobin society; but his efforts were weak and nugatory. He merely ordered the detention of three commissioners who had been sent to the army to observe his conduct; and then fled into the Netherlands, where he was treated as a prisoner by the Prussians, whose sovereign considered him as a betrayer of Louis. Dumouriez, who had caballed against him, was appointed his successor¹. By the prevailing party, Servan, Roland, and Clavière, were restored to their offices; the Cordelier Danton, now a Jacobin, was declared minister of justice; and Le Brun was nominated to the foreign department. A declaration, written by Condorcet, was issued by the assembly, vindicating the suspension of royalty by allegations of the treachery of Louis.

The external enemies of France approached the frontiers with a firm countenance. One division formed the siege of Thionville; another body invested and bombarded Longwy, which was quickly surrendered by the terrified garrison. Thionville, being well defended, escaped capture. Affairs were in a critical state on the surrender of Longwy, and the desertion of La Fayette. Faction divided the army: it was weak, and ill-provided with officers: the new general had never enjoyed a separate command, and his zeal and his intentions were doubted; and many of the frontier towns were not expected to be long defended. A council of war being called, lieutenant-general Dillon proposed that the troops should, by a rapid march, reach Chalons, defend the passage of the Marne, and wait for reinforcements. The other field officers concurred with him, except Dumouriez himself, who in a subsequent consultation with Thouvenot, represented the forest of Argonne as the best station that could then be occupied. "That post," said he, "may prove the Thermopylæ of France: if I can seize it before the Prussians arrive there, all will go well." Thouvenot applauded the idea; and arrangements were instantly made for the execution of the scheme. While Dillon's division occupied Les Islettes, near the high road leading to Paris from Verdun, the general took a more advantageous position with the main body at Grand-Pré, near the road to Rheims. He was now informed of the surrender of Verdun, and the death of its commandant Beaurepaire, who, being compelled

¹ *Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution*, by Adolphus, vol. i.

by the magistrates and the people to relinquish defence, had committed an act of suicide. Concluding that the king and the duke of Brunswick would hasten their march toward Paris, and might think it easy to force his station, he improved its defensibility by entrenchments and inundations, and disposed his comparatively small force with caution and judgment¹.

The French outposts were attacked; but not one was forced. Intelligence of these assaults having excited great consternation in Paris, Dumouriez was desired by maréchal Luckner and the minister of war to retreat behind the Marne: and orders were given for assembling an army at Chalons, that the dreaded advance of the enemy might be obstructed. Entrenchments were formed, and various works thrown up, near Paris: and that the aristocrats might have no opportunity of exciting commotions, a great number of suspected individuals were arrested and imprisoned. A nefarious scheme was then formed, to diminish the number of the supposed enemies of the new government.

The murder of the prisoners cannot be mentioned without indignation and horror. The minister of *justice* concurred with the execrable Marat and the cool-blooded tyrant Robespierre, with Billaud de Varennes, Manuel, Fabre D'Eglantine, and Camille des Moulins, in these acts of cowardly atrocity. Billaud
 Sept. 2. sent twenty objects of suspicion, on pretence of a plot against the patriots, to the abbey of St. Germain. Four of these individuals were saved by a committee of one of the sections; the rest were assassinated. Eighty other prisoners were placed in a hall, and most of these were put to death. On the following day, other victims were sacrificed, so as to extend the amount at the abbey to a hundred and thirty-one. At the Conciergerie, two hundred and eighty-nine were murdered; at the Chatelet, two hundred and sixteen; in the Hotel de la Force, a hundred and sixty, of whom one was the widow of the prince De Lamballe. In other houses of arrest at Paris, above five hundred persons, among whom were two hundred and fifty priests and thirty-five women, were deprived of life by democratic fury².

There is no doubt that the assembly might either have totally prevented these massacres, or at least have greatly diminished

¹ *La Vie du Général Dumouriez*, livre v. chap. 6, 7.

² *Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes*, tome iv.—Some accounts have extended the number of victims to five thousand; and it is not improbable that the amount considerably exceeded Prudhomme's calculation.—Necker and others affirm, that the villains who thus thinned the prisons received pay from the *commune* for their *patriotic* services; and the assertion is not incredible.

the number of victims. But the members seemed to be intimidated, and contented themselves with naming two deputations to stop the career of villainy. No benefit resulted from the weak efforts of the deputies: the murders were continued even before their eyes.

Instructions were sent by the commune of Paris to many of the departments for the execution of *summary justice* (as it was called) upon the traitors who were ready to co-operate with the foreign enemies of France. But only a few municipalities, or rather some Jacobin leaders of the mob, adopted the sanguinary hint. Fifty-seven prisoners were transferred from Orléans to Versailles, and murdered with twenty-one others. The duke de Brisac defended himself against the assassins with great courage; but he had no hope of escape. Some fell at Rheims, Meaux, and Lyons; and the once popular duke de la Rochefoucault was killed near Gisors, by emissaries of the metropolitan commune.

If Brissot and his friends did not openly concur in these infamous acts, it is sufficiently evident that they connived at them, or did not (as men of spirit and virtue would) endeavour to prevent the perpetration of such enormities. They denied the connexion between the massacre and the *glorious revolution* of the 10th of August; and affirmed, that the recent outrages, instead of confirming it, tended only to disgrace it, and to render its influence less operative and powerful.

While Danton and his associates were using every effort to procure a majority in the approaching convention, by bribing many of the electors with public money or the treasures of M. d'Orléans, and by intimidating the rest, the legislative assembly announced the termination of its labours. It was a less Sept. 21. respectable body than that which preceded it; and the new assembly had still less claim to praise. Thus the revolution degenerated. Men who had some share of honour and patriotism gave way to those who had less; and these, having taken their turn, were overpowered by the most daring and profligate incendiaries that ever infested society.

Although hints of having recourse to a republican government had been thrown out by the factious leaders, no precise scheme had been formed at their meetings: but at the first sitting of the convention, when the extinction of the monarchy was suddenly proposed by a vulgar and brutal Jacobin, it met with general assent. "It was a theatrical king, a crowned player (says Necker),

who proposed to the most illustrious of nations the abolition of real royalty,—the royalty of the house of Clovis, of Charlemagne and of Capet,—a royalty that could not be stripped, even in its fall, of the august character which fourteen centuries had impressed upon it.” The motion of Collot d’Herbois was thus worded: “Royalty is abolished in France;” and it was decreed by acclamation, consequent on an universal rising of the deputies¹.

Brissot and Roland readily concurred with Robespierre and Danton in voting for a republic; yet the separation of party was now marked. The two former politicians began to be shocked at the sanguinary spirit of the latter, and to dread the farther attempts of such villainous anarchists. Some of their adherents took an early opportunity of exposing the dictatorial and libercide aims of the two Jacobin chiefs and their accomplice Marat. Robespierre feebly defended himself; Danton boldly denied the charge; and Marat boasted of his wishes and schemes of slaughter, until some of the indignant members silenced him by force. The convention, however, tamely suffered the triumvirate to escape its immediate vengeance.

As some of the chief supporters of Brissot were representatives of the department of the Gironde², the name of Girondists became the designation of the party; and the faction of Robespierre, from sitting on the more elevated benches, received the appellation of the Mountain. The Girondists (also called Brissotins or Rolandists) formed the majority; but the minority, having a more ferocious character, and a greater skill in revolutionary *manœuvres*, pertinaciously contended for victory and pre-eminence.

The military defence of the new republic urgently required the attention of its conventional rulers; and the minister Servan was ordered to attend with zeal and diligence to all the duties of his station. The Prussians threatened Grand-Pré, and seized the important post of Croix-aux-Bois, which was soon recovered by Chazot, but was again lost. The division of the Austrian general Clairfait might now have flanked the chief position of Dumouriez; and if the duke of Brunswick had attacked him in front without delay, it is supposed that he would have been successful. The French commander, sensible of his danger, ordered Kellermann and Bournonville to join him as soon as possible, and hastened to St. Menehould. During the retreat, ten thousand of

¹ Necker, tome ii. sect. vii.

² Part of the ancient province of Guienne.

his men fled in a panic before fifteen hundred of their adversaries; but the efforts of Miranda, a brave South American, rallied the fugitives¹.

A rainy season, and a great scarcity of provisions, (for the invaders imprudently trusted, for a considerable part of their supplies, to the country through which they passed,) had seriously weakened the army of Frederic William. A dysentery and other complaints prevailed; and, in the lamentable progress of disease, discouragement could not avoid obtruding itself. The king reproached the chief emigrants with having allured him to an invasion by false representations of the state of France. The bulk of the nation, he said, supported the existing government; and the prospect of a strong co-operation in the interior was visionary. He resolved, however, to make another effort; and, when Kellermann approached the heights of Valmy, the duke of Brunswick commenced a fierce cannonade, which was warmly returned; but, on either side, the loss was not very considerable.

The duke was now posted between Paris and the French army; but the march to that capital was not so easy as some might have supposed. Various reinforcements had augmented the force of Dumouriez to fifty thousand men; and other armies were ready to march from different quarters. The Prussians were nearly in the centre of these levies, entangled in a barren country, and continued to be in want of bread, water, and forage. If they should advance toward Paris, they were exposed to the danger of being surrounded. They might gain a victory; but it might be indecisive; and a defeat might prove ruinous. Reflecting on these circumstances, the king sent colonel Manstein to treat with Dumouriez, and request him to join in promoting a counter-revolution. The general declined the hazardous proposal, but intimated a wish for a pacification with Prussia. During the conferences, the duke of Brunswick sent to Dumouriez a copy of an imperious declaration, insisting on the Sept. 28. immediate restoration of Louis to liberty, safety, and royal dignity, and declaring that a non-compliance with this demand would entail just and exemplary vengeance on the adversaries of that prince. The negotiation was now broken off by the French commander; and, two days afterward, the duke commenced a retreat².

¹ *La Vie du Général Dumouriez*, livre v. chap. 8.—*History of the Campaign of 1792*, by J. Money, maréchal-de-camp in the service of Louis XVI.

² *La Vie du Général Dumouriez*, livre v. chap. 10, 11.—*Histoire des Principaux Evénemens du Règne de Frédéric Guillaume*, tome ii.

Dumouriez remained in his camp for five days after the Prussians had retired, seemingly content with their decampment. But in his own account of his life, he represents himself as having been anxious for the ruin of the enemy, and blames Kellermann for having obstructed the execution of his orders by the recall of general Valence, who had begun to harass the retiring foe. Leaving fresh instructions for a vigorous pursuit, he returned to Paris. The pursuers were within cannon-shot of the duke's head quarters, when it was agreed that the Prussians should not be molested, if they would restore Longwy and Verdun. The count de Kalkreuth readily surrendered those towns; and the French exulted in the enforced retreat of their enemies. The forces of the emperor had obtained an advantage at the camp of Maulde; but they were baffled by the strength of Lisle, which they fiercely bombarded without the labour of investment. Instead of invading, they were now obliged to act against invaders; for the French soon directed their march into the Austrian Netherlands.

After a short continuance in Paris, Dumouriez resumed the command of the army, for the performance of a promise which he had made to both parties. He had engaged to subdue the Netherlands before the end of the year. If he could have subdued the Jacobin phalanx, he would have deserved still higher praise. He had exhorted the Girondists to form a close union with Danton, whose commanding spirit, and vigour of mind, might enable them, he said, to save the king and country from the violence of the anarchists: but, instead of courting one who might have proved a very useful auxiliary, they thwarted his views, and roused his resentment. Disgusted at their imprudence in this respect, and not pleased at their neglect of his own services, he left them to their Machiavelian intrigues and short-sighted policy¹.

With an ill-provided but numerous army, the enterprising general invaded Brabant, and advanced to Gemappe, where the Austrians, under the duke of Saxe-Teschen, were stationed on the heights. About twenty thousand men defended the post against

forty thousand. Beurnonville, with the right wing, commenced the attack; but he was so harassed by the fire of five redoubts that he made little impression. The aged Ferrand, with the left division, seemed to be so inactive, that Thouvenot was sent to supersede him; and this officer assaulted the works

¹ *Vie du Général Dumouriez*, livre vi. chap. 1.

at Quareignon with great impetuosity. The central body being thrown into disorder, the active courage of Baptiste Renard, the *valet* of the general, rallied a retiring brigade, and produced a spirited renewal of the conflict. The duke De Chartres was equally successful in restoring energy to another column of the centre; and three series of redoubts were gallantly stormed. Observing the tardy progress and the danger of Beurnonville, Dumouriez hastened to the right; and the republicans at length prevailed at every point of attack. Above three thousand of their number, and four thousand of the Austrians, may be supposed to have been killed or wounded¹.

The effect of this victory was greater than could reasonably have been expected. The French were received by the inhabitants of Mons as protectors rather than as enemies; and Dumouriez, in return for their good-will, promised not to violate the constitutional rights of the Netherland provinces. La Bourdonnaye, however, commenced at Tournay a system of violence and of spoliation, which excited loud complaints. Dumouriez, incensed at this injustice, procured the removal of the offender to Lisle, and gave the command of his division to Miranda. The whole province of Flanders was quickly seized; and that of Brabant, after the capture of Anderlecht, was weakly defended. The general entered Brussels in triumph, and superintended the formation of such an administrative body as the citizens wished to establish. Proceeding against the army of the duke of Saxe-Teschen, he prevailed in a conflict near Tillemont, and in another at Roucoux, and then obtained possession of Liege. The citadel of Antwerp had already surrendered to Miranda; and Namur was taken, after a short siege, by Valence. Roermond was also reduced; and all the Netherland provinces, except that of Luxembourg, were rapidly subdued².

The readiness of the Belgians to shake off the Austrian yoke, had encouraged the French convention to propagate a similar spirit among other communities; and a decree was promulgated, promising aid to all people who wished to procure that liberty which their rulers withheld from them. Another decree, equally arrogant, and still more subversive of the independence of foreign nations, soon followed. This edict not only ordered, in all countries invaded by French troops,

Nov. 19.

Dec. 15.

¹ *La Vie de M. Dumouriez*, livre vi. chap. 5.

² *La Vie de M. Dumouriez*, livre vi. chap. 6. 9.—*Money's History of the Campaign*, Second Part.

a suppression of the constituted authorities, an abolition of all aristocratic privileges, and a convocation of primary assemblies, but declared that the republic would consider as enemies all who, refusing the offered boon of freedom, should continue to submit to tyrants¹. Such a decree combined glaring insolence with atrocious injustice.

The French pretended to declare the Belgic territories independent; but, in the case of Savoy, they betrayed a desire of conquest. General Montesquieu was ordered to chastise the king of Sardinia, whose alliance with the royal family of France, and strong aversion to democratic principles, had induced him to grant protection to the emigrants, and promote the concert of princes. The mere invasion of Savoy was equivalent to a conquest, as the inhabitants did not resist the intruders. The city of Chamberi tamely admitted a foreign garrison: the whole province was democratized, and added to the list of French departments.

An easy success also attended the march of general Anselme, who, having passed the Var with the van of his army, summoned the governor of Montalban to surrender that fortress, and quickly obtained his wish. He then seized Villa Franca, and took Nice without opposition. The troops of the king of Sardinia had formed a line from Saorgio to Tendè; but they did not quit their entrenchments to attack the invaders, who repaired the fortifications of Nice, and acted as masters of the country. Deputies were sent to Paris, by the provisory administrators of the capital, to solicit the union of the country with the French republic: but the application was rejected, as it did not proceed from regular representatives of the people. Admiral Trogoffe was less successful. He sailed to Sardinia, and appearing before Cagliari, bombarded and pillaged that capital, but was constrained to retire without subduing the island.

Hostilities had also arisen in Germany. A considerable magazine being deposited at Spiers, for the service of the Austrian troops, lieutenant-general Custine (who had served under Rochambeau in the American war) was ordered by Biron to take possession of it, without regard to the neutrality of the empire. He soon repelled the small force stationed near the city, forced open the gates, and, after some skirmishes in the streets, overpowered all resistance. He sent two thousand five hundred prisoners into France, that they might imbibe revolutionary ideas;

¹ *Le Moniteur*.

planted the tree of liberty in the town, and exacted five hundred thousand livres from the bishop, the religious communities, and the magistrates. Influenced by the persuasions of some German malcontents, who represented Worms as an asylum of French emigrants, he sent a detachment to demand a large sum of money from the superior classes of the inhabitants; and, as they could not immediately grant the whole demand, they were obliged to give hostages for their future compliance. Hearing that Mentz was ill garrisoned, and that a great proportion of the inhabitants were disposed to assist him, he turned his arms against that city, and summoned the governor to surrender it, offering the alternative of fraternity or destruction. Not without great surprise a capitulation was speedily adjusted for a large, strong, and well garrisoned place. Oct. 21. Custine was now advised to attack Coblentz, which he might easily have reduced; but he was more inclined to improve the fortifications and the defensibility of Mentz. From motives of rapacity, however, he made an excursion to Frankfort, where he compelled the principal citizens to pay various sums, on pretence of their having favoured the emigrants. He then issued a general manifesto, addressed to the people of Germany, whom he invited to assist "a generous nation" in crushing tyrants, and establishing the reign of universal liberty. The towns which he had seized were left for some time to their former government; but this affected moderation at length gave way to a desire of assimilating the administration to that of France; and municipalities were formed by his direction¹.

The success of Custine in Germany encouraged the assembly to aim at farther conquests: but its present attention was chiefly devoted to the unjust process against the deposed representative of the house of Bourbon. When it was proposed that he should be tried for his offences against the state, Robespierre and other Jacobins denied the necessity of a trial, alleging that his criminality was by no means doubtful, and that immediate condemnation was the proper treatment of a tyrant. But the Girondists, while they admitted his guilt, insisted on a previous inquiry.

Before the commencement of the process, the leaders of the Gironde party had an opportunity of crushing the king's chief adversaries, if energy of character had accompanied their oratorical talents. Information of the violent schemes and arbitrary

¹ *Mémoires Posthumes du Général François, Comte de Custine.*

views of Robespierre being communicated to the convention, in a memorial from Roland, he declared that every part of the charge was calumnious, and that no member would dare to accuse him to his face. A short and slender figure, with a pale countenance, fixed his indignant eyes on the sanguinary dictator, and exclaimed, "I dare accuse you." Robespierre, appalled by the boldness of this member, and the murmurs of the deputies, retired from the *tribune*; and, Danton having in vain endeavoured to prevent Louvet from being heard, this accuser traced the progress of the demagogue from his first appearance in the Jacobin club, detailed his arts for the establishment of his influence, imputed to his instigation the massacre of the prisoners, and reproached him with aiming at the proscription of the true friends of the republic. If Pethion, Guadet, and Vergniaud, had answered Louvet's repeated calls, and had boldly declared what they knew of the enormities of the pretended patriot, he and Danton, in all probability, would have been instantly arrested. But the assembly gratified Robespierre with a week's delay; and, in the mean time, he strengthened his interest by intrigue and by intimidation. On the day assigned for his defence, he filled the gallery with his partisans of both sexes. In an artful harangue, he vindicated his patriotism, calumniated his adversaries, ridiculed the idea of his endeavouring to make himself a dictator, and apologized for some acts of popular outrage, as the usual concomitants of great revolutions, but denied that he had any concern in the death of the prisoners. The timid Girondists, affecting to think that Robespierre, even if the charges should be relinquished, would be so disgraced as to lose his influence, suffered him to escape by passing to the order of the day; an instance of weakness which proved them to be unfit to contend with the Jacobin faction¹.

Thus encouraged by the imbecility of their opponents, the Jacobins prepared to wreak their vengeance on the royal prisoner. When the enunciation of facts (or the indictment) had been read, Barrère, the president, said to the king, "Louis,
 Dec. 11. you are accused by the French nation of having committed a multitude of crimes for the purpose of re-establishing your tyranny by the destruction of liberty. Soon after the meeting of the states-general, you encroached on the sovereignty of the people by suspending the assemblies of their representatives; you presented two declarations subversive of

¹ *Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire et le Récit de mes Périls*, par J. B. Louvet.

all liberty; you ordered troops to march against the citizens of Paris, and did not withdraw your army before the transactions at the Bastille had announced that the people were victorious.” —“No existing laws,” replied Louis, “prohibited me from acting as I did. I had no wish to injure my subjects, no intention of shedding their blood.” —“You eluded for a long time,” said the president, “the execution of the decrees for the abolition of personal servitude, of tithes, and of feudal usages and claims: you long refused to agree to the declaration of the rights of man: you augmented the number of your guards, and suffered them in their orgies to blaspheme the nation: you gave occasion for a new insurrection: you took, at the confederation, an oath which you did not observe; and you encouraged Mirabeau to project a counter-revolution.” —“These points and incidents, if true,” said the king, “were anterior to my acceptance of the constitution¹.” The flight from Paris being adduced as a weighty charge against Louis, he did not specifically vindicate himself from it, but merely referred to the answers which he had given on that subject to the constituent assembly. To a conspiracy on his part the effusion of blood in the Champ de Mars was imputed; and it was affirmed, that he had paid enormous sums for journals and pamphlets, to discredit the *assignats*, support the cause of the emigrants, and check the progress of liberty. These charges he disclaimed, as well as the imputation of having connived at counter-revolutionary disturbances at Nîmes and other places. When his silence with regard to the convention of Pilnitz was represented as criminal, he replied, that he had given notice of it as soon as it came to his knowledge, and that his ministers, by the constitution, were responsible for it. He was accused of having sent money for the use of the *ci-devant gardes-du-corps*, and also to M. de Bouillé and other enemies of the revolution. To the guards, he said, he had discontinued his remittances as soon as he was informed of their being embodied on the right bank of the Rhine; and of the latter part of the charge he had no consciousness or recollection. An alleged correspondence with his brothers, subsequent to the enactment of the constitution, he disavowed. The imputed neglect of the military and naval service he denied. A concurrence in the coalition of foreign powers against France, an encouragement of refractory priests and fanatics, and attempts to suborn many of the deputies, were asserted, not proved, against

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Française*, chap. 5.

him. His non-confirmation of various decrees he justified by his own sense of their impropriety or inutility, and by his allowed constitutional prerogative. On the subject of the defence of his palace, he mentioned it as his duty to take some measures of precaution, when it was threatened with an attack. He certainly was not answerable for the effects of a conflict which he earnestly wished to avoid. Of a great number of papers shown to him by order of the president, he declared that he had no knowledge: and some which he had before seen, contained no proofs of his criminality.

Three persons of respectability were allowed to plead in behalf of the accused prince. M. De Seze entered fully into every part of the subject, and demonstrated the invalidity and
 Dec. 26. injustice of the charges. Louis then rose, and said, with some emotion, "As you have thus been informed of the grounds of my vindication, it is unnecessary for me to re-state them. In addressing you, perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience does not reproach me with any crime, and that my advocates have not transgressed the bounds of truth. I have never been unwilling to submit my whole conduct to public examination: but my feelings have been particularly wounded by finding, in the act of accusation, that I am charged with being eager or ready to shed the blood of my people, and that the misfortunes of the 10th of August are attributed to my aggression. The multiplied proofs of my regard for my people, and the whole course of my behaviour and conduct, would, I thought, have convinced every one, that I would have risked my own safety to spare their blood, and ought to have shielded me against such an imputation."

Unmoved by this affecting appeal, Duhem proposed that the convention should instantly do justice, and that the members should individually answer the question, whether Louis should, or should not, be punished with death. Lanjuinais, very properly, advised a reference to the primary assemblies. After a tumultuous debate, it was resolved that the discussion should be opened without delay, and continued in preference to ordinary business. Vergniaud and other eloquent members denied the competency of legislators to act as judges: but their arguments had not sufficient weight with the assembly. It was voted, that
 A. D. the national representatives should judge the important
 1793. cause, determine the propriety or expediency of an appeal to the people, and fix the mode of punishment.

The first question was thus stated: Is Louis guilty of treason

against the nation, and of a conspiracy against the safety of the state? The names of the deputies being called Jan. 15. over according to the order of the departments, some delivered to the secretaries their written opinions; others, mounting the tribune, orally stated their sentiments. Fauchet, a constitutional bishop, said, "As a citizen and legislator, I answer the question in the affirmative: but, as a judge, I am not competent to determine." Du Bois du Bais declared that Louis was guilty; but he did not consider the convention as authorized to decide upon his fate. Taveau said, "He has drawn our enemies upon us; they have ravaged our frontiers; fifty thousand Frenchmen have lost their lives; I therefore pronounce him guilty." Of his criminality Chambon had no doubt: Salicetti, the Corsican, declared against him, thinking that, as a citizen, he was bound so to determine; Giroust voted to the same purpose, as a legislator; Le Maréchal, from a regard for the public safety; and Pelet, as a member of a legislative and political body, gave a similar suffrage. Osselin thus commenced the declaration which he signed: "Among the serious charges against Louis I have particularly noticed that which relates to the pay allowed by him to his guard, though it has been disbanded, and though almost all the individuals who composed it had not merely emigrated, but were employed at Coblenz or had enlisted in the hostile army." De la Haye said, "I read upon the walls of Paris these words, traced with the blood of our brethren,—*Louis is guilty*." Noel, though he had lost a son by the war, declared that "he could not act as a judge of one who might be considered as the principal author of that death which he lamented¹." After these and other speeches, the unfortunate prince was stigmatized as guilty by the votes of six hundred and eighty-three members, while only thirty-seven of those who were present were inclined to think more favourably of his conduct.

The second question was, whether an appeal should be made to the people on the momentous subject. Dubois Crancé exclaimed, "Such an appeal is treason against the nation!" Baudin more properly remarked, that four years of experience in the primary assemblies compelled him to vote for a reference to the body of the nation. Rabaut de St. Etienne said, "I am convinced that the people did not intend to confer on their representatives the functions of accuser, judge, and juror; and as no insults or menaces shall ever deter me from doing my duty, I

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Française*, chap. 10.

boldly vote for the affirmative." Ysarn Valadi, with equal boldness, said, "I am neither the friend of kings nor the infamous tool of any of the ambitious incendiaries who surround us. On great occasions, the judicial power ought to revert to its source, in a regenerated community: let us now begin the practice." Barbaroux thus spoke: "The oath which I took in an electoral assembly to judge Louis Capet, does not exclude the sanction of the people. I therefore vote for that sanction, because it is time that the people of all the departments should exercise their aggregate sovereignty, and, by the manifestation of their supreme will, crush a faction in the midst of which I perceive Philip of Orleans, and which I denounce to the republic, coolly devoting myself to the poignards of its murderous members. At the same time, I declare that the tyrant is odious to me; that I strenuously co-operated for his dethronement; and that I will doom him to the severest punishment." Deperret voted for the appeal, out of respect for the people, and also because he saw a Cromwell behind the curtain¹.

La Rivière said, "As a statement of reasons or motives would weaken a self-evident proposition, I announce my wish merely by saying *aye* to the question." Milhaud represented the sovereignty of nature as paramount to that of the people, who had no right to pardon tyrants. Even if a national declaration should authorize impunity to a royal delinquent, nature, he said, would reserve to every citizen the right of imitating the example of Brutus. The short speech of the ferocious Carrier was to this effect: "As I fear no one, and can arm myself against a future tyrant, whatever denomination he may assume, I say *no*." Bellegarde excited a laugh by saying, "With all possible force of *affirmation*, I maintain the *negative*." Bernard thought that the crime and the criminal would be too much honoured, if the people should be required to meet for the purpose of judging Louis. "The best mode of doing homage to the sovereignty of the people," said Julien, "is to exercise it ourselves for the preservation of the republic." Vallée said, that the people could not conveniently try Louis in a judicial way, but might easily determine what steps ought to be taken after conviction. Pethion wished, for the sake of the public tranquillity, that the votes which should prevail in this question might be much more numerous than he apprehended they would prove to be. He added, that an appeal ought to be adopted. The words of Lanjuinais

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. 11.

were, "I say *yes*, if you condemn Louis to death; in the contrary case, I say *no*."

Louvet voted for the proposed reference, because it was not a judicial act upon which the people were to be consulted, but only a measure of general safety. "I am of opinion," said Salle, "that the only method of giving to the people an attitude truly republican, is to demand their interference in this cause." Lequinio resisted the appeal, because foreign powers were likely to take advantage of it, for the propagation of discord. Poultier said, "If I wished for the revival of royalty, I would say *yes*: but as I am a republican, I say *no*." Aoust gave the same vote, because the revolution was not completed. Massieu alleged, as a reason for his negative, an apprehension of the effect of English guineas, German florins, and Spanish piastres, and also a dread of civil war. Anacharsis Cloots, a Prussian enthusiast, said, "I know no other sovereign than the human race: that is, universal reason. I say *no*."

Bourdon de l'Oise argued, that as a judgment was an application of the law, and the law was the general will, it would be ridiculous to have recourse to the sovereign power for the application of its own already-understood will. Manuel said, "As much for the honour as for the safety of the people, I demand their sanction." Marat accused the advocates for the appeal of being the tyrant's accomplices; but Bancal said, that as individual wills were contending against the general will, the only means of extinguishing such factious contests would be an appeal to the will of the nation; that, as a more serious war than that of the preceding year was approaching, the people, to support it, must rise in a body; that a sense of this danger would tend to strengthen the national union and the indivisibility of the republic; but that no danger would attend the consultation of the primary assemblies on the fate of Louis. Biroteau, dreading the attempts of ambitious men to rise upon the fall of Louis to individual power, and having a better opinion of the people than to suppose that the majority were either aristocrats or factious men, wished for the appeal. "Justice, reason, and policy," said Laurent, "require that we should definitively judge Louis."

Gorsas pointedly observed, that, as royalty and faction could not be legally or effectually swept away from the territory of the republic, before the people had declared that they would neither have kings nor factions, nor be subject to any species of tyranny,—as the mere idea of an eventual civil war from an appeal was an insult to the nation,—as such a reference would, on the con-

trary, be a due homage to that sovereignty which he much more sincerely and cordially acknowledged than those who had the phrase continually in their mouths,—and as, amidst the dangers of anarchy, it was a mark of courage to give a vote contradictory to the wishes and destructive of the aims of anarchists,—he insisted on the subjection of the case to popular deliberation.

Being of opinion that the people ought never to act as judges, Boileau affected to prophesy, that if the convention should appeal to them, they would be seduced by aristocratic intrigues to exercise an indulgence which might have ruinous consequences; that anarchy would thus be prolonged; that the precinct of the Temple would be the garden of the Hesperides; Louis would be the golden fleece; and all the aristocrats, at home and abroad, would incessantly endeavour, like so many Argonauts, to obtain the prize, to the mischievous annoyance of good citizens.

When the numbers were reckoned, it appeared that the violent party had a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine; not so ample as to be sufficient for the honourable attainment of its purpose, but adequate to the accomplishment of its sinister views. The votes were four hundred and twenty-five against the appeal, and two hundred and eighty-six for it.

The mode of punishment formed the third question. Royer thus commenced the debate: “The result of deliberation I respect, whatever the opinion may be. In abolishing royalty, we have decreed the unity and indivisibility of the republic; we have recognised the sovereignty of the people; we have demanded their sanction to the constitution. I was inclined to think that my duty to my constituents required me to consult them upon the judgment which we are going to pronounce: but as you have not allowed such an appeal, I vote for the confinement of Louis during the war, and for his banishment at the return of peace.” Condorcet said, “Death is the usual punishment of conspirators; but, as such a sentence is repugnant to my principles, I never will concur in it. For detention I cannot vote, as there is no law for it. I therefore propose the infliction of the severest punishment in the penal code that cannot affect life.” Dupin agreed to this proposition, from a dread of the factious convulsions which would follow the capital condemnation of Louis. Serres exclaimed, “I love my country; I hate tyrants; and I have a conscience. Thus impelled, I vote for imprisonment and subsequent exile.” Saint Martin said, “I am content that Louis should live, because his pretensions to royalty will not be dangerous while they rest on

that contemptible head. Let him remain a prisoner." Gaston said, "In my opinion, reason, justice, humanity, the laws, Heaven, and earth, condemn Louis to death." Rabaut recommended detention and banishment, because the example of a tyrant suffered to live in ignominy would afford a more instructive lesson to the world than that of his death. "I wish to display to my countrymen," he added, "not the ferocity of a murderous tiger, but the disdainful courage of a lion." Louchet, boasting of his conscientious regard for justice and the public interest, proposed that Louis should be put to death within twenty-four hours. Duprat voted for the death of *the traitor*. Barbaroux, beside concurring in that vote, wished for the expulsion of the whole family of Bourbon. Dumont thought, that the execution of Louis would provoke a dangerous war, and that it was politic to keep him as a hostage for the neutrality of Great Britain, Holland, and Spain¹.

No punishment less severe than death seemed to Bazire to promise tranquillity to the republic. Lindet protested against moderation, as only serving to embolden tyrants, and lead to mischief; and De la Croix reprobated that partiality which would save a royal offender, and condemn an ordinary conspirator.

Brissot lamented the rejection of the motion of appeal, saying, "The evil genius which influenced the majority so to vote has prepared incalculable mischiefs for France." He proceeded to observe, that in confinement he saw the germ of troubles, and, in a sentence of death, the signal of a dreadful war, which might be prevented by an appeal to the people, as the tyrants would be constrained to respect a judgment sanctioned by a whole nation. He had long reflected on that kind of punishment which would most effectually tend to unite justice with the public interest; and he was inclined to vote for death, with the proviso suggested by Louvet, that it should be postponed until the people should have accepted the new constitution. This suspension, he thought, would put the judgment of the convention under the national shield, give it an air of disinterestedness and magnanimity, and secure to it that weight and sanction which would tend to allay internal commotions, and repel external insults and injuries. "My opinion," he added, "will be calumniated; but I will answer all calumnies by an irreproachable life, by

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. 12.

honourable poverty, and by an indefatigable zeal for the maintenance of a system of order, without which a republic is only a den of *brigands*. Upon this point I insist: if we do not extirpate that disorganising principle which now assails us, the republic will soon cease to exist."

Vergniaud and Guadet admitted that death was the punishment decreed by law for the offences of which Louis had been guilty; but both concurred with Mailhe in recommending a subsequent deliberation of the assembly on the expediency of enforcing, or suspending, the execution of such a sentence. Cambacères wished for a suspension until hostilities should cease; but, if France should be actually invaded, he was willing to acquiesce in an immediate enforcement of the law.

The opinion of Robespierre was anticipated by every one. He ridiculed that distinction between a judge and a representative politician which found an individual guilty, and would yet forbear to inflict merited punishment. "I cannot," he added, "so far outrage reason and justice as to deem the life of a despot more valuable than that of a simple citizen, or torture my understanding to devise the means of rescuing the greatest of criminals from the punishment pronounced by law for offences comparatively trivial. I am inflexible toward oppressors, because I feel compassion for the oppressed. I am not inspired with that kind of humanity which puts the people to death, and spares the lives of despots. No dread of the appearance of future or unknown tyrants ought to prevent me from condemning one who has been convicted by an almost unanimous assembly. Real or imaginary factions are no reasons for sparing him; for such indulgence tends rather to multiply them. I advise you, in the first place, to crush the king's faction, and, secondly, to erect and consolidate the republican edifice upon the ruin of anti-popular parties."

Danton would allow no compromise with a tyrant; Collot D'Herbois affirmed, that the death for which he conscientiously voted would be the means of destroying all factions: Camille des Moulins hinted, that the sentence which he hoped would now be pronounced would be too late for the honour of the convention; an unfeeling and illiberal insinuation, for which he was called to order by some of his indignant hearers. M. Egalité (for the duke of Orleans had assumed that name) said, "Solely intent on my duty, and convinced that all who invade and counteract the sovereignty of the people deserve death, I vote for the

infliction of that punishment." The cool barbarity of this betrayer of his family shocked every moderate member of the convention.

"If the manners of the French," said Barrère, "were sufficiently mild, and public education sufficiently perfected, to admit a high improvement of social institutions, I would vote for the abolition of capital punishment, and give an opinion less barbarous than that which the existing law now obliges me to pronounce." It may here be remarked, that the blood-thirsty Robespierre had hypocritically proposed to the constituent assembly that abolition which some humane philosophers have recommended. "By natural as well as positive law," Barrère added, "he who unjustly causes human blood to flow is deemed a proper object of exemplary and capital severity. To this consideration I sacrifice the mildness of my private sentiments¹."

"Faithful to the declaration of rights," said Ferraud, "I vote for death."—Chasset did not concur in the policy of such a sentence, however just it might be; and he therefore recommended the confinement of Louis to the end of the war. Patrin affirmed, with an unfeeling disregard to truth, that the accused prince had deserved death a thousand times; but, he added, that, as the misfortunes and innocence of the son might render him an object of compassion and interest after the father's death, it would be prudent to avoid the infliction of capital punishment. The clerical revolutionist Sieyes, the metaphysical advocate of the rights of man, voted for death *sans phrase*, without entering into any discussion. Pocholle, adverting to the apprehended attempts of some ambitious man to acquire the sovereignty after the death of Louis, could not conceive how the chastisement of a tyrant could operate as an encouragement to usurpation; nor could he believe that the French would be so mean as to submit to a new tyrant, when they still shuddered at the recollection of their slavery.

The votes being calculated, it was announced that three hundred and sixty-five members had voted absolutely for death, thirty-five for the same punishment conditionally, and three hundred and twenty-one for detention. This calculation being deemed inaccurate by some members, all were required to repeat their suffrages; and it then appeared, that three hundred and sixty-one (or according to some accounts, three hundred and

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. 12.

sixty-six) voted peremptorily for death, out of seven hundred and twenty-one deputies who were present¹. When the president had pronounced the fatal judgment, a respite was demanded, and the debates were renewed with spirit.

It was urged by Condorcet, that prudence and policy required a suspension of the enforcement of the severe decree, as the despots who were unfriendly to the revolution would be enabled, by the horror which an act of regicide would excite, to injure the new republic. Casenave said, that such an act would not only be the signal for intestine convulsions, but for the hostile movements of all Europe. Barbaroux, on the other hand, maintained that, as the decree had been pronounced, it ought to be carried into effect without delay; for the desired respite would not save France from the intended hostilities of the powers that detested her revolution; and Thuriot strongly opposed a respite, as it might afford to the tyrant the means of escape.

Buzot called the attention of the assembly to a point which he thought highly important. No decision, he justly observed, ought to prevail in a case of death, unless it should be pronounced by a much more considerable majority than that which the ascertained calculation of votes exhibited. He hinted that, if every member had been uninfluenced by faction and unawed by terror, even the small majority against Louis would not have been obtained. Brissot called for a respite, not only because the death of the *ci-devant* king would be useless to the cause of liberty, but because it would give the tyrants of Europe an opportunity of rendering the war popular among their subjects. Thomas Paine, whose republican zeal had procured for an English outlaw a seat among the representatives of France, did not think that the interest of the new government required the death of Louis. Liberty, in his opinion, would be more effectually promoted by humanity, moderation, and magnanimity, than by vindictive rigour or cruelty. He did not wish for a formal appeal to the primary assemblies on the subject; but as a new constitution would soon be offered for general acceptance, and a new national assembly, acquainted with the sentiments of the people, would succeed, the important affair might then be regularly de-

¹ For detention and banishment on the conclusion of peace, or for immediate exile, or for perpetual imprisonment, with a proviso (from many of the deputies) for the infliction of death if the country should be invaded, two hundred and eighty-eight votes were given, and seventy-two decreed death, but with a respite.

cided. Barrère professed to argue the case coolly ; and he counteracted, with unfeeling ease, all suspension of the decreed punishment¹.

The votes for a speedy execution of the sentence amounted to three hundred and eighty ; while those for Jan. 19. a postponement to various periods did not exceed three hundred and ten. It was then ordered, that the result of these proceedings should be intimated to Louis, and that he should suffer death within twenty-four hours after the notification. M. De Seze now presented a written appeal from his royal master to the nation, against that judgment of its representatives which imputed to him such crimes as he was not conscious of having committed. The paper was read, without making the desired impression. De Seze contended for the propriety of attending to so reasonable a request ; and, adverting to the small majority, maintained that, as the penal code required the concurrence of three-fourths of the jurors in a verdict against an ordinary individual, there ought at least to be as great a majority in the present case. Malesherbes also wished to call the assembly to a sense of justice ; but he found himself so confused, that he requested to be heard at the next sitting, as his ideas would by that time be methodized and matured. Robespierre pardoned the zeal of the defenders of Louis, but declared that the decree was irrevocable, and ought not for a moment to be called in question. A reference to the people, beside being unnecessary, appeared to him to be pregnant with mischief. "I therefore desire, citizens, (said he) that you will reject the pretended appeal now intimated to you, as repugnant to the true principles of public power, to the rights of the nation, and the authority of popular representatives ; and that you will prohibit every person whatever from the prosecution of it, on pain of being brought to justice as a disturber of the general tranquillity." Guadet opposed the appeal, as leading to an entire revision of the process. The tribunal which had already pronounced a verdict of guilt could have no superior, he said, in the hierarchy of judicial order. No ratification was requisite ; yet the affair of the majority might be re-considered. The appeal was disallowed, and no farther hearing granted to the defenders of Louis².

M. De Malesherbes, from whom Louis expected an account of the proceedings against him, threw himself with a melancholy

¹ *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. 13.

² *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. 14.

aspect at the feet of the deposed prince, unable from emotion to speak. At length he said, "The fatal judgment cannot be concealed from you."—"It is well," replied Louis; "I am no longer in suspense." When Cléry, his faithful *valet*, expressed a hope that the sentence might be superseded, he said, "I do not amuse myself with hopes; but I am shocked to think that one of my own relatives could be induced to vote for my death." Cléry observed, that the people in general condemned the infamous conduct of M. D'Orleans, that loud clamours had arisen in the city against the convention, and that a popular insurrection seemed to be threatened. "I deprecate," said Louis, "such a calamity; for then there will be new victims. For myself, I am not alarmed at the prospect of death; but I cannot think, without horror, of the sufferings to which my family, and all who are attached to me, will be exposed. The people, I foresee, will be a prey to anarchy, will become the victims of every faction; crimes will succeed crimes; and France will be convulsed with long dissensions. My God! is this the reward for all my sacrifices, for all my endeavours to ensure the happiness of the nation¹?"

The late decrees of the convention being announced to Louis by the executive council, the charge of conspiring against the people excited on his countenance a smile of contempt. He heard without emotion the denunciation of death; and, having in vain requested a delay of three days, coolly prepared for his fate. With his family he had an affectionate and mournful interview, and he promised to renew it in the morning; but his afflicted wife, his sister, and his children, saw him no more. He slept calmly for some hours, rose early, sent for his confessor Edgeworth, and performed devotional exercises.

Paris resounded with the beat of drums, the clash of arms, and the bustle of preparation. The gates of the Temple were opened: the commandant Santerre entered with a party of soldiers and some municipal officers. Passing slowly in a carriage through streets lined with troops, the devoted victim arrived with his confessor at the *Place de Louis XV.*, or (as newly styled) the Square of the Revolution. As soon as he had alighted, he sternly ordered the drummers to desist; they obeyed, but resumed their employment at the more authoritative command of Santerre. Finding that he could not be heard,

¹ *Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple, pendant la Captivité de Louis XVI. par M. Cléry.*

he exclaimed, "What treason! I am ruined!" He knelt down to receive the last blessing from the priest, and then with a firm step mounted the scaffold. He seemed to feel a sudden shock when one of the executioners began to bind his hands; but, recovering himself, he said, "You may do whatever you please." He then made a signal for a cessation of drumming, and said, in a spirited tone, "I die perfectly innocent of all the pretended crimes of which I am accused. I forgive those who have caused my misfortunes. I even hope that the effusion of my blood will contribute to the happiness of France¹. And you, unfortunate people"—The progress of his speech was stopped by the brutal commandant, who called out, "I brought you hither not to harangue, but to die." The drums again thundered: the executioners rudely took hold of him, and fixed him upon the plank; and he was instantly decapitated.

The murder of Louis excited general horror. Despotical princes would have inveighed against the atrocity of the act, even if the royal sufferer had been a blood-thirsty tyrant: but all governments concurred in condemning the conduct of the regicides. The voice of detestation, however, did not check the career of the sanguinary faction; nor did the Girondists, whose want of spirit had given the Jacobins an opportunity of triumphing over the king, neglect the means of vigorous hostility, as they foresaw that the war would soon be extended. They concluded, from the dismissal of Chauvelin, that the indignation of his Britannic majesty against revolutionary regicides would prompt him to take arms, and therefore resolved to accelerate what they could not long prevent.

A report from the committee of general defence, respecting the conduct of the British court, was presented to the convention by Brissot, who, inveighing against the inimical spirit and hostile views of his majesty and the prince of Orange, and enumerating their various "acts of aggression," proposed a declaration of war on the ground of self-defence. The Feb. 1. proposal was received with applause, and a consequent decree promulgated².

The court of Madrid, which had interceded in behalf of Louis, now manifested an inclination to take arms against the French.

¹ "Je meurs parfaitement innocent de tous les prétendus crimes dont on m'a chargé. Je pardonne à ceux qui sont la cause de mes infortunes. J'espère même que l'effusion de mon sang contribuera au bonheur de la France." *Histoire du dernier Règne*, chap. 15.

² See the remarks on the question of aggression, in Letter X.

Mar. 7. It was therefore declared by the convention, that "the republic was at war with the king of Spain;" and strict orders were given to the executive council to repel every aggression, and support the dignity and interest of the nation.

Amidst the contests of party, a conspiracy was at this time formed, of which different accounts have been given. It has been severally attributed to the royalists, to the Brissotins, to the Jacobins: but it appears to have been contrived by the last of these factions and by the Cordeliers, who wished for the speedy overthrow of the Girondists. An insurrection for that purpose was intended to commence at Paris, and it was to be diffused among the departments, wherever the adherents of Brissot had the chief power. Some movements were made by the conspirators; but the ministers were upon their guard, troops were ready for defence, and the violent scheme proved abortive¹.

To the influence of the Jacobins, who had not so matured this conspiracy as to render it effectual, may be ascribed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal, from which no appeal was allowed. It was decreed that the judges of this court, as well as the public accuser, should be appointed by the convention, and that the verdict in every trial should be pronounced by twelve jurors or three substitutes.

By the interest of the Gironde party, an order was soon after procured from the convention, for the arrest of the members of a committee self-styled that of *insurrection*. The object of this decree was well understood, but Garat pretended that no such committee existed. He had not the courage or (as he says) the means of arresting the Jacobin club, to which the order evidently referred. That club, indeed, and its extensive ramifications, had shot forth with such potent luxuriance, as to defy all attempts at eradication, except from hearts and hands endued with the most determined vigour.

¹ *Mémoires sur la Révolution*, par J. D. Garat.

LETTER X.

A View of the Affairs of Great Britain, from the Peace of 1783, to the Commencement of the War, in 1793, between that Kingdom and the French Republic.

THE articles of peace were condemned by the spirit of party, rather than by unbiassed reason and argument. The aspiring Fox had formed a coalition with lord North, that he might force his way into the cabinet. He became the friend of one whom he had frequently called the enemy of his country, and was glad to profit by the assistance of men who had shown themselves unfriendly to the liberties of the people, and to that constitution which he professed to admire. The two factions which thus coalesced against the Shelburne party, vilified the preliminary treaty; and, by procuring a majority in the house of commons, constrained the king to discard the ministers who had superintended the negotiation. It may here be observed, that the peace of the year 1763 was inadequate to the success of the war which preceded it; that of the year 1783 was less censurable, because it followed an ill-conducted and unfortunate war.

The successor of lord Shelburne was the duke of Portland¹. Lord John Cavendish regained his former post, Mr. Fox and lord North were the two secretaries of state, and lord Stormont was appointed president of the council. The duke of Manchester was sent to France to conclude definitive treaties on the basis of the preliminaries; for the new ministers thought themselves bound to adhere even to articles which they highly disapproved. The prohibitions of trade with the inhabitants of the thirteen provinces were revoked; and the king was authorized to regulate the intercourse.

The new ministry paid little attention to those objects of

¹ Above five weeks elapsed from the condemnation of the peace, before his majesty sanctioned the arrangements proposed by Mr. Fox; and the party found it necessary to vote an address, requesting that the king would take into his serious consideration "the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, after a long and exhausting war," and comply with the wishes of the house, "by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of the people." As the royal answer was not sufficiently explicit, the earl of Surrey proposed an address couched in more forcible and peremptory terms; to which the majority would have agreed, if it had not been hinted that the sovereign was on the point of yielding to the desire of the house.

reform which Mr. Fox and his party had frequently represented as necessary. A bill was enacted for the regulation of the exchequer by a reduction of salaries and perquisites; but its tendency to a diminution of the influence of the crown was very inconsiderable. A more general bill of reform was introduced by Mr. Pitt; but, though it was suffered to pass through the house of commons, it did not so far obtain the support of the cabinet, as to make its way through the upper house.

A great share of ministerial attention was devoted to the affairs of British India. The government of that country, and the management of the concerns of the company, required a change of system to secure the establishment. To prevent the mischiefs which might flow from the unrestrained career of the directors, Mr. Fox proposed that the authority of those incapable managers should be suspended, and that commissioners appointed by the parliament should enjoy full power of superintendence and control. The scheme being adopted by the cabinet, two bills were submitted to the consideration of both houses. One prescribed a variety of regulations for the conduct of the governors of India and the other servants of the company; while the second transferred, to seven friends of the ministry¹, a degree of power which ambition might envy, and provided for their continuance in the directorial functions during four years, without the risk of being superseded, unless an address should be voted by either house, requesting the king to dismiss them.

The opponents of the coalition attacked, with great asperity, the bill which thus encroached on the rights of the company. They inveighed against what they termed the bold iniquity and dangerous ambition of the minister, who wished to disfranchise a chartered body without proof of guilt, and to secure to himself an extent of power and patronage which might enable him to overawe his sovereign. These points were urged with great eloquence, but not with such effect as to convince the majority of the impropriety of suspending the operation of a charter which had been grossly abused (particularly one which, by the grant of a monopoly, interfered with general rights), or to excite an apprehension that the balance of constitutional power would be lost. The bill, being voted by a majority of one hundred and six, was sent to the peers; by whom, though it was strongly supported by many

¹ Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Frederic Montagu, lord Lewisham, sir Gilbert Elliot, sir Henry Fletcher, Mr. Robert Gregory, and the eldest son of lord North.

respectable members of their house, it was rejected as a violent measure¹. As it was known that the declared opinion of the king, on the subject of this bill, had principally occasioned its failure, the advocates for the scheme resolved to stigmatize a conduct which was deemed hostile to the spirit of the constitution; and, by a considerable majority, a vote of censure was pronounced. The courtier who had privately reported the opinion of his sovereign was earl Temple, who at the same time advised that Mr. Pitt should be taken into his majesty's service.

Disgusted at the proceedings of Mr. Fox and lord North, the king sent a messenger to require their instant resignation; and the marquis of Caermarthen and Mr. Townshend (created baron Sydney) were the new secretaries. Lord Thurlow, who had warmly opposed the India bill, was again declared chancellor of the realm, and earl Gower was placed at the head of the privy council; while the eloquent son of the great earl of Chatham was appointed to the direction of the treasury, and to the chief management of the national affairs, though he was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

The leaders of the coalition, confiding in their parliamentary strength, resolved to obstruct the career of their rivals by spirited and vigorous efforts. They procured, from the majority of the commons, an address against a prorogation or dissolution of the parliament. The business of the treasury was impeded by A.D. restrictive votes; the bill against mutiny was deferred; a 1784. bill framed by Mr. Pitt, for the better government of British India, was exploded; and strong resolutions were fulminated against the court, for encouraging ministers who did not enjoy the confidence of an assembly that represented the nation and spoke the sense of the people. But as the king found that the house did not, on this occasion, utter the popular voice, he firmly resisted every application for a change; and his perseverance subdued the spirit of his adversaries, who did not dare to withhold the supplies requisite for the public service. The strength of the party, although the number of its supporters had gradually declined during the contest, appeared to the court to be sufficiently formidable to require an appeal to the people; and, when a dissolution had resulted from the lawful exercise of the prerogative, so many of the friends of the two discarded secretaries were succeeded by politicians of the opposite party, that Mr. Pitt

¹ The difference of votes did not exceed nineteen, ninety-five being against the bill, and seventy-six for it.

considered himself as securely established in the plenitude of power.

After a tumultuous contest for Westminster, Mr. Fox would have been excluded from the house by a scrutiny which one of his opponents demanded, if an admiration of his abilities and supposed patriotism had not procured for him the unexpected honour of being elected for some associated boroughs in North Britain. He accused Mr. Pitt of having endeavoured to disgrace him from motives of malignant animosity, and the debates on the subject were embittered by the acrimony of reproach. Ashamed of the prolongation of the scrutiny, the house (but not before the next year) ordered the high bailiff to close it; and, in the return signed by that officer, Mr. Fox was declared member with sir Samuel Hood, who had acquired fame and an Irish peerage by his exertions in the West Indies.

The chief points stated in the royal speech, at the opening of the session, were these;—the expediency of checking “the alarming progress of frauds in the revenue,” and the propriety of adjusting the affairs of the India company.

To the repression of clandestine trade three statutes were directed. One of these acts allowed the officers of the revenue to make seizures as far as six leagues from the coast, and restricted the building and arming of vessels. By another bill, the duties on British spirits, and on those which might be imported from the West Indies, were so modified as to render smuggling less likely to be risked; and, by the third act, tea, the favourite beverage of the nation, was only taxed in a comparatively small degree: but the people were obliged to pay for this reduction of duty, as, in lieu of it, the admission of the common benefit of light into a house was additionally charged. These measures had a considerable effect in checking fraudulent evasions of duty.

The India bill of reform was strongly contested, but it triumphed over all opposition. It seems to have been the original wish of Mr. Pitt to transfer to the crown the influence which Mr. Fox would have given to the two houses, and to render the company entirely dependent on ministerial commissioners appointed by the king; but he condescended, on farther consideration, to allow the directors some degree of power, in addition to the management of commercial affairs¹.

¹ But, from the declaratory bill of 1788, it appears that he did not really intend to allow them even the power of refusing to pay for what they did not authorize or approve.

The disordered state of Ireland demanding the king's attention, the minister proposed that the two nations should be more closely connected by commercial ties than they already were. The people of the western realm had not derived that rapid benefit which they expected from the indulgences allowed to them, in point of trade, in the year 1779. Artisans complained of a deficiency of employment; and agreements were concluded against the importation of British manufactures. The embarrassments still continuing, propositions were framed for as close a conjunction of commercial interests as the difference of particular circumstances would permit. The Irish house of A. D. commons voted ten resolutions on this subject; the first 1785. of which imported, that "the trade between Great Britain and Ireland should be encouraged and extended as much as possible, and the intercourse and commerce be finally regulated and settled, on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries." In the nine articles founded on this basis, the outlines of the scheme were given; and Mr. Pitt afterwards developed the plan to the representatives of the British nation. It was opposed by our merchants and manufacturers, as being too favourable to the Irish, who would be enabled to undersell them both at home and abroad; and the anti-ministerial party unreasonably declaimed against an additional article which required that the British laws, both old and new, for regulating trade and navigation, if they operated equally on the subjects of each realm, should also have validity in Ireland, on being re-enacted by the parliament of that kingdom. Although this stipulation was the fair result of a system of commercial equality, it was represented as an infringement of that compact which had established the legislative independence of Ireland. The articles were sanctioned by both houses; but the commons of Ireland, misled by the animated eloquence of Grattan and the cool plausibility of Flood, only voted, by a majority of nineteen, for the presentation of the bill which included the various arrangements. The ministry considered this division as a defeat rather than a victory, and ceased to prosecute the scheme.

Still intent on commercial views, Mr. Pitt resolved to open a negotiation with the French. When the ministers of queen Anne concluded a peace with Louis the Fourteenth, they also adjusted a treaty of commerce; but it was not confirmed by the parliament. The attempt was now renewed, and some judicious arrangements were made for that important purpose.

The treaty, however, was not completed before the autumn of the following year.

In the mean time, the chief promoter of this negotiation encouraged a scheme of a less amicable nature, calculated for the defence of the island against the French or any other enemies. The master-general of the ordnance (the duke of Richmond), reflecting on the danger to which the chief naval arsenals had been exposed, when the fleets of France and Spain rode triumphant in the channel, had proposed a great extension of the fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth: but, when his scheme was submitted to the consideration of the commons, it was ridiculed and reprobated by Mr. Sheridan and other speakers, as ill-judged, unnecessary, and degrading to the maritime service. The votes being equal, Mr. Cornwall, who filled the chair of the house, turned the scale against it, and public applause attended his decision.

As the enormous increase of the national debt, in consequence of the late war, rendered the taxes severely oppressive, it became the urgent duty of the minister to lighten the burthen. Of the appropriated taxes, not one, he thought, could be conveniently taken off; nor was it his wish or intention to pay off, immediately, any part of the debt: but his object was the formation of a fund, similar to that sinking fund which had been *created* (not *established*) by sir Robert Walpole. He proposed, that, in raising the supplies, a million should be annually reserved as a growing fund, which, by the gradual accession of compound interest, would at length form a very large sum, applicable to the relief of the burthened public. The scheme, in the adjustment of which he had the assistance of Dr. Price, was approved by the parliament; and its progress flattered the hopes of the sanguine, while those who apprehended that a fresh accumulation of debt might arise at a period not very distant, still admitted the partial utility of the measure.

At a time when the chief speakers of opposition seemed to be at a loss for new grounds of attack, a subject was brought forward, in which they did not expect the concurrence of the premier. This was an accusatory process against Mr. Hastings, who, in the opinion of Mr. Burke and other politicians, had been guilty of great enormities while he acted as governor-general of British India. When all the charges had been presented to the house, two were debated in this session. The war against the Rohilla nation was condemned by Mr. Burke with

all the energy of just indignation, and all the warmth of manly eloquence. He pronounced it to be a combination of injustice, treachery, and cruelty, more disgraceful to an English governor than to the Indian despot¹ whom he had assisted, and highly injurious to the British name and character. But the majority of the members did not concur in these censures; and the house refused to impeach Mr. Hastings upon this article. In another charge, the accuser was less unfortunate. Mr. Pitt condescended to promote the purposes of justice, by supporting the charge of rapacity in the case of the rajah of Benares, over whom the governor had also tyrannized in other respects; and it was now voted, that he should be impeached for his conduct toward that zemindar². In the following session, Mr. Sheridan, in a very long and impressive harangue, developed the oppression and cruelties to which the *begums* (the mother and grandmother of the nabob vizir) had been subjected by the arbitrary and rapacious spirit of Hastings. The ill-treatment of the nabob of Farruckabad, and of Fizoula, the rajah of Rampour,—the systematic prodigality of the governor, his acceptance or rather extortion of valuable presents from the native princes and their ministers, and his encouragement of the mal-administration of Oude,—were the subjects of other charges which the house voted. It was then resolved that he should be impeached, and preparations were made for his trial; but it did not commence before the year 1788.

It was supposed that the king was not pleased with the impeachment; but that circumstance, whatever effect it might have upon the decision of the cause, did not impede its regular progress. While the affair was depending in the house of commons, his majesty had an opportunity of receiving proofs of general affection, if a multiplicity of loyal addresses may be considered as *criteria* of popular regard. These addresses were presented in congratulation of his escape from the peril with which he was threatened by an attack from a woman disordered in her intellects; who, not being deemed intentionally guilty, was subjected to perpetual confinement as a dangerous lunatic.

Amidst the joy which arose from the king's safety, intelligence arrived of the conclusion of the treaty of commerce with France. As, from the unsettled state of that kingdom, the treaty was not permanently effective, I shall not enter into a detail of its

¹ The ruler of Oude, usually styled the nabob vizir.

² A holder of lands, not as sovereign, but with qualified or limited rights.

provisions, but shall merely observe, that the French considered it as less beneficial to them than to our countrymen; that it was supported, as might have been expected, by a

A.D. commanding majority in parliament; and that the argu-
1787. ments of its chief opposers were cavils rather than fair objections.

While the British and French nations seemed thus to relinquish their mutual animosity, a political connexion with an old ally was endangered by the intrigues of the French, who had so strengthened their influence in Holland, that the power of the prince of Orange was nearly annihilated. A British fleet and a Prussian army were therefore equipped: and as I stated in a former letter, the authority of the stadtholder was restored and extended.

The pusillanimity of the French, in the contest with Great Britain and Prussia, respecting the settlement of the affairs of Holland, excited the ridicule of Europe. It was, however, sufficiently accounted for, by that derangement of the finances, and that disordered state of the government, which led to the convocation of the *notables*. The English minister, reflecting with pleasure on his own financial arrangements, compared the state of Britain (even after a disastrous war) with that of France, and exulted in the contrast.

The chief features of the ensuing session of parliament were the declaratory bill and the trial of Hastings. The bill was professedly intended to declare the true meaning of Mr. Pitt's act respecting India, as the power of the board of control had been disputed by the company. The commissioners had sent out troops, for whose establishment the directors refused to pay.

A.D. The minister insisted upon their compliance, and brought
1788. forward the new bill to enforce their obedience. It was contended by the speakers of opposition, that, if the prior act gave the power in question, it diminished the company's rights much more than its framer then pretended to wish; and that, if it did not, there was an insidious meanness in claiming new rights, not openly and manfully, but under the pretence of only declaring what was law before. The debates on the subject were very long and vehement; one in particular, continued about sixteen hours. The court triumphed on every division; but Mr. Pitt's credit was impaired by the measure.

The trial was opened by Mr. Burke with an eloquence which charmed his auditors. At the first four meetings of the court of peers, he ably expatiated on the history of India and the

delinquencies of the governor-general. Mr. Fox afterwards illustrated and enforced the Benares charge; Mr. Grey also exposed the rapacity and tyranny to which the rajah had been subjected; and Mr. Sheridan, with indignant sarcasm, lively wit, and spirited eloquence, traced the conduct of Hastings toward the begums of Oude. The process might have been concluded in one year, if the managers had been disposed to expedite it: but it was prolonged for many years.

During the session, the king took measures for cementing his alliance with the Dutch republic. It was agreed, that, April 15. if the subjects or dominions of the states-general should be at any time attacked, his Britannic majesty should send eight thousand five hundred infantry, two thousand cavalry, twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, within two months after a demand of aid; that if these succours should appear to be insufficient, they should be successively augmented, so as to comprehend the whole force of the kingdom; but that the states should not, on any occasion whatever, be required to furnish above ten thousand foot-soldiers, two thousand horse, sixteen sail of the line, and the same number of frigates. It was also stipulated, that Great Britain should, in the most effectual manner, guarantee the dignity of hereditary stadtholder to the prince of Orange, and secure to him all the rights lately confirmed by the states. In point of trade, each nation engaged to treat the other as the most favoured community, until a regular commercial treaty should be concluded¹.

After the prorogation, their majesties repaired to Cheltenham; and in that part of the country they remained five weeks. The springs of the place did not relieve the king, whose health had been for some time declining. In the autumn, he became more seriously indisposed; and his disorder at length assumed the aspect of delirium. Sir George Baker, Dr. Warren, and other eminent physicians, declared that they could not ascertain the cause of his malady, and could not even give a plausible opinion upon the subject; but Dr. Willis, "from a very particular detail of his majesty's mode of life for twenty-seven years," imagined, that "weighty business, severe exercise, too great abstemiousness, and little rest, had been too much for his constitution."

As the king was thus, by the visitation of God, rendered incapable of exercising his political functions, the consideration of a regency occupied the thoughts of persons of all ranks. When

¹ Appendix to the *Annual Register*, vol. xxx.

the affair was mentioned in the house of commons, Mr. Fox affirmed that the prince of Wales had an unquestionable right to the regency. The eagerness of that aspiring senator to obtain ministerial power, prompted him to express a wish for the immediate assumption of the reins of government by the heir-apparent. Mr. Pitt exclaimed, with warmth, that such an opinion nearly amounted to treason against the constitution. Mr. Fox then qualified his assertion by saying, he did not mean that the prince ought to assume the regency before the two houses had recognised the claim; yet he was inclined to treat this recognition as a mere matter of form, not requiring deliberation, or admitting refusal. The minister, however, contended that the prince had no more right than any other subject, and that the lords and commons had the privilege of selection; and he resolved to submit the point to regular discussion. He allowed, that no cases, exactly agreeing with the present, appeared on record. There were instances of occasional incapacity in the sovereign, but there was then no heir-apparent of full age; yet, from the manner in which the two houses had formerly supplied the deficiency, it was evident that they claimed the power of acting at discretion. At the Revolution, also, the chief power of the state was considered, by the true friends of the constitution, as residing with those assemblies, until they had renewed the integrity of the executive power.

Three resolutions, proposed by Mr. Pitt, were adopted by both houses. The first merely stated the fact of the king's temporary inability of governing. The second was thus worded: "It is the right and duty of the lords and commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require." The third resolution was of the following tenor: "For this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords and commons should determine the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during his majesty's present indisposition."

When these constitutional points had been settled, the chancellor put the seal to a commission for opening and holding the parliament, in defiance of all the objections of the

prince's party. A bill was then brought forward, by which the prince was restricted in the grant of employments and the honours of peerage, and exposed to the opposition of all the officers of the household, who were to act under the queen's orders. This bill, however, was not completed; for, after an indisposition of four months, the king recovered his intellects. A thanksgiving was ordered in consequence of this fortunate event; and the royal family publicly expressed fervent gratitude to Heaven in the principal church of the metropolis.

After the revival of a regular parliament, few very interesting debates occurred; and only the case of the dissenters, and the slave trade, seem to require specific notice. The test act, and that which concerned the members of corporations, were so offensive to the non-conformists, that they renewed their endeavours for a repeal of the obnoxious clauses. Their pretensions were plausibly supported. It was alleged, that, as every man had a right to judge for himself in the affairs of religion, it was unjust to punish or stigmatize any one for the exercise of that right; that a denunciation of official disability was not merely a stigma, but a punishment for opinions which were not prohibited; that as dissenters were allowed to sit in parliament, there was an inconsistency in declaring them incapable of office; and that their regard for the constitution, and for the reigning family, obviated all apprehension of danger from the grant of their requests. On the other hand, it was denied that the exclusion was either a disgrace or a punishment, as only those could justly expect to be employed who were ready to accede to such conditions as every government had a right to impose; and it was affirmed, that the acts in question could not be annulled without danger to the establishment. By a majority of twenty, the motion for relief was exploded.

The enemies of the slave trade had, in May, 1787, formed a committee, consisting of Mr. Granville Sharp, Mr. Clarkson, and ten other gentlemen. They were so intent on the promotion of their philanthropic purpose, that they held fifty-one meetings in thirteen months, and distributed (beside reports and other small papers) above fifty-one thousand four hundred and thirty copies of pamphlets or books. Their appeals to the public were so far successful within the time specified, as to produce (says Mr. Clarkson) "a kind of holy flame or enthusiasm, to a degree and to an extent never before witnessed. Of the purity of this flame (he adds) no better proof can be offered, than that even bishops deigned to address an obscure committee, consisting principally

of Quakers, and that churchmen and dissenters forgot their differences of religious opinion, and joined their hands, all over the kingdom, in its support¹.

To the honour of Mr. Wilberforce be it mentioned, that he readily offered to submit the subject to the notice of the commons, and to promote with the utmost zeal the abolition of the nefarious traffic. He harangued the house with ability, and represented the trade as one mass of iniquity from the beginning to the end. From the evidence adduced before the privy council, he framed twelve propositions, intimating, that the number of slaves annually carried from the coast of Africa, in British vessels, amounted to thirty-eight thousand, of which, upon an average, twenty-two thousand five hundred were conveyed to the British islands; that these slaves consisted of prisoners of war, free persons sold for debt or for supposed offences, servants sold by their masters arbitrarily or for alleged criminality, and individuals made slaves by the violence or fraud of African princes or private persons, or by the avarice of European traders; that the traffic so carried on had necessarily a tendency to occasion wars among the natives, to encourage injustice and oppression, and obstruct the civilization of the people and the improvement of the country; that Africa was adapted to the production of various articles of commerce, which might be advantageously taken (instead of slaves) in return for our commodities; that the trade in question was peculiarly destructive to seamen, as the mortality had been found much greater in the slave ships than in any British vessels employed upon the same coast in any other service or traffic; that the mode of transporting the negroes to the West Indies exposed them to grievous sufferings, for which no regulations could provide an adequate remedy, and which had occasioned the annual loss of a considerable number during the voyage; that many of the slaves also perished in the West Indian ports, from the diseases contracted in the voyage, and this loss amounted to four and a half *per cent.* of the imported negroes; that the loss, within the first three years after importation, bore a large proportion to the whole number imported; that the natural increase of population, among the slaves in the islands, appeared to have been checked by the ill-treatment which they received, by that dissoluteness of manners which their employers suffered to prevail, instead of encouraging matrimony, and by other causes; that, in Jamaica,

¹ *History of the Origin, Progress, and Accomplishment, of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament*; by Thomas Clarkson, A.M.

the annual excess of deaths above births might be estimated, on the average, at seven-eighths *per cent.*; that, in Barbadoes, the proportion was rather less: and that, upon a survey of the present state of those islands, and also of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and the Leeward Isles, united with a consideration of the means of obviating the causes which had impeded the natural increase of the number of slaves, and of lessening the demand for manual labour, without diminishing the profits of the planters, no great or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the importation of negroes¹.

As the question seemed, to the majority of the members, too important to be hastily decided, it was postponed to the next year; and, in the mean time, both houses renewed a bill which had lately been enacted for giving the slaves a greater space in the ships, and better accommodation.

The affairs of Great Britain, during the remainder of the year, were not strikingly important. The king had no relapse; and the people in general enjoyed comfort and tranquillity. All ranks watched the progress of the French revolution; and the reasonings and reflections of politicians were engrossed by that momentous subject. It was transiently noticed by the king in his speech to the lords and commons: and in several de- A.D. bates on other topics, it was introduced with high praise 1790. or with strong censure. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke differed so seriously in their opinions of it, that the friends of both orators apprehended a dissolution of their long-subsisting friendship.

Another subject superseded, for a time, that of the revolution. The Spaniards had seized four British ships, and also a fort at Nootka Sound, on pretence of a prior right to the North American coast from California to a great extent beyond the disputed spot. The parliament and the nation resented the affront, and insisted upon satisfaction; and, as there was no prospect of assistance from France, the king of Spain not only engaged to make plenary restitution, but allowed the subjects of Great Britain to colonize any part of the country situated to the northward of the Spanish settlements, and conceded a greater latitude to the whale fishery in the South Pacific. This agreement was censured as not sufficiently precise or definite in its terms, but it received the honour of parliamentary approbation.

His majesty's endeavours were at the same time exerted for the restoration of peace between the Austrians and the Turks.

¹ Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

His mediation, and that of the king of Prussia, promoted the adjustment of the convention of Reichenbach; but the two princes found the empress of Russia unwilling to agree to a pacification. They alternately soothed and threatened her. A

A.D. 1791. British armament was at length equipped; and the czar-ina was peremptorily desired to relinquish Oczakoff and its dependencies. The anti-ministerial speakers vehemently opposed a war with Russia; and, as the nation manifestly concurred with them, the court gave up the point, although a considerable majority in each house approved the armed interference.

In this session, which was the first of a new parliament, both parties supported a bill tending to the relief of those catholics who protested against the disloyal and dangerous opinions imputed to their sect. By the new act, they were exempted from all penal inflictions, except those which excluded them from civil and military employments, on condition of their abjuration of the following mischievous doctrines: namely, that princes excommunicated by the pope may lawfully be deposed and murdered by their subjects; that no faith is to be kept with heretics; and that the church may dispense with moral duties, and absolve a person from heinous sins.

The government of the Canadian provinces had frequently been a subject of parliamentary consideration. A bill was enacted in the year 1774, for the gratification of the French inhabitants rather than the British colonists. It legalized the catholic faith, but did not sufficiently provide for the enjoyment of civil liberty. It was therefore strongly condemned by the leaders of opposition, who alleged that a constitution, tending to establish popery and arbitrary power, was very unfit for the subjects of Great Britain. The Americans of the thirteen provinces represented it in the most odious light, and pronounced it to be one of the leading features of the iniquitous plan of the court for the extension of despotism over all the British settlements. Several attempts were made in parliament to procure a repeal of the act; but the zeal of lord North and his associates frustrated every effort of that kind. Mr. Pitt, more attentive to the wishes of the friends of freedom, now framed a better constitution for the Canadians of both descriptions. An assembly of representatives, the right of internal taxation, and the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act, were allowed both in Upper and Lower Canada. When the house of commons discussed the new bill, Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke digressed from the immediate subject

into that of the French revolution; and, after an interchange of acrimonious reflections, the latter solemnly renounced the friendship of one who could applaud the infamous conduct of traitors and incendiaries. The generality of the dissenters concurred with Mr. Fox in his favourable opinion of the recent revolution; and many festive meetings took place on the anniversary of the demolition of the Bastile. At Birmingham, however, the populace, inspired with the zeal of Mr. Burke, affected to apprehend danger even from those convivial associations; and tumultuously rising, destroyed two meeting-houses, and the dwellings of Dr. Priestley and other dissenters. These outrages, being perpetrated by men who were supposed to be orthodox and loyal, did not excite such loud or general clamours as would have followed a sectarian tumult.

The next session of the parliament was rendered particularly interesting by the state of the public mind on the subject of political reform. The example of France had stimulated the zeal of some active spirits in Great Britain; and publications exaggerating the imperfections of our constitution, denying or ridiculing the boasted liberties of British subjects, and recommending such changes as would weaken, if not destroy the monarchical part of the system, were eagerly disseminated, and read with avidity. Dreading the effect of these appeals to the people, the ministry procured from the king a proclamation against seditious writings; and, although some respectable members pronounced this edict unnecessary and invidious, both houses highly approved of it. Against Paine, who had vilified the constitution in his *Rights of Man*, a legal process was instituted. Notwithstanding an able defence from Erskine, he was pronounced guilty; and, as he did not make his appearance, he was subjected to outlawry. The proceedings of various associations alarmed the timid and loyal. The London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, and several other self-constituted bodies, actively propagated the doctrine of the *Rights of Man*, openly applauded the conduct of the French revolutionists, and claimed a more popular government, and a greater degree of freedom, than the English constitution allowed. A society which took its name from the revolution was more constitutional in its views; and its members were more respectable than most of the individuals who composed the above-mentioned combinations. The Friends of the People were still higher in point of respectability; and they confined their views to parliamentary reform; for the promotion

of which object Mr. Grey (in the following year) made a fruitless appeal to the house of commons.

The zeal of the Corresponding Society, and of the other democratic associations, roused the defensive energy of the friends of the existing government; and numerous pamphlets were published, warning the people of the danger to which the constitution was exposed from the designs of "republicans and levellers." These pieces were not altogether useless; but as they tended to promote a zeal for a war, their utility was diminished by concomitant mischief.

While the spirit of party was high, and the thoughts of crushing the new revolution by hostilities were entertained by the aristocracy, intelligence arrived of the fortunate conclusion of a war which had arisen in the year 1790, between the India company and Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore, who had attacked the rajah of Travancour, an ally of the English. It was affirmed in parliament, that this was a war of ambition on the part of the company; but the majority declared it to be just and necessary. Many forts were taken from the Mysoreans; various advantages were obtained over them in the field; and at length the sultan was besieged in Seringapatam. Thus endangered, he implored peace, which was concluded on terms very advantageous to the English, and to their confederates the Nizam and the Mahrattas; for they divided among themselves not only about four millions of pounds sterling, but also a moiety of his dominions. "The terms of this treaty," said the king, when he opened the ensuing session, "are peculiarly satisfactory to me, from their tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions in India."

When the parliament met, the formation of a republic in France, the process against the deposed king, and the correspondence between British societies and the Gallic revolutionists, not only excited general attention, but seriously alarmed the court and the aristocracy. His majesty, beside summoning the two houses before the time originally fixed, had called out a considerable part of the militia, as if great danger threatened the realm. He earnestly exhorted each assembly to adopt, without delay, "such measures as might be necessary for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom."

To prevent the intrusion of foreign emissaries of sedition, a seasonable bill was brought forward by lord Grenville. While it was in its progress, M. Chauvelin sent a note to that minister,

intimating the wish of the executive council of France to preserve peace and friendship with Great Britain, and lamenting the apparent disinclination of the English cabinet to an amicable agreement. The recall of lord Gower, the refusal of acknowledging the envoy as a minister of the republic, the stoppage of supplies of corn, and the encouragement supposed to be given by the court to Austria and Prussia, had alarmed and disgusted the French, and now produced an application for an unequivocal answer to a plain question—whether the French were to consider Great Britain as a neutral or hostile power? Explanations of the late obnoxious decrees were at the same time offered by Chauvelin: but they were not satisfactory to the English secretary, who hinted that the conduct of France precluded the neutrality of the neighbouring nations, and advised her, if she really wished to be at peace with Britain, to “show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.”

In a note from the executive council, reference was A. D. made to the conduct of the king of Spain, who had treated 1793. with a minister of the republic, and adjusted a convention of neutrality; and it was hoped that Great Britain would not scruple to follow the example of “a power of the first rank.” Further explanations of the disputed points were offered. It was affirmed that the idea of encouraging sedition was by no means entertained by the framers of that decree which promised assistance in the cause of liberty; that the general will was very different from sedition, which was only the commotion or rising of a small number against the majority of a nation; that when Henry IV. of France and the English queen Elizabeth supported the Dutch against Philip II., they were not considered as promoters of sedition; and that it was the duty of one state to give aid when the greater part of a community wished to reform or improve its government. It was added, with regard to the Scheldt, that the French would only interfere when the people whose natural rights were invaded by treaties in which they had not concurred, should demand the free navigation of the whole course of the river; that neither the English nor the Dutch had a right to control the Belgians; and that the states-general, indeed, had no intention of opposing the meditated opening. To these observations lord Grenville replied in a spirited tone. Being accompanied with threats, they involved, he said,

new grounds of offence, which would prove a bar to every kind of negotiation. The pretended explanations were insults rather than concessions or apologies; and the motives which had induced his sovereign to prepare for violent extremities still existed in full force; nor would the preparations be discontinued or omitted, while the French retained that turbulent and aggressive spirit which threatened danger to every nation in Europe.

By a subsequent communication in the king's name, Chauvelin was ordered to quit the realm within eight days. This mandate was considered by the French as equivalent to a declaration of war; and as soon as the intelligence reached Paris, the convention declared, that the king of Great Britain, and the stadtholder of the United Provinces, were to be treated as enemies of the republic.

Whether the war might have been avoided by more temperate conduct on the part of Great Britain, is a point which merits inquiry. An eminent divine has endeavoured to prove that our sovereign had no alternative. He affirms that the king had no concern in the negotiations at Pilnitz, and by the acknowledgment of the emperor Leopold, was determined on the observance of a strict neutrality. To this assertion I do not object, because it seems sufficiently clear that our court, *at that time*, had no intention of acting against the French.—He represents “the early and friendly answer” of the British court to the letter in which Louis announced his acceptance of the new constitution, as indicative of a wish to maintain peace; and he draws a similar inference from the acquiescence of the same court in the evasions of satisfaction for an infringement of the commercial treaty: but he, properly, lays no great stress on either of these points. He speaks of the diminution of the number of seamen and soldiers, at the commencement of the session of 1792, as another indication of pacific views; but the facility of augmenting the force of the realm, and an unwillingness to excite early suspicions of a decided hostility to the redress of French grievances, may be considered as detracting from the alleged presumption; and Mr. Pitt's mention of fifteen years, as the probable duration of peace, may be treated as a ridiculous delusion. If no revolution had occurred in France, he would have found, in a much shorter period, various pretences for war¹. The advocate of the

¹ See the “*History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, from the Time of the Conference at Pilnitz to the Declaration of War against Great Britain.*” By Herbert Marsh, B.D.”

ministry proceeds to observe, that his majesty did not accede to the supposed treaty of Pavia; and in this point I readily agree with him. He asserts the continuance of strict neutrality, on the part of our court, after the French had declared war against the king of Hungary. The neutrality, however, might outwardly subsist, and a secret wish for war be entertained.— With regard to the proclamation against seditious writings, he treats it as “a mere act of national police,” of which the French nation had no right to complain. Indeed Chauvelin did not seriously complain of it; and he disclaimed all concert between the *government* and the *individuals* alluded to in the proclamation (*sundry persons in foreign parts*). The request of British mediation is the next topic; and the refusal of it is vindicated and commended. But it is not improbable that such interference would have had a good effect; and the repugnance of the cabinet tended to excite suspicion.

The recall of lord Gower is an important consideration. The reverend writer supports the propriety of the recall, and contends that this, of three modes of proceeding, was decidedly the best, as the king to whom the envoy was accredited, had lost his power. But his reasoning seems in this instance to resemble more the quibbling of a barrister than the sound argumentation of a logical politician. “All authorities in France (he says) were at that time merely transient;” and even the executive council was only provisional. Yet that council was allowed to exercise the whole power of the state, and might lawfully accept new credentials. He adds, that if the envoy had remained at Paris in an official character, and had thus acknowledged the existing government, he might have been accused by the next ruling party of having “treated with factionists, and of intermeddling in the internal affairs of France.” This, however, is a gratuitous supposition. The new party, we may rather suppose, would have considered him as having properly acquiesced in the prevailing authority of the time. The French spirit of conquest and aggrandisement, the intended encroachment on the established rights of the Dutch, the promise of assisting the governed against the governors, and the public encouragement given by the convention to the democratic societies of this country, are afterwards discussed, and represented as sufficient grounds for war on the part of Great Britain. Those instances of Gallic arrogance and injustice must, indeed, excite strong disapprobation; but measures of internal defence would have obviated the danger, without the necessity of preventing the con-

veyance of corn to supply the wants of the French, or of giving other indications of disgust and repugnance, exceeding the fair limits of neutrality.

A great plan is mentioned by the same author, "which consisted, first in the overthrow of the British and Dutch governments, and then in the subjugation of the two countries." But this was rather a scheme in embryo, dependent on an attack from Britain, or a mere display of the *good wishes* of some of the orators of the convention, than a regular project of that assembly or of the executive council. "The existence of the British empire (he says) was at stake:" but others might say that its power was sufficiently established to enable it to defy such absurd menaces. The Dutch, it may be allowed, were more immediately menaced, as the council sent orders for the actual invasion of Dutch Brabant. In that case, the states-general had a right to demand some assistance from Great Britain. On the subject of negotiation, this writer is of opinion, that the British ministers gave every facility which could have been expected from a friendly nation, and testified an earnest desire of accommodation, which, on the other hand, the French did not seriously wish to adjust; and, after a series of quotation and reasoning he concludes, that "it was not in the power of the cabinet to prevent a rupture with France." He adds, that the reciprocal accusation (between the Brissotins and Jacobins) of having involved France in a war with Britain, is a tacit acknowledgment from both parties, that not to the British, but to the French government alone, its origin must be assigned.

Both the rulers of France and the British ministers seem to have been in fault. The former, taking fire at every appearance of unfriendliness to their revolution, cherishing some remains of the ancient animosity of the two nations, and presuming on the spirit and energy with which the people would be animated in the fancied cause of liberty, were not so willing as they ought to have been to avoid a war. The latter, apprehending the ill effects of the new opinions upon old establishments and existing institutions, and hating the very name of reform, were less inclined to negotiate than to enter into a war, and, even while they pretended to treat, manifested an obvious reluctance, which, rendering it probable that the king would soon add his weight to the confederacy of Austria and Prussia, induced the convention to anticipate his supposed views.

But even if it be admitted that the war was involuntary on the part of the king of Great Britain, it does not necessarily follow

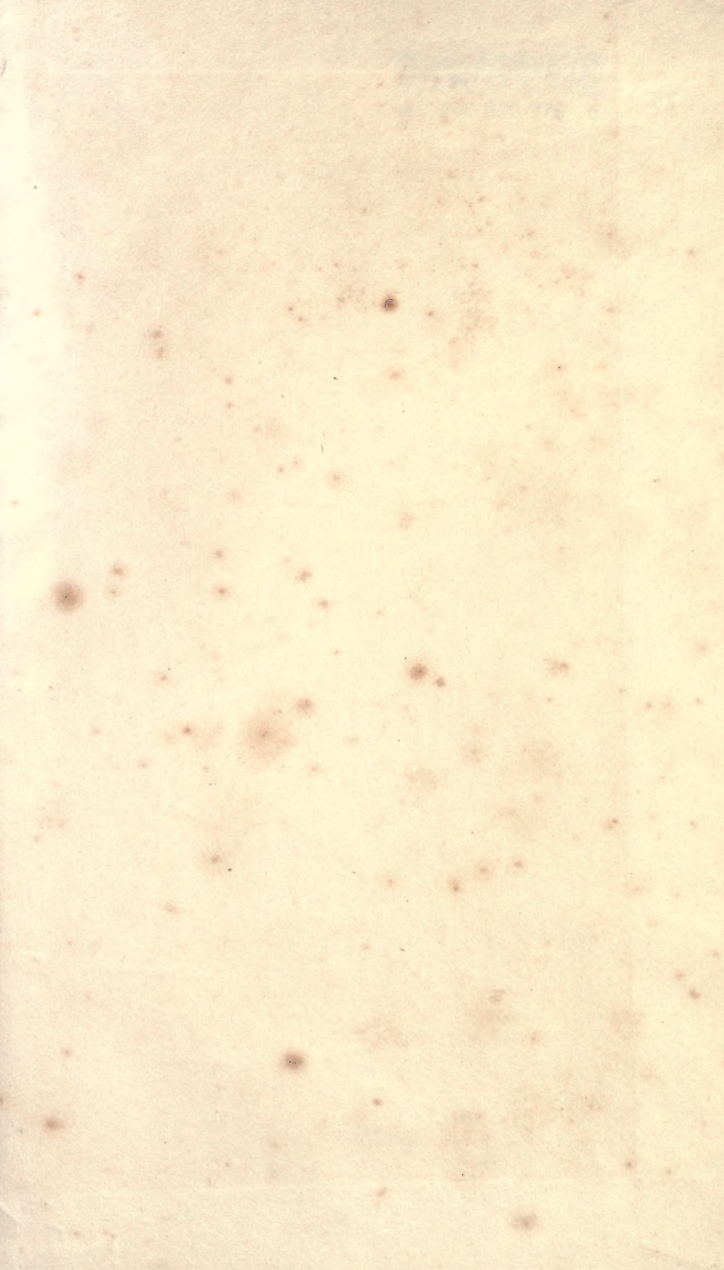
that he was obliged to send an army to the continent, or to carry on any other than a naval war. There was little probability of any decisive result from the co-operation of his troops with those of Austria and Prussia; or, if it should be allowed that their aid was calculated to make a great impression, that effect was likely to be overbalanced by the levy *en masse*, which so potent a coalition would suggest; and this consideration may induce some to suppose, that more would have been done without than with the participation of Britain.

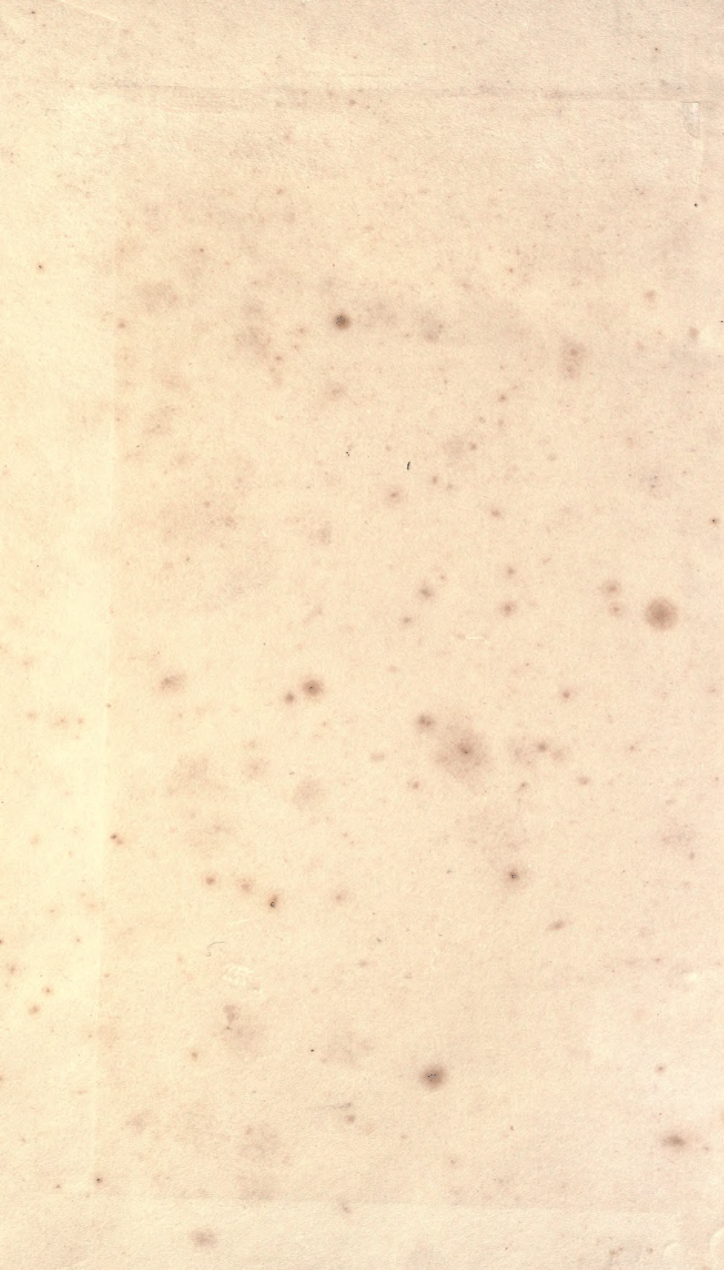
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